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GAZETTEER
OF THE
BOMBAY PRESIDENCY

VOLUME I. PART I.

HISTORY OF GUJARÁT.



17315

UNDER GOVERNMENT ORDERS.

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Bombay Castle, 14th February 1902.

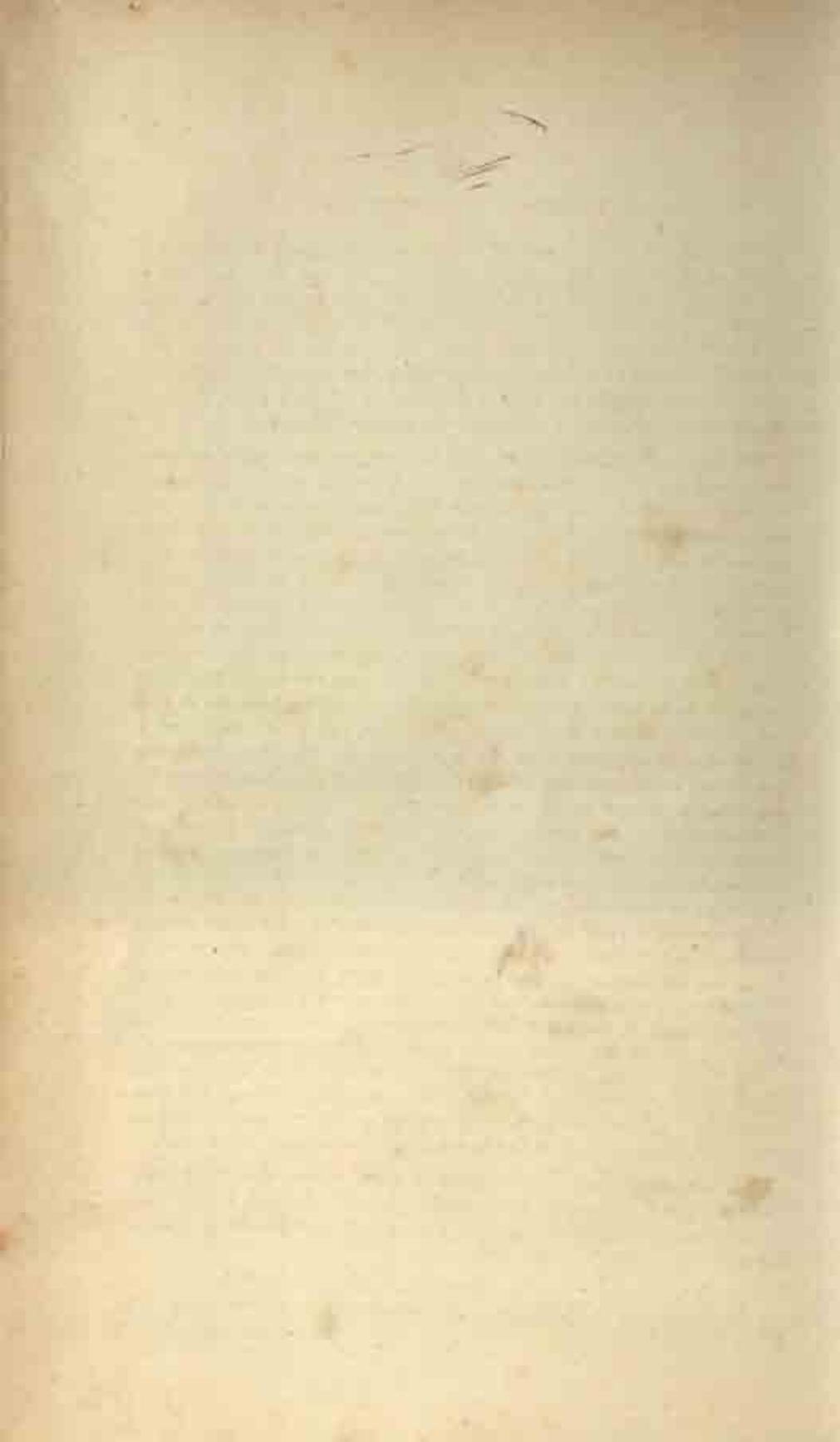
In further recognition of the distinguished labours of Sir James McNabb Campbell, K.C.I.E., and of the services rendered by those who have assisted him in his work, His Excellency the Governor in Council is pleased to order that the following extract from Government Resolution No. 2885, dated the 11th August 1884, be republished and printed immediately after the title page of Volume I, Part I, of the Gazetteer, and published in every issue:

"His Excellency the Governor in Council has from time to time expressed his entire approval of the Volumes of the Gazetteer already published, and now learns with much satisfaction that the remaining Statistical Accounts have been completed in the same elaborate manner. The task now brought to a close by Mr. Campbell has been very arduous. It has been the subject of his untiring industry for more than ten years, in the earlier part of which period, however, he was occasionally employed on additional duties, including the preparation of a large number of articles for the Imperial Gazetteer. When the work was begun, it was not anticipated that so much time would be required for its completion, because it was not contemplated that it would be carried out on so extensive a scale. Its magnitude may be estimated by the fact that the Statistical Accounts, exclusive of the general chapters yet to be reprinted, embrace twenty-seven Volumes containing on an average 500 pages each. Mr. Campbell could not have sustained the unflagging zeal displayed by him for so long a period without an intense interest in the subjects dealt with. The result is well worthy of the labour expended, and is a proof of the rare fitness of Mr. Campbell on the ground both of literary ability and of power of steady application for the important duty assigned to him. The work is a record of historical and statistical facts and of information regarding the country and the people as complete perhaps as ever was produced on behalf of any Government, and cannot fail to be of the utmost utility in the future administration of the Presidency.

"2. The thanks of Government have already been conveyed to the various contributors, and it is only necessary now to add that they share, according to the importance of their contributions, in the credit which attaches to the general excellence of the work."

The whole series of Volumes is now complete, and His Excellency in Council congratulates Sir James Campbell and all associated with him in this successful and memorable achievement.

H. O. QUIN,
Secretary to Government,
General Department.



THE earliest record of an attempt to arrange for the preparation of Statistical Accounts of the different districts of the Bombay Presidency is in 1843. In 1843 Government called on the Revenue Commissioner to obtain from all the Collectors as part of their next Annual Report the fullest available information regarding their districts.¹ The information was specially to include their own and their Assistants' observations on the state of the cross and other roads not under the superintendence of a separate department, on the passes and ferries throughout the country, on the streets in the principal towns, and on the extension and improvement of internal communications. As from Collectors alone could any knowledge of the state of the district be obtained, the Collectors were desired to include in their Annual Reports observations on every point from which a knowledge of the actual condition of the country could be gathered with the exception of matters purely judicial which were to be supplied by the Judicial Branch of the Administration. Government remarked that, as Collectors and their Assistants during a large portion of the year moved about the district in constant and intimate communication with all classes they possessed advantages which no other public officers enjoyed of acquiring a full knowledge of the condition of the country, the causes of progress or retrogradation, the good measures which require to be fostered and extended, the evil measures which call for abandonment, the defects in existing institutions which require to be remedied, and the nature of the remedies to be applied. Collectors also, it was observed, have an opportunity of judging of the effect of British rule on the condition and character of the people, on their caste prejudices, and on their superstitious observances. They can trace any alteration for the better or worse in dwellings, clothing and diet, and can observe the use of improved implements of husbandry or other crafts, the habits of locomotion, the state of education particularly among the higher classes whose decaying means and energy under our most levelling system compared with that of preceding governments will attract their attention. Finally they can learn how far existing village institutions are effectual to

¹ Secretary's Letter 4223 to the Revenue Commissioner dated 30th December 1843. Revenue Volume 1854 of 1843.

their end, and may be made available for self-government and in the management of local taxation for local purposes.

In obedience to these orders reports were received from the Collectors of Ahmedábád Broach Kaira Thána and Khándesh. Some of the reports, especially that of Mr. J. D. Inverarity, contained much interesting information. These five northern reports were practically the only result of the Circular Letter of 1843.

The question of preparing District Statistical Manuals was not again raised till 1870. In October 1867 the Secretary of State desired the Bombay Government to take steps for the compilation of a Gazetteer of the Presidency on the model of the Gazetteer prepared during that year for the Central Provinces. The Bombay Government requested the two Revenue Commissioners and the Director of Public Instruction to submit a scheme for carrying into effect the orders of the Secretary of State. In reply the officers consulted remarked that the work to be done for the Bombay Presidency would be of a multifarious character; that the article on the commerce of Bombay would require special qualifications in the writer; that again special qualifications would be required for writing accounts of the sacred cities of Násik and Pálitána, of the caves of Ajanta and Ellora, of the histories of Sindh Gujarát and Ahmednagar, and of the Portuguese connection with Western India. The Committee observed that a third form of special knowledge would be required to write accounts of Pársis Khojás and other castes and tribes; that in short the undertaking would be one of much wider scope and greater difficulty than the preparation of the Gazetteer of the Central Provinces. Much thought would be required before the general plan could be laid down, and after the plan was fixed all sorts of questions as to arrangement and treatment of particular parts would be sure to arise. In the Committee's opinion local revenue officers could not as a rule find time to devote to work of this description without neglecting their ordinary duties; but they could correct and amplify such information as a special officer could compile from the published and unpublished records of Government.

In January 1868 the Bombay Government decided that the general supervision and direction of the work should be placed in the hands of a Committee consisting of the Revenue Commissioners, the Director of Public Instruction, and the Commissioner of Customs, and that an Editor should be appointed with a small copying establishment to act under the directions of the Committee. The Editor was to give his entire time to the work and was expected to

finish it in about a year. He was to collect and arrange in alphabetical order all recorded information regarding the towns and other places of interest in each Collectorate, and to send printed on half margin each draft when completed to the local officers for verification, additions, and alterations. When the drafts were returned and corrected by the Editor, they were to be laid before the Committee. To enable the Editor to meet such expenses as a fair remuneration for articles contributed by qualified persons, and also to pay for the printing of the work with small accompanying maps, an amount not exceeding Rs. 12,000 was sanctioned for the total expense of the Gazetteer including the payment of the Editor. At the outset it was decided to place a portion of the sum sanctioned not exceeding Rs. 2000, at the disposal of the Commissioner in Sindh to secure the preparation of articles referring to Sindh. The Committee were requested to meet at Poona in June 1868 and to report to Government on the best mode of preparing and editing the Gazetteer and supervising its publication. The Collectors and Political Officers were in the meanwhile requested to ascertain what records in their possession were likely to be useful for the preparation of a Gazetteer and what papers in the possession of others and likely to be useful for the purpose were obtainable within their charge. Collectors and Political Officers were requested to send their replies direct to the Director of Public Instruction who would collect them on behalf of the Committee.

In August 1868 the Bombay Gazetteer Committee, composed of Messrs. A. F. Bellasis Revenue Commissioner N. D. Chairman, Mr. W. H. Havelock Revenue Commissioner S. D. and Sir Alexander Grant, Director of Public Instruction, submitted a report recommending the following arrangements :

(1) That Mr. W. H. Crowe, C. S., then Acting Professor in the Dakhan College, be appointed Editor of the Gazetteer with a monthly remuneration of Rs. 200 out of the Rs. 12,000 sanctioned for the expense of the Gazetteer and that he should at the same time be attached as an Assistant to the Collector of Poona ;

(2) That Mr. Crowe be allowed an establishment not exceeding Rs. 50 a month chargeable to the grant of Rs. 12,000, and such contingent charges as may be passed by the Committee ;

(3) That Professor Kero Luxman Chhatre be requested to assist Mr. Crowe on various questions both local and mathematical, and that on the completion of the work a suitable honorarium be granted to Professor Kero ;

(4) That agreeably to the suggestions of Major Prescott and Colonel Francis, Mr. Light should be directed to compile for the different districts all information in the possession of the Survey Department in communication

with the Editor of the *Gazetteer* who was to work under the Committee's orders ;

(6) That the above appointments be made at present for one year only, at the end of which from the Committee's progress report, it would be possible to state with approximate definiteness the further time required for the completion of the *Gazetteer*.

These proposals were sanctioned on the 11th, September 1868. Towards the close of 1868 Mr. (now Sir) J. B. Peile took the place of Sir A. Grant on the Committee and Colonel Francis was added to the list of the members. Adhering as far as possible to the arrangement followed in the *Gazetteer* of the Central Provinces, which had met with the approval of the Secretary of State, Mr. Crowe drew out the following list of subjects which was forwarded to all Collectors Sub-Collectors and Survey Superintendents :

I.—GENERAL DESCRIPTION.	VIII.—SUB-DIVISIONS.
(a) Latitude and Longitude.	(a) Names of Talukās.
(b) Locality.	(b) Names of Towns.
(c) Boundaries.	IX.—PRODUCTION.
(d) Aspect.	(a) Agriculture.
(e) Water-supply.	(b) Forest.
(f) Rivers.	(c) Animals.
(g) Mountains.	(d) Minerals.
(h) Area.	(e) Manufactures.
(i) Altitude.	X.—TRADE AND COMMERCE.
II.—CLIMATE, SEASONS.	XI.—COMMUNICATIONS.
(a) Rainfall.	(a) Roads.
(b) Health.	(b) Railways.
(c) Prevailing Diseases.	(c) Telegraphs.
III.—GEOLOGY.	(d) Post.
(a) Soils.	XII.—REVENUE SYSTEM AND LAND TENURES.
(b) Minerals.	XIII.—EDUCATION.*
(c) Scientific Details.	Schools.
IV.—HISTORY.	Instruction.
V.—ADMINISTRATION.	XIV.—LANGUAGE.
(a) Judicial.	XV.—ARCHITECTURAL REMAINS AND ANTIQUITIES.
(b) Revenue.	XVI.—PRINCIPAL TOWNS AND VILLAGES.
(c) Miscellaneous.	
VI.—REVENUE.	
(a) Imperial.	
(b) Local.	
VII.—POPULATION.	
(a) Census.	
(b) Description of Inhabitants.	
(c) Castes.	

In 1869 the draft articles prepared by Mr. Crowe were submitted to Mr. (now Sir) W. W. Hunter of the Bengal Civil Service who expressed his satisfaction at the progress made. The Committee adopted certain suggestions made by Sir W. Hunter for the arrangement of the work and for obtaining fuller district figures from the Marine, Irrigation, Cotton, and Survey Offices. In March 1870 a further extension of one year was accorded. The Bombay Government directed that each Collector should choose one of his Assistants to correspond with the Editor and obtain for him all possible information from local records. All Heads of Offices were also desired to exert themselves zealously in aiding the prosecution of the work. In 1871 Mr. Crowe's draft article on the Dharwar District was sent to Mr. Hunter for opinion who in addition to detailed criticism on various points made the following general remarks :

"My own conception of the work is that, in return for a couple of days' reading, the Account should give a new Collector a comprehensive, and, at the same time, a distinct idea of the district which he has been sent to administer. Mere reading can never supersede practical experience in the district administration. But a succinct and well conceived district account is capable of antedating the acquisition of such personal experience by many months and of both facilitating and systematising a Collector's personal enquiries. The Compiler does not mean to have caught the points on which a Collector would naturally consult the Account. In order that the Editor should understand these points it is necessary that he should have had practical acquaintance with district administration and that he should himself have experienced the difficulties which beset an officer on his taking charge of a district or sub-division. The individual points will differ according to the character of the country. For example in deltaic districts the important question is the control of rivers; in dry districts it is the subject of water-supply. But in all cases a District Account besides dealing with the local specialities should furnish an historical narration of its revenue and expenditure since it passed under the British rule, of the sums which we have taken from it in taxes, and of the amount which we have returned to it in the protection of property and person and the other charges of civil government."

Sir William Hunter laid much stress on the necessity of stating the authority on the strength of which any statement is made and of the propriety of avoiding anything like libels on persons or classes. In 1871 Sir W. Hunter was appointed Director General of Statistics to the Government of India. In this capacity he was to be a central guiding authority whose duty it was to see that each of the Provincial Gazetteers contained the materials requisite for the comparative statistics of the Empire. As some of the Bombay District Accounts were incomplete and as it was thought advisable to embody in the District Accounts the results of the general Census of 1872, it was decided, in October 1871, that pending the completion of the census

the Gazetteer work should be suspended and that when the results of the census were compiled and classified a special officer should be appointed for a period of six months to revise and complete the drafts. In October 1871, pending the compilation of the census returns, Mr. Crowe was appointed Assistant Collector at Sholapur and the Gazetteer records were left in a room in the Poona Collector's Office. In September 1872 the whole of the Gazetteer records, including thirty-one articles on British Districts and Native States, were stolen by two youths who had been serving in the Collector's Office as peons. These youths finding the Gazetteer office room unoccupied stole the papers piece by piece for the sake of the trifling amount they fetched as waste paper. Search resulted in the recovery in an imperfect state of seven of the thirty-one drafts. The youths were convicted and sentenced to a year's imprisonment in the Poona Reformatory.

In 1873 Mr. Francis Chapman then Chief Secretary to Government took the preparation of the Gazetteer under his personal control. And in June 1873 Mr. James M. Campbell, C.S., was appointed Compiler. An important change introduced by Mr. Chapman was to separate from the preparation of the series of District Manuals certain general subjects and to arrange for the preparation of accounts of those general subjects by specially qualified contributors. The subjects so set apart and allotted were :

No.	GENERAL CONTRIBUTORS, 1872.	
	Subject.	Contributor.
1	Ethnology	Dr. J. Wilson.
2	Meteorology	Mr. C. Chambers, F.R.S.
3	Geology	Mr. W. Blandford.
4	Botany	Dr. W. Gray.
5	Archæology	Dr. J. Burgess.
6	Manufactures and Industry.	Mr. G. W. Terry.
7	Trade and Commerce ...	Mr. J. Gordon.

These arrangements resulted in the preparation of the following papers each of which on receipt was printed in pamphlet form :

I. ETHNOLOGY ; II. METEOROLOGY ; III. GEOLOGY ; and IV. BOTANY.

Of these papers it has not been deemed advisable to reprint Dr. J. Wilson's Paper on Castes as it was incomplete owing to Dr. Wilson's death in 1875. Reprinting was also unnecessary in the case of Mr. Blandford's Geology and of the late Mr. Chambers' Meteorology, as the contents of these pamphlets have been embodied in works

specially devoted to the subject of these contributions. Dr. Burgess never prepared his article on the Archaeology of the Presidency, but the materials supplied by the late Pandit Bhagvānlāl Indrajī prevented the evil effect which this failure would otherwise have caused. Dr. Bhagvānlāl also ably supplied the deficiency caused by Dr. G. Bühler's failure to contribute an article on the Early History of Gujarāt. The notices of the manufactures in the more important industrial centres to some extent supply the blank caused by the absence of Mr. Terry's contribution. Nothing came of the late Mr. Gordon's Account of the Trade of the Presidency.

On the important subject of Botany besides Dr. W. Gray's original contribution, a valuable paper On Useful Trees and Plants was prepared by Dr. J. C. Lisboa, and a detailed account of Kaira field trees by the late Mr. G. H. D. Wilson of the Bombay Civil Service. These three papers together form a separate Botany Volume No. XXV.

The general contributions on History contained in Vol. I. Parts I. and II. are among the most valuable portions of the Gazetteer. Besides the shorter papers by Mr. L. R. Ashburner, C.S.I., on the Gujarāt Mutinies of 1857, by Mr. J. A. Baines, C.S.I., on the Marāthās in Gujarāt, by Mr. W. W. Loch, I.C.S., on the Musalmān and Marāthā histories of Khāndesh and the Bombay Dakhan, and by the late Colonel E. W. West, I. S. C., on the modern history of the Southern Marāthā districts, there are the Reverend A. K. Nairne's History of the Konkan which is specially rich in the Portuguese period (A.D. 1500-1750), the late Colonel J. W. Watson's Musalmāns of Gujarāt with additions by Khān Sāheb Fazl Lutfullāh Farīdī of Surat, and the important original histories of the Early Dakhan by Professor Rāmkrishna Gopāl Bhandārkār, C.I.E., Ph.D., and of the Southern Marāthā districts by Mr. J. F. Fleet, I.C.S., C.I.E., Ph.D. With these the early history of Gujarāt from materials supplied by the late Pandit Bhagvānlāl Indrajī, Ph.D., is perhaps not unworthy to rank. The work of completing Dr. Bhagvānlāl's history was one of special difficulty. No satisfactory result would have been obtained had it not been for the valuable assistance received from Mr. A. M. T. Jackson, M.A., of the Indian Civil Service.

The importance and the interest of the great subject of Population have added several contributions to the Reverend Doctor J. Wilson's original pamphlet of twenty-three pages. Most of these contributions appear in different District Statistical Accounts especially Dr. John Pollen's, I.C.S., accounts in Khāndesh, Mr. Cumine's, I.C.S. in Bijāpur, Mr. K. Raghunāthji's in Thāna and Poona, Assistant Surgeon Shāntāram

Vinayak's in Sholapur, Mr. P. F. DeSouza's in Kánara, and the late Ráo Bahádur Trimalrao's in Dhárwar. Except the valuable articles contributed in the Statistical Account of Kachh by Major J. W. Wray, Mr. Vinayakrao Náráyanand Ráo Sáheb Dalpatráam Pránjivan Khakhar, in the Account of Káthiawár by the late Colonel L. C. Barton, and in the Account of Rewa Kántha by Ráo Bahádur Nandshankar Tuljashankar the early date at which the Gujarát Statistical Accounts were published prevented the preparation of detailed articles on population. This omission has now been supplied in a separate volume No. IX. The chief contributions to this volume are Ráo Bahádur Bhimbháí Kírpáram's Hindus, Khón Sáheb Fazl Lutfullah Faridi's Musalmáns, and Messrs. Kharsetji N. Servai and Bamanji B. Patel's Pársis.

Besides to these general contributors the series of Statistical Accounts owes much of their fullness and practical usefulness to District Officers especially to the labours of the District Compilers who in most cases were either Collectors or Assistant Collectors. The most important contributors of this class were for Ahmedabád Mr. P. S. P. Lely, C. S.; for Kaira Mr. G. E. Sheppard, C. S.; for the Panch Maha'ls Mr. H. A. Acworth, C. S.; for Thá'na Messrs. W. B. Malock, C. S., E. J. Edden, C. S., W. W. Loch, C. S., and A. Cumine, C. S.; for Kola'ba Mr. E. H. Moscarli, C. S.; for Ratna giri Mr. G. W. Vidal, C. S.; for Kha'ndesh Mr. W. Ramsay, C. S., Dr. John Pollen, C. S., and Mr. A. Crawley-Roevey, C. S.; for Na'atk Messrs. W. Ramsay, C. S., J. A. Baines, C. S., and H. R. Cooke, C. S.; for Ahmednagar Mr. T. S. Hamilton, C. S.; for Poona Messrs. J. G. Moore, C. S., John MacLeod Campbell, C. S., G. H. Johns, C. S., and A. Keyser, C. S.; for Sa'tara Mr. J. W. P. Muir-Mackenzie, C. S.; for Sholapur Mr. C. E. G. Crawford, C. S.; for Belgaum Mr. G. McCorkell, C. S.; for Dha'rwa'r Messrs. F. L. Charles, C. S., and J. F. Muir, C. S.; for Bija'pur Messrs. H. F. Silcock, C. S., A. Cumine, C. S., and M. H. Scott, C. S.; and for Ka'nara Mr. J. Montenth, C. S., and Colonel W. Peyton. Of the accounts of Native States, the interesting and complete Gazetteer of Baroda is the work of Mr. F. A. H. Elliott, C. S. The chief contributors to the other Statistical Accounts of Native States were for Kachh Colonel L. C. Barton; for Ka'thia'wa'r Colonel J. W. Watson and Colonel L. C. Barton; for Pa'tanpur Colonel J. W. Watson; for Mahi Ka'ntha Colonels E. W. West and P. H. LeGeyt; for Rewa Ka'ntha Colonel L. C. Barton and Ráo Béhádur Nandshankar Tuljashankar; for Sa'vantva'di Colonel J. F. Lester; for Ja'njira Mr. G. Laroan; for Kolha'pur Colonels E. W. West and W. F. F. Waller and

Ráo Bahádur Yeshvant M. Kelkar. The names of numerous other contributors both in and out of Government service who gave help in compiling information connected with their districts have been shewn in the body of each District Statistical Account. Of these the learned and most ungrudging assistance received from Dr. J. Gerson DaCunha of Bombay requires special recognition.

The third main source of preparation was the Compiler's head-quarters office. Through the interest which Mr. Francis Chapman took in the Gazetteer the Compiler was able to secure the services as Assistant of Ráo Bahádur Bhimbháí Kirpáram who was Head Accountant in the Kaira Treasury when the Statistical Account of Kaira was under preparation in 1874. Mr. Bhimbháí's minute knowledge of administrative detail, his power of asking for information in the form least troublesome to district establishments, and of checking the information received, together with his talent for directing the work at head-quarters formed one of the most important elements in the success of the Gazetteer arrangements. Besides to the interest taken by Mr. Francis Chapman the Gazetteer owed much to the advice and to the support of Sir W. W. Hunter, who, in spite of the delay and expense which it involved, secured the full record of the survey and other details in which the Bombay revenue system is specially rich.

In addition to Ráo Bahádur Bhimbháí, the members of the Compiler's office whose work entitles them almost to a place among contributors are: Ráo Sáheb Krishnaráo Narsinh, who drafted many of the Land Revenue and Survey Histories; the late Mr. Ganesh Bhikáji Ganjkar, B.A., who drafted many of the Political Histories; the late Mr. Vaikunthráam Manmathráam Mohita, B.A., and Ráo Bahádur Itchárám Bhagvándás, B.A., who drafted many articles on Description, Production, Agriculture, Capital, and Trade; Mr. K. Raghunáthji who prepared many of the fullest caste accounts; Mr. Ratirám Durgáram, B.A., who drafted many papers on places of interest; and Messrs. Yeshvant Nilkanth and Mahádev G. Nádkarní who drafted many of the sections on Population, Agriculture, Capital, and Trade.

Other officers of Government who have had an important share in the satisfactory completion of the Gazetteer are: Mr. J. Kingsmill the former and Mr. Frámroz Rustamji the present Superintendent of the Government Central Press and Mr. T. E. Coleman the Head Examiner, whose unfailing watchfulness has detected many a mistake. Mr. Waite the late Superintendent of the Photozincographic Press and Mr. T. LeMesurier the present Superintendent have supplied a set of most handy, clear, and accurate maps.

A further means adopted for collecting information was the preparation of papers on the different social, economic, and religious subjects which had proved of interest in preparing the earliest District Statistical Accounts. Between 1874 and 1880 forty-nine question papers which are given as an Appendix to the General Index Volumes were from time to time printed and circulated. The answers received to these papers added greatly to the fullness and to the local interest of all the later Statistical Accounts.

The Statistical Accounts of the eighteen British districts and eighty-two Native States of the Bombay Presidency, together with the Materials towards a Statistical Account of the Town and Island of Bombay extend over thirty-three Volumes and 17,800 pages. In addition to these Statistical Accounts 475 articles were prepared in 1877-78 for the Imperial Gazetteer.

JAMES MACNABB CAMPBELL.

Bombay Customs House,
29th May 1896.

HISTORY OF GUJARÁT.



This Volume contains the Articles named below :

- I.—EARLY HISTORY OF GUJARAT (B.C. 319 - A.D. 1304).—From materials prepared by the late Pandit Bhagyánál Indraji, Ph.D., completed with the help of A. M. T. Jackson, Esquire, M.A., of the Indian Civil Service.
- II.—HISTORY OF GUJARAT, MUSALMAN PERIOD (A.D. 1297-1760).—Prepared by the late Colonel J. W. Watson, Indian Staff Corps, former Political Agent of Kāthiāvāda, with additions by Khān Sāheb Fazlullah Lutfullāh Faridi of Surat.
- III.—HISTORY OF GUJARAT, MARATHA PERIOD (A.D. 1760-1819).—By J. A. Baines, Esquire, C.S.I., late of Her Majesty's Bombay Civil Service.
- IV.—DISTURBANCES IN GUJARAT (A.D. 1857-1859).—By L. R. Ashburner, Esquire, C.S.I., late of Her Majesty's Bombay Civil Service.

APPENDICES :

- I.—The Death of Sultān Bahādur.
- II.—The Hill Fort of Mānda.
- III.—Bhīmañāl or Shrināl.
- IV.—Java and Cambodia.
- V.—Arab References.
- VI.—Greek References.

JAMES M. CAMPBELL.

29th May 1896.

The Valabhis (A.D. 509-766):

Valah Town (1893); Valabhi in A.D. 630; Valabhi Copperplates; Valabhi Administration (A.D. 500-700); Territorial Divisions; Land Assessment; Religion; Origin of the Valabhis; History	PAGE 78-86
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First Valabhi Grant (A.D. 526); Senapati Bhagarka (A.D. 509-520 F); the Maitrakas (A.D. 470-509); Senapati's Sons; Dhruvasena I. (A.D. 526-535); Guhasena (A.D. 539-569); Dhruvasena II. (A.D. 569-589); Śilāditya I. (A.D. 594-609); Kharagraha (A.D. 610-615); Dhruvasena III. (A.D. 615-620); Dhruvasena II. (Baḷāditya) (A.D. 620-640); Dhruvasena IV. (A.D. 640-649); Dhruvasena III. (A.D. 650-656); Kharagraha (A.D. 656-665); Śilāditya III. (A.D. 666-676); Śilāditya IV. (A.D. 691); Śilāditya V. (A.D. 722); Śilāditya VI. (A.D. 766); Śilāditya VII. (A.D. 766); Valabhi Family Tree; The fall of Valabhi (A.D. 750-770); The importance of Valabhi	87-96
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Valabhi and the Gehlots; The Valas of Kāthiāvāda; The Valas and Kāthīs; Descent from Kanaksen (A.D. 150); Mowād and the Persians; Valas	97-106
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The Chalukyas (A.D. 634-740):

Jayasimhavarman (A.D. 666-693); Śrīvāstraya Śilāditya (heir apparent) (A.D. 669-691); Mangalarāja (A.D. 698-731); Pulakesi Janārdaya (A.D. 738); Buddhavarman (A.D. 713?); Nāgavarddhana; Chalukya Tree	107-112
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The Gurjjaras (A.D. 580-808):

Copperplates; Gurjjara Tree; Dadda I. (c. 585-605 A.D.); Jayabhata I. Vitarāga (c. 605-620 A.D.); Dadda II. Praśāntarāga (c. 620-650 A.D.); Jayabhata II. (c. 650-675 A.D.); Dadda III. Bāhuśāyā (c. 675-700); Jayabhata III. (c. 704-734 A.D.)	113-118
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EARLY HISTORY OF GUJARÁT.

CHAPTER I.

BOUNDARIES AND NAME.

Chapter I. BOUNDARIES.

THE portion of the Bombay Presidency known as Gujarát fills the north-east corner of the coast of Western India.

On the west is the Arabian Sea; on the north-west is the Gulf of Catch. To the north lie the Little Ran and the Mevád desert; to the north-east Abu and other outliers of the Arávali range. The east is guarded and limited by rough forest land rugged in the north with side spurs of the Vindhya, more open towards the central natural highway from Baroda to Ratlám, and southwards again rising and roughening into the northern offshoots from the main range of the Sápudás. The southern limit is uncertain. History somewhat doubtfully places it at the Tápti. Language carries Gujarát about a hundred miles further to Balsár and Párdi where wild forest-covered hills from the north end of the Sáhyádri range stretch west almost to the sea.

The province includes two parts, Mainland Gujarát or Gurjjara-ráshtra and Peninsular Gujarát the Sauráshtra of ancient, the Káthiá-váda of modern history. To a total area of about 72,000 square miles Mainland Gujarát with a length from north to south of about 280 miles and a breadth from east to west varying from fifty to 150 miles contributes 45,000 square miles; and Peninsular Gujarát with a greatest length from north to south of 155 miles and from east to west of 200 miles contributes about 27,000 square miles. To a population of about 9,250,000 Mainland Gujarát contributes 6,900,000 and the Peninsula about 2,350,000.

The richness of Mainland Gujarát the gift of the Sábarmati Mahi Narbada and Tápti and the goodliness of much of Sauráshtra the Goodly Land have from before the beginning of history continued to draw strangers to Gujarát both as conquerors and as refugees.

By sea probably came some of the half-mythic Yádivas (B.C. 1500 - 500); contingents of Yavanas (B.C. 300 - A.D. 100) including Greeks Baktrians Parthians and Skythians; the pursued Pársis and the pursuing Arabs (A.D. 600 - 800); hordes of Sanganian pirates (A.D. 900 - 1200); Pársi and Naváyat Musalmán refugees from Khulagu Khán's devastation of Persia (A.D. 1250 - 1300); Portuguese and rival Turks (A.D. 1500 - 1600); Arab and Persian Gulf pirates (A.D. 1600 - 1700); African Arab Persian and Makran soldiers of fortune (A.D. 1500 - 1800); Armenian Dutch and French traders (A.D. 1600 - 1750); and the British (A.D. 1750 - 1812). By land from the north

Chapter I.

THE NAME.

have come the Skythians and Huns (B.C. 200 - A.D. 500), the Gurjjaras (A.D. 400 - 600), the early Jádéjás and Káthís (A.D. 750 - 900), wave on wave of Afghan Turk Moghal and other northern Musalmáns (A.D. 1000 - 1500), and the later Jádéjás and Káthís (A.D. 1300 - 1500) : From the north-east the prehistoric Aryans till almost modern times (A.D. 1100 - 1200) continued to send settlements of Northern Bráhmans ; and since the thirteenth century have come Turk Afghan and Moghal Musalmáns : From the east have come the Mauryans (B.C. 300), the half-Skythian Kshatrapas (B.C. 100 - A.D. 300), the Guptas (A.D. 380), the Gurjjars (A.D. 400 - 600), the Moghals (A.D. 1530), and the Maráthás (A.D. 1750) : And from the south the Śátakarnis (A.D. 100), the Chálukyas and Ráshtrakútas (A.D. 650 - 950), occasional Musalmán raiders (A.D. 1400 - 1600), the Portuguese (A.D. 1500), the Maráthás (A.D. 1660 - 1760), and the British (A.D. 1780 - 1820).

Gujars.

The name Gujarát is from the Prákrit Gujjara-ratta, the Sanskrit of which is Gurjjara-ráshtra that is the country of the Gurjjaras or Gurjjaras. In Sanskrit books and inscriptions the name of the province is written Gurjjara-mandala and Gurjjara-des'a the land of the Gurjjaras or Gurjjaras. The Gurjjaras are a foreign tribe who passing into India from the north-west gradually spread as far south as Khándesh and Bombay Gujarát. The present Gujars of the Panjab and North-West Provinces preserve more of their foreign traits than the Gujar settlers farther to the south and east. Though better-looking, the Panjab Gujars in language dress and calling so closely resemble their associates the Játs or Jats as to suggest that the two tribes entered India about the same time. Their present distribution shows that the Gujars spread further east and south than the Játs. The earliest Gujar settlements seem to have been in the Panjab and North-West Provinces from the Indus to Mathurá where they still differ greatly in dress and language from most other inhabitants. From Mathurá the Gujars seem to have passed to East Rajputána and from there by way of Kotah and Mandasor to Málwa, where, though their original character is considerably altered, the Gujars of Málwa still remember that their ancestors came from the Doab between the Ganges and the Jamna. In Málwa they spread as far east as Bhilsa and Saharanpur. From Málwa they passed south to Khándesh and west probably by the Ratlam-Dohad route to the province of Gujarát.

Like the modern Ahirs of Káthiávada the Gujars seem to have been a tribe of cattle-rearers husbandmen and soldiers who accompanied some conqueror and subsequently were pushed or spread forwards as occasion arose or necessity compelled. In the absence of better authority the order and locality of their settlements suggest that their introduction into India took place during the rule of the Skythian or Kushán emperor Kanerkes or Kanishka (A.D. 78 - 106) in whose time they seem to have settled as far east as Mathurá to which the territory of Kanishka is known to have extended. Subsequently along with the Guptas, who rose to power about two hundred years later (A.D. 300), the Gujars settled in East Rajputána, Málwa, and Gujarát, provinces all of which were apparently

subjugated by the Guptas. It seems probable that in reward for their share in the Gupta conquests the leading Gujars were allotted fiefs and territories which in the declining power of their Gupta overlords they afterwards (A.D. 450-550) turned into independent kingdoms.

The earliest definite reference to a kingdom of North Indian Gujars is about A.D. 890 when the Kashmir king Alakhāna sent an expedition against the Gurjjara king Alakhāna and defeated him. As the price of peace Alakhāna offered the country called Takkades'a. This Takkades'a¹ appears to be the same as the Tschikia of Hiuen Tsiang² (A.D. 630-640) who puts it between the Biyas on the east and the Indus on the west thus including nearly the whole Panjab. The tract surrendered by Alakhāna was probably the small territory to the east of the Chināb as the main possessions of Alakhāna must have lain further west between the Chināb and the Jehlam, where lie the town of Gujarāt and the country still called Gujar-des'a the land of the Gujars.³

As early as the sixth and seventh centuries records prove the existence of two independent Gurjjara kingdoms in Bombay Gujarāt one in the north the other in the south of the province. The Northern kingdom is mentioned by Hiuen Tsiang in the seventh century under the name Kiu-che-lo. He writes: 'Going north from the country of Valabhi 1800 li (300 miles) we come to the kingdom of Kiu-che-lo. This country is about 5000 li in circuit, the capital, which is called Pi-lo-mo-lo, is 30 li or so round. The produce of the soil and the manners of the people resemble those of Saurāshtra. The king is of the Kshatriya caste. He is just twenty years old.'⁴ Hiuen Tsiang's Kiu-che-lo is apparently Gurjjara, the capital of which Pi-lo-mo-lo is probably Bhilmāl or Bhinnāl, better known as S'rimāl.⁵ Though Hiuen Tsiang calls the king a Kshatriya he was probably a Gujar who like the later Southern Gujars claimed to be of the Kshatriya race.

Chapter I. THE NAME.

Northern
Gurjjara
Kingdom.
Hiuen Tsiang's
Kiu-che-lo,
A.D. 630.

¹ Rājā Taranginī (Calc. Edition), V. 150, 155; Cunningham's Archaeological Survey, II. 8. An earlier but vaguer reference occurs about the end of the sixth century in Bānu's Sribharshacharita, p. 274, quoted in Ep. Ind. I. 67ff, where Prabhakaravar-dhana of Thānagar the father of the great Śrī Harsha is said to have waged war with several races of whom the Gurjara are one.

² Beal's Buddhist Records of the Western World, I. 165 note 1.

³ Cunningham's Archaeological Survey, II. 71.

⁴ Beal's Buddhist Records, II. 270.

⁵ This identification was first made by the late Col. J. W. Watson, I.S.C. Ind. Ant. VI. 63. Bhinnāl or Bhilmāl also called S'rimāl, is an old town about thirty miles north-east of Abu, north latitude 25° 4' east longitude 71° 14'. General Cunningham (Ancient Geography of India, 313) and Professor Beal (Buddhist Records, II. 270) identify Pi-lo-mo-lo with Bālmor or Bādamora (north latitude 21° 10' east longitude 26° 0') in the Jodhpur State of West Rājputāna. This identification is unsatisfactory. Bālmor is a small town on the slope of a hill in an arid tract with no vestige of antiquity. Hiuen Tsiang notes that the produce of the soil and the manners of the people of Pi-lo-mo-lo resemble those of Saurāshtra. This description is unsuited to so arid a tract as surrounds Bālmor; it would apply well to the fertile neighbourhood of Bhinnāl or Bhilmāl. Since it is closely associated with Jaur that is Gurjjara the Al-Balāman of the Arabs (A.D. 750, Elliot's History, I. 442) may be Bhilmāl. A Jain writer (Ind. Ant. XIX. 293) mentions Bhilmāl as the seat of king Bhinnasena and as connected with the origin of the Gadhia coinage. The date Bhinnāl in a M.S. of A.D. 996 (Ditto, page 35) suggests it was then a seat of power under the Gurjara. The prince of S'rimāl is mentioned (Bān Mālā, I. 58)

Chapter I.

THE NAME.
Southern
Gurjjara
Kingdom,
A.D. 589-735.

The Southern Gurjjara kingdom in Gujarát, whose capital was at Nándipuri, perhaps the modern Nándod the capital of the Rájpipla State, flourished from A.D. 589 to A.D. 735.¹ The earlier inscriptions describe the Southern Gurjjaras as of the Gurjjara Vans'a. Later they ceased to call themselves Gurjjaras and traced their genealogy to the Puránic king Karna.

From the fourth to the eighth century the extensive tract of Central Gujarát between the North and South Gurjjara kingdoms was ruled by the Valabhis. The following reasons seem to show that the Valabhi dynasty were originally Gujars. Though it is usual for inscriptions to give this information none of the many Valabhi copper-plates makes any reference to the Valabhi lineage. Nor does any inscription state to what family Senápati Bhatárka the founder of the dynasty belonged. Hiuen Tsiang describes the Valabhi king as a Kshatriya and as marrying with the kings of Málwa and Kanauj. The Valabhi king described by Hiuen Tsiang is a late member of the dynasty who ruled when the kingdom had been greatly extended and when the old obscure tribal descent may have been forgotten and a Kshatriya lineage invented instead. Intermarriage with Málwa and Kanauj can be easily explained. Rajputs have never been slow to connect themselves by marriage with powerful rulers.

The establishment of these three Gujar kingdoms implies that the Gurjjara tribe from Northern and Central India settled in large numbers in Gujarát. Several Gujar castes survive in Gujarát. Among them are Gujar Vániás or traders, Gujar Sutarás or carpenters, Gujar Sonis or goldsmiths, Gujar Kumbhars or potters, and Gujar Saláts or masons. All of these are Gujars who taking to different callings have formed separate castes. The main Gujar underlayer are the Lewás and Kadwás the two leading divisions of the important class of Gujarát Kanbis. The word Kanbi is from the Sanskrit Kutumbin, that is one possessing a family or a house. From ancient times the title Kutumbin has been prefixed to the names of cultivators.² This practice still obtains in parts of the North-West Provinces where the peasant proprietors are addressed as Grihasthas or householders. As cattle-breeding not cultivation was the original as it still is the characteristic calling of many North Indian Gujars, those of the tribe who settled to cultivation came to be specially known as Kutumbin or householders. Similarly Deccan surnames show that many tribes of wandering cattle-owners settled as householders and are now known as Kumbis.³ During the last

as accompanying Mula Rajá Solankhi (A.D. 942-997) in an expedition against Sorath. Al Biruni (A.D. 1030, Sachau's Edn., I. 153, 297) refers to Bhilamala between Multán and Anhilavála. As late as A.D. 1611 Nicholas Uffet, an English traveller from Agra to Ahmadábad (Kerr's Voyages, VIII. 301) notices "Beelmahl as having an ancient wall 24 kos (36 miles) round with many fine tanks going to ruin." The important sub-divisions of upper class Gujarát Hindus who take their name from it show S'rimál to have been a great centre of population.

¹ Indian Antiquary, XIII. 70-81. Bühler (Ind. Ant. VII. 62) identifies Nandipuri with a suburb of Broach.

² Bombay Gazetteer, Násik, page 604. Bombay Arch. Survey Sep. Number X. 35.

³ Among Deccan Kumbi surnames are Jádhiav, Chuhán, Nikumbha, Parmár, Selár, Solké. Cf. Bombay Gazetteer, XXIV. 65 note 2, 414.

twenty years the settlement as Kunbis in Khândesh of tribes of wandering Wanjâra herdsmen and grain-carriers is an example of the change through which the Gujarât Kanbis and the Deccan Kunbis passed in early historic times.

Besides resembling them in appearance and in their skill both as husbandmen and as cattle-breeders the division of Gujarât Kanbis into Lewa and Kadwa seems to correspond with the division of Mâlwa Gujars into Dâha and Karad, with the Lewa origin of the East Khândesh Gujars, and with the Lawi tribe of Panjâb Gujars. The fact that the head-quarters of the Lewa Kanbis of Gujarât is in the central section of the province known as the Charotar and formerly under Valabhi supports the view that the founder of Valabhi power was the chief leader of the Gujar tribe. That nearly a fourth of the whole Hîndu population of Gujarât are Lewa and Kadwa Kanbis and that during the sixth seventh and eighth centuries three Gujar chiefs divided among them the sway of the entire province explain how the province of Gujarât came to take its name from the tribe of Gujars.¹

Gujars.

¹ Through the identification of the Valabhis as Gurjjaras may not be certain, in inscriptions noted below both the Châvâdâs and the Solankis are called Gurjjara kings. The Gurjjara origin of either or of both these dynasties may be questioned. The name Gurjjara kings may imply no more than that they ruled the Gurjjara country. At the same time it was under the Châvâdâs that Gujarât got its name. Though to Al Biruni (A.D. 1020) Gujarât still meant part of Râjputâna, between A.D. 750 and 950 the name Gurjjaras' land passed as far south as the territory connected with Anhilvâda and Vâdnagara that is probably as far as the Mahi. As a Râstrakûta copperplate of A.D. 888 (S. 810) (Ind. Ant. XIII. 69) brings the Konkan as far north as Vârâv on the Tapti the extension of the name Gujarât to Lâta south of the Mahi seems to have taken place under Musalmân rule. This southern application is still somewhat incomplete. Even now the people of Surat both Hîndus and Musalmâns when they visit Pattan (Anhilvâda) and Ahmadâbad speak of going to Gujarât, and the Ahmadâbad section of the Nâgar Brâhmans still call their Sarat caste-brethren by the name of Kunkapâs that is of the Konkay.

CHAPTER II.

ANCIENT DIVISIONS.

Chapter II.

ANCIENT
DIVISIONS.
Anartta.

FROM ancient times the present province of Gujarāt consisted of three divisions Anartta, Surāshtra, and Lāta. Anartta seems to have been Northern Gujarāt, as its capital was Anandapura the modern Vadanagara or Chief City, which is also called Anarttapura.¹ Both these names were in use even in the times of the Valabhi kings (A.D. 500-770).² According to the popular story, in each of the four cycles or *yugas* Anandapura or Vadanagara had a different name, Chamatkārapura in the first or Satya-yuga, Anarttapura in the second or Tretā-yuga, Anandapura in the third or Dvāpara-yuga, and Vriddha-nagara or Vadanagar in the fourth or Kālī-yuga. The first name is fabulous. The city does not seem to have ever been known by so strange a title. Of the two Anarttapura and Anandapura the former is the older name, while the latter may be its proper name or perhaps an adaptation of the older name to give the meaning City of Joy. The fourth Vriddha-nagara meaning the old city is a Sanskritized form of the still current Vadanagar, the Old or Great City. In the Gīrnār inscription of Kshatrapa Rudradāman (A.D. 150) the mention of Anartta and Surāshtra as separate provinces subject to the Pahlava viceroy of Junāgadh agrees with the view that Anartta was part of Gujarāt close to Kāthiāvāda. In some Purānas Anartta appears as the name of the whole province including Surāshtra, with its capital at the well known shrine of Dwārikā. In other passages Dwārikā and Prabhās are both mentioned as in Surāshtra which would seem to show that Surāshtra was then part of Anartta as Kāthiāvāda is now part of Gujarāt.

Surāshtra.

Surāshtra the land of the Sns, afterwards Sanskritized into Saurāshtra the Goodly Land, preserves its name in Sorath the southern part of Kāthiāvāda. The name appears as Surāshtra in the Mahābhārata and Pāpini's *Ganapātha*, in Rudradāman's (A.D. 150) and Skandagupta's (A.D. 456) Gīrnār inscriptions, and in several Valabhi copper-plates. Its Prākṛit form appears as Surathā in the Nāsik inscription of Gotamiputra (A.D. 150) and in later Prākṛit as Suraththā in the Tirthakalpa of Jinaprabhāsuri of the thirteenth or fourteenth century.³ Its earliest foreign mention is perhaps Strabo's (B.C. 50 - A.D. 20) *Saraostus* and Pliny's (A.D. 70) *Oratura*.⁴ Ptolemy

¹ See Nagarakhandja (Junagadh Edition), 13, 32, 35, 185, 289, 332, 542.

² The Alma grants (Indian Antiquary, VII. 73, 77) dated Valabhi 330 and 337 (A.D. 649-656) are both to the same donee who in the A.D. 649 grant is described as originally of Anarttapura and in the A.D. 656 grant as originally of Anandapura.

³ Gīrnār-Kalpa, *Atthi Suraththa vasa Ujjata nima jessena namo*. In the Suraththa district is a lovely mountain named Ujjata (Gīrnār).

⁴ Hamilton and Falconer's Strabo, II. 252-253; Pliny's Natural H^o.

the great Egyptian geographer (A.D. 150) and the Greek author of the *Periplus* (A.D. 240) both call it *Surastrene*.¹ The Chinese pilgrim Hsuen Tsang (A.D. 600-640) mentions Valabhi then large and famous and *Surāṣṭra* as separate kingdoms.²

Lāṭa is South Gujarāt from the Mahi to the Tāpti. The name Lāṭa does not appear to be Sanskrit. It has not been found in the *Mahābhārata* or other old Sanskrit works, or in the cave or other inscriptions before the third century A.D., probably because the Purāṇas include in *Aparānta* the whole western seaboard south of the *Narbada* as far as *Goa*. Still the name Lāṭa is old. Ptolemy (A.D. 150) uses the form *Lariko*³ apparently from the Sanskrit *Lātaka*. *Vātsyāyana* in his *Kāma-Sūtra* of the third century A.D. calls it Lāṭa; describes it as situated to the west of *Mālwa*; and gives an account of several of the customs of its people.⁴ In Sanskrit writings and inscriptions later than the third century the name is frequently found. In the sixth century the great astronomer *Varāhamihira* mentions the country of Lāṭa, and the name also appears as Lāṭa in an *Ajanta* and in a *Mandāsar* inscription of the fifth century.⁵ It is common in the later inscriptions (A.D. 700-1200) of the *Chālukya* *Gurjara* and *Rāshtrakūṭa* kings⁶ as well as in the writings of Arab travellers and historians between the eighth and twelfth centuries.⁷

The name Lāṭa appears to be derived from some local tribe, perhaps the *Lattas*, who, as *r* and *l* are commonly used for each other, may possibly be the well known *Rāshtrakūṭas* since their great king *Amoghavaraha* (A.D. 851-879) calls the name of the dynasty *Ratta*. *Lattalura* the original city of the *Rattas* of *Saundatti* and *Belgaum* may have been in Lāṭa and may have given its name to the country and to the dynasty.⁸ In this connection it is interesting to note that the country between *Brouch* and *Dhār* in *Mālwa* in which are the towns of *Bāgh* and *Tānda* is still called *Rāṭha*.

¹ *Bertins' Ptolemy*, VII. 1; *McCrindle's Periplus*, 113. The *Periplus* details regarding *Lude-Skythia*, *Surastrene*, and *Ujjain* are in agreement with the late date (A.D. 247) which *Reinard* (*Indian Antiquary* of Dec. 1879 pp. 330-338) and *Barnell* (*S. Ind. Pal.* 47 note 3) assign to its author.

² *Hsuen Tsang's* *Valabhi* kingdom was probably the same as the modern *Gohil-vāda*, which *Jinaprabhāsuri* in his *Saṭraṇṇaya-kalpa* calls the *Valluka-Vina*.

³ *Bertins' Ptolemy*, VII. 1. ⁴ *Vātsyāyana Sūtra*, Chap. II.
⁵ *Arch. Surv. of Western India*, IV. 127. The *Mandāsar* inscription (A.D. 437-38) mentions silk weavers from *Lāṭaviśaya*. *Fleet's Corpus Ins. Ind.* III. 80. The writer (*ibid.* 84) describes Lāṭa as green-hilled, pleasing with choice flower-burdened trees, with temples *vāḍas* and assembly halls of the gods.

⁶ *Ind. Ant.* XIII. 157, 158, 163, 180, 188, 196, 199, 204.
⁷ *Elliot's History*, I. 373. ⁸ Compare *Lassen* in *Ind. Ant.* XIV. 225.

CHAPTER III.

LEGENDS.

Chapter III.

LEGENDS.

Anarta the First
Purāṇic King of
Gujarāt.

THE oldest Purāṇic legend regarding Gujarāt appears to be that of the holy king Anarta son of Saryāti and grandson of Manu. Anarta had a son named Revata, who from his capital at Kusasthali or Dwārikā governed the country called Anarta. Revata had a hundred sons of whom the eldest was named Raivata or Kakudmi. Raivata had a daughter named Revati who was married to Baladeva of Kusasthali or Dwārikā, the elder brother of Krishna. Regarding Revati's marriage with Baladeva the Purāṇic legends tell that Raivata went with his daughter to Brahmā in Brahma-loka to take his advice to whom he should give the girl in marriage. When Raivata arrived Brahmā was listening to music. As soon as the music was over Raivata asked Brahmā to find the girl a proper bridegroom. Brahmā told Raivata that during the time he had been waiting his kingdom had passed away, and that he had better marry his daughter to Baladeva, born of Vishnu, who was now ruler of Dwārikā.¹ This story suggests that Raivata son of Anarta lost his kingdom and fled perhaps by sea. That after some time during which the Yādavas established themselves in the country, Raivata, called a son of Revata but probably a descendant as his proper name is Kakudmi, returned to his old territory and gave his daughter in marriage to one of the reigning Yādava dynasty, the Yādavas taking the girl as representing the dynasty that had preceded them. The story about Brahmā and the passing of ages seems invented to explain the long period that elapsed between the flight and the return.

The Yādavas
in Dwārikā.

The next Purāṇic legends relate to the establishment of the Yādava kingdom at Dwārikā. The founder and namegiver of the Yādava dynasty was Yadu of whose family the Purāṇas give very detailed information. The family seems to have split into several branches each taking its name from some prominent member, the chief of them being Vrishni, Kukkura, Bhoja, Sātvata, Andhaka, Madhu, Surasena, and Daśārha. Sātvata was thirty-seventh from Yadu and in his branch were born Devaki and Vasudeva, the parents of the great Yādava hero and god Krishna. It was in Krishna's time that the Yādavas had to leave their capital Mathurā and come to Dwārikā. This was the result of a joint invasion of Mathurā on one side by a

¹ The Vishnu Purāṇa (Anūa iv. Chap. i. Verse 19 to Chap. ii. Verse 21) gives the longest account of the legend. The Bhāgavata Purāṇa (Skanda ix. Chap. iii. Verse 16-36) gives almost the same account. The Matsya Purāṇa (Chap. xii. Verse 22-24) dismisses the story in two verses. See also Harivamśa, X.

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legendary Deccan hero Kālayavana and on the other by Jarāsandha the powerful king of Magadha or Behar, who, to avenge the death of his brother-in-law¹ Kansa killed by Krishna in fulfilment of a prophecy, is said to have invaded the Yādava territory eighteen times.

According to the story Kālayavana followed the fugitive Krishna and his companions as far as Surāshtra where in a mountain cave he was burnt by fire from the eye of the sleeping sage Muchakunda whom he had roused believing him to be his enemy Krishna. According to the Harivansa the fugitive Yādavas quitting Mathurā went to the Sindhu country and there established the city of Dwārikā on a convenient site on the sea shore making it their residence.² Local tradition says that the Yādavas conquered this part of the country by defeating the demons who held it.

The leading Yādava chief in Dwārikā was Ugrasena, and Ugrasena's three chief supporters were the families of Yadu, Bhoja, and Andhaka. As the entire peninsula of Kāthiāvāda was subject to them the Yādavas used often to make pleasure excursions and pilgrimages to Prabhās and Gīrnār. Krishna and Baladeva though not yet rulers held high positions and took part in almost all important matters. They were in specially close alliance with their paternal aunt's sons the Pāndava brothers, kings of Hastināpura or Delhi. Of the two sets of cousins Krishna and Arjuna were on terms of the closest intimacy. Of one of Arjuna's visits to Kāthiāvāda the Mahābhārata gives the following details: 'Arjuna after having visited other holy places arrived in Aparānta (the western seaboard) whence he went to Prabhās. Hearing of his arrival Krishna marched to Prabhās and gave Arjuna a hearty welcome. From Prabhās they came together to the Raivataka hill which Krishna had decorated and where he entertained his guest with music and dancing. From Gīrnār they went to Dwārikā driving in a golden car. The city was adorned in honour of Arjuna; the streets were thronged with multitudes; and the members of the Vrishni, Bhoja, and Andhaka families met to honour Krishna's guest.'³

Some time after, against his elder brother Baladeva's desire, Krishna helped Arjuna to carry off Krishna's sister Subhadrā, with whom Arjuna had fallen in love at a fair in Gīrnār of which the Mahābhārata gives the following description: 'A gathering of the Yādavas chiefly the Vrishnis and Andhakas took place near Raivataka. The hill and the country round were rich with fine rows of fruit trees and large mansions. There was much dancing singing and music. The princes of the Vrishni family were in handsome carriages glistening with gold. Hundreds and thousands of the people of Junāgaḍh with their families attended on foot and in vehicles of various kinds. Baladeva with his wife Revati moved about attended by many Gandharvas. Ugrasena was there with his thousand queens and musicians. Sāmā and Pradyumna attended

¹ Compare Mahābh. II. 13,594ff. Jarāsandha's sisters Asti and Prāpti were married to Kansa.

² Hari-vansa, XXXV. - CXII. ³ Mahābhārata Ādiparva, chap. 218-221.

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in holiday attire and looked like gods. Many Yādavas and others were also present with their wives and musicians.¹

Some time after this gathering Subhadra came to Gīrnār to worship and Arjuna carried her off. Eventually Vasudeva and Baladeva consented and the runaways were married with due ceremony. The large fair still held in Māgh (February - March) in the west Gīrnār valley near the modern temple of Bhavanāth is perhaps a relic of this great Yādava fair.

The Yādava occupation of Dwārikā was not free from trouble. When Krishna was at Hastināpura on the occasion of the Rājāsūya sacrifice performed by Yudhishtira, Śālva king of Mṛttikāvatī in the country of Saubha led an army against Dwārikā. He slew many of the Dwārikā garrison, plundered the city and withdrew unmolested. On his return Krishna learning of Śālva's invasion led an army against Śālva. The chiefs met near the seashore and in a pitched battle Śālva was defeated and killed.¹ Family feuds brought Yādava supremacy in Dwārikā to a disastrous end. The final family struggle is said to have happened in the thirty-sixth year after the war of the Mahābhārata, somewhere on the south coast of Kāthiāvāda near Prabhās or Somnāth Pātan the great place of Brāhmanical pilgrimage. On the occasion of an eclipse, in obedience to a proclamation issued by Krishna, the Yādavas and their families went from Dwārikā to Prabhās in state well furnished with dainties, animal food, and strong drink. One day on the sea shore the leading Yādava chiefs heated with wine began to dispute. They passed from words to blows. Krishna armed with an iron rod² struck every one he met, not even sparing his own sons. Many of the chiefs were killed. Baladeva fled to die in the forests and Krishna was slain by a hunter who mistook him for a deer. When he saw trouble was brewing Krishna had sent for Arjuna. Arjuna arrived to find Dwārikā desolate. Soon after Arjuna's arrival Vasudeva died and Arjuna performed the funeral ceremonies of Vasudeva Baladeva and Krishna whose bodies he succeeded in recovering. When the funeral rites were completed Arjuna started for Indraprastha in Upper India with the few that were left of the Yādava families,

¹ Mahābhārata Vansparva, Chap. xiv. - xxii. Skanda x. Mṛttikāvatī the capital of Śālva cannot be identified. The name of the country sounds like Svabhra in Rodradāman's Gīrnār inscription, which is apparently part of Charotar or South Ahmadabad. A trace of the old word perhaps remains in the river Sābhranātī the modern Sabarmatī. The fact that Śālva passed from Mṛttikāvatī along the sea shore would seem to show that part of the seaboard south of the Mahi was included in Śālva's territory. Dr. Bühler (Ind. Ant. VII. 261) described Pandit Bhagvanlāl's reading of Svabhra as a bold conjecture. A further examination of the original convinced the Pandit that Svabhra was the right reading.

² The following is the legend of Krishna's iron flail. Certain Yādava youths hoping to raise a laugh at the expense of Viśvāmitra and other sages who had come to Dwārikā presented to them Sāmā Krishna's son dressed as a woman big with child. The lady asked the sages to foretell to what the woman would give birth. The sages replied: 'The woman will give birth to an iron rod which will destroy the Yādava race.' Obedient to the sage's prophecy Sāmā produced an iron rod. To avoid the ill effects of the prophecy king Ugrasena had the rod ground to powder and cast the powder into the sea. The powder grew into the grass called *craka* *Typha elephantina*. It was this grass which Krishna plucked in his rage and which in his hands turned into an iron flail. This *craka* grass grows freely near the mouth of the Hiraṇya river of Prabhās.

chiefly women. On the way in his passage through the Panchanada¹ or Panjab a body of Ābhīras attacked Arjuna with sticks and took several of Krishna's wives and the widows of the Andhaka Yādava chiefs. After Arjuna left it the deserted Dwārikā was swallowed by the sea.²

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¹ This suggests that as in early times the Great Ran was hard to cross the way from Kathiāvāda to Indraprastha or Delhi was by Kachch and Sindh and from Sindh by Multān and the Lower Panjab. According to the Bhāgavata Purāna Krishna took the same route when he first came from Indraprastha to Dwārikā. On the other hand these details may support the view that the headquarters of the historic Krishna were in the Panjab.

² So far as is known neither Gujarāt nor Kathiāvāda contains any record older than the Gīrnār rock inscription of about B.C. 240: The Great Kshatrapa Rudra Dāman's (A.D. 139) inscription on the same rock has a reference to the Maurya Raja Chandragupta about A.D. 300. No local sign of Krishna or of his Yādavas remains.

In the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, XX, XXI, and XXII, Mr. Hewitt has recently attempted to trace the history of Western India back to B.C. 3000 perhaps to as early as B.C. 6000. The evidence which makes so far-reaching a past probable is the discovery of Indian indigo and muslin in Egyptian tombs of about B.C. 1700 (J. R. A. S. XX, 206); and the proof that a trade in teak and in Sindh or Indian muslins existed between Western India and the Euphrates mouth as far back as B.C. 3000 or even B.C. 4000 (J. R. A. S. XX, 336, 337 and XXI, 204). According to Mr. Hewitt the evidence of the Hindu calendar carries the historical past of India into still remoter ages. The moon mansions and certain other details of the Hindu calendar seem to point to the Euphrates valley as the home of Hindu lunar astronomy. As in the Euphrates valley inscriptions of the Semitic king Sargon of Sippars prove that in B.C. 3750 moon-worship was already antiquated (J. R. A. S. XXI, 325), and as the precession of the equinoxes points to about B.C. 4700 as the date of the introduction of the sun zodiac (Sayce's Hibbert Lectures, 398) the system of lunar mansions and months, if it came from the Euphrates valley, must have reached India before B.C. 4700. The trade records of the black-headed perhaps Dravidian-speaking Sumris of the Euphrates mouth prove as close relations with the peninsula of Sinai and Egypt as to make a similar connection with Western India probable as far back as B.C. 6000. (Compare Sayce's Hibbert Lectures, 33: J. R. A. S. XXI, 326.) Of the races of whose presence in Gujarāt and the neighbourhood Mr. Hewitt finds traces the earliest is the same black-headed moon-worshipping Sumri (Ditto). Next from Susiana in south-east Persia, the possessors of a lunar-solar calendar and therefore not later than B.C. 4700 (J. R. A. S. XXI, 325, 327, 330), the trading Sus or Saus, in Hindu books known as Savarnas, entered India by way of Baluchistan and settled at Pātāla in South Sindh. (J. R. A. S. XXI, 209.) With or soon after the Sus came from the north the cattle-herding sun-worshipping Sakas (J. R. A. S. XXII, 332). The Sus and Sakas passed south and together settled in Sarasvatra and West Gujarāt. At a date which partly from evidence connected with the early Vedic hymns (J. R. A. S. XXII, 466) partly from the early Babylonian use of the Sanskrit Sindhū for India (J. R. A. S. XXI, 309), Mr. Hewitt holds cannot be later than B.C. 3000 northern A'ryas entered Gujarāt and mixing with the Sus and Sakas as ascetic traders and soldiers carried the use of Sanskrit southwards. (J. R. A. S. XX, 343.) Of other races who held sway in Gujarāt the earliest, perhaps about B.C. 2000 since their power was shattered by Parashurāma, long before Mahābhārata times (J. R. A. S. XXI, 209-265), were the snake-worshipping perhaps Aomadian (Ditto, 265) Haihayas now represented by the Gonds and the Haihayas' vassals the Vaidarbhas (Ditto, 209) a connection which is supported by trustworthy Central Indian Uruon or Gond tradition that they once held Gujarāt (Elliott's Races, N.W.P., I, 154). Next to the Haihayas and like them earlier than the Mahābhārata (say B.C. 1600-2000) Mr. Hewitt would place the widespread un-Aryan Bhārata or Bhārgava (J. R. A. S. XXI, 279-282, 286) the conquerors of the Haihayas (Ditto, 288). In early Mahābhārata times (say between B.C. 1000 and 800, Ditto 197 and 203) the Bhārata were overcome by the very mixed race of the Bhojas and of Krishna's followers the Vrishnis (Ditto, 270). Perhaps about the same time the chariot-driving Gandharvas of Cutch (Ditto, 273) joined the Sus and Sakas, together passed east to Kosala beyond Benares, and were there established in strength at the time of Gautama Buddha (B.C. 530) (Ditto). To the later Mahābhārata times, perhaps about B.C. 400 (Ditto, 197-271), Mr. Hewitt would assign the entrance into Gujarāt of the Ābhīras or Āhīras whom he identifies with the northern or

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Skythian Abáre. Mr. Hewitt finds the following places in Gujurát associated with these early races. Pátala in South Sindh he (*J. R. A. S.* XXI, 209) considers the head-quarters of the Sns and Sakas. Another Su capital Prágyotisha which is generally allotted to Beugal he would (XXI, 206) identify with Broach. With the Vahlarbhas the vassals of the Hahayas he associates Surparika, that is Sopara near Bassin, which he identifies (Ditto, 206) with the modern Surat on the Tapti. He connects (Ditto, 266) the Baroda river Visvámitra and Valdega the hill Pávagaś with the same tribe. He finds a trace of the Bhārata in Baroda and in Bharati an old name of the river Mahi (Ditto, 286) and of the same race under their name Bhārgav in Broach (Ditto, 289). The traditional connection of the Bhojas with Dwārka is well established. Finally Kārpāsika a Mahābhārata name for the shore of the Gulf of Cambay (Ditto, 209) may be connected with Kārvān on the Narbada about twenty miles above Broach one of the holiest Shriv places in India. Though objection may be taken to certain of Mr. Hewitt's identifications of Gujurát places, and also to the extreme antiquity he would assign to the trade between India and the west and to the introduction of the system of lunar mansions, his comparison of sacred Hindu books with the calendar and ritual of early Babylonia is of much interest.

CHAPTER IV.

MAURYAN AND GREEK RULE

(B.C. 319-100.)

AFTER the destruction of the Yādavas a long blank occurs in the traditional history of Gujarāt. It is probable that from its seaboard position, for trade and other purposes, many foreigners settled in Kāthiāvāda and South Gujarāt; and that it is because of the foreign element that the Hindu Dharmaśāstras consider Gujarāt a Mlechchha country and forbid visits to it except on pilgrimage.¹ The fact also that Aśoka (a.c. 230) the great Mauryan king and propagator of Buddhism chose, among the Buddhist Theras sent to various parts of his kingdom, a Yavana Thera named Dhamma-rakkhita as evangelist for the western seaboard,² possibly indicates a preponderating foreign element in these parts. It is further possible that these foreign settlers may have been rulers. In spite of these possibilities we have no traditions between the fall of the Yādavas and the rise of the Mauryas in B.C. 319.

Gujarāt history dates from the rule of the Mauryan dynasty, the only early Indian dynasty the record of whose rule has been preserved in the writings of the Brāhmins, the Buddhists, and the Jains. This fulness of reference to the Mauryas admits of easy explanation. The Mauryas were a very powerful dynasty whose territory extended over the greater part of India. Again under Mauryan rule Buddhism was so actively propagated that the rulers made it their state religion, waging bloody wars, even revolutionizing many parts of the empire to secure its spread. Further the Mauryas were beneficent rulers and had also honourable alliances with foreign, especially with Greek and Egyptian, kings. These causes combined to make the Mauryas a most powerful and well remembered dynasty.

Inscriptions give reason to believe that the supremacy of Chandragupta, the founder of the Mauryan dynasty (B.C. 319), extended over Gujarāt. According to Rudradāman's inscription (A.D. 150) on the great edict rock at Girnār in Kāthiāvāda, a lake called Sudarśana³ near the edict rock was originally made by Pushyagupta of the Vaiśya caste, who is described as a brother-in-law of the Mauryan king Chandragupta.⁴ The language of this inscription leaves no doubt that Chandragupta's sway extended over

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¹ Mahābhārata Anuśāsanaparvan 2158-9 mentions Lātas among Kshatriya tribes who have become outcastes from seeing no Brāhmins. Again, Chap. VII. 72. 15, couples (J. B. As. Soc. VI. (1) 357) thievish Bāhikas and robber Surāshtras. Compare Vishnu Purāna, II. 37, where the Yavanas are placed to the west of Bharatavarsha and also J. B. A. S. (N. S.) IV. 468; and Brockhaus' Prabodha Chandrodaya, 87. The *śloka* referred to in the text runs: He who goes to Anga, Vanga, Kalinga, Surāshtra, or Magadha unless it be for a pilgrimage deserves to go through a fresh purification.

² Turnour's Mahāvamsa, 71.

³ Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society Journal, 1891, page 47.

⁴ It is interesting to note that Chandragupta married a Vaiśya lady. Similarly while at Sānchi on his way to Ujjain Aśoka married Devī, the daughter of a Setthi. Turnour's Mahāvamsa, 76; Cunningham's Bhilsa Topes, 95.

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Girnár as Pushyagupta is simply called a Vaiśya and a brother-in-law of king Chandragupta and has no royal attribute, particulars which tend to show that he was a local governor subordinate to king Chandragupta. The same inscription¹ states that in the time of Aśoka (B.C. 250) his officer Yavanarāja Tusháspa adorned the same Sudarśana lake with conduits. This would seem to prove the continuance of Mauryan rule in Girnár for three generations from Chandragupta to Aśoka. Tusháspa is called Yavanarāja. The use of the term *rāja* would seem to show that, unlike Chandragupta's Vaiśya governor Pushyagupta, Tusháspa was a dignitary of high rank and noble family. That he is called Yavanarāja does not prove Tusháspa was a Greek, though for Greeks alone Yavana is the proper term. The name Tusháspa rather suggests a Persian origin from its close likeness in formation to Kershásp, a name still current among Bombay Pársis. Evidence from other sources proves that Aśoka held complete sway over Málwa, Gujarát, and the Konkan coast. All the rock edicts of Aśoka hitherto traced have been found on the confines of his great empire. On the north-west at Kapurdigiri and at Shahzargarhi in the Baktró-Páli character; in the north-north-west at Kálsi, in the east at Dhauli and Jaugada; in the west at Girnár and Sopára, and in the south in Maisur all in Maurya characters. The Girnár and Sopára edicts leave no doubt that the Gujarát, Káthiáváda, and North Konkan seaboard was in Aśoka's possession. The fact that an inland ruler holds the coast implies his supremacy over the intervening country. Further it is known that Aśoka was viceroy of Málwa in the time of his father and that after his father's death he was sovereign of Málwa. The easy route from Mandasor (better known as Degapur) to Dohad has always secured a close connection between Málwa and Gujarát. South Gujarát lies at the mercy of any invader entering by Dohad and the conquest of Káthiáváda on one side and of Upper Gujarát on the other might follow in detail. As we know that Káthiáváda and South Gujarát as far as Sopára were held by Aśoka it is not improbable that Upper Gujarát also owned his sway. The Maurya capital of Gujarát seems to have been Girinagara or Junágadh in Central Káthiáváda, whose strong hill fort dominating the rich province of Sorath and whose lofty hills a centre of worship and a defence and retreat from invaders, combined to secure for Junágadh its continuance as capital under the Kshátrapas (A.D. 100-380) and their successors the Guptas (A.D. 380-450). The southern capital of the Mauryas seems to have been Sopára near Bassein in a rich country with a good and safe harbour for small vessels, probably in those times the chief centre of the Konkan and South Gujarát trade.

Buddhist and Jain records agree that Aśoka was succeeded, not by his son Kunála who was blind, but by his grandsons Daśaratha and Samprati. The Barábar hill near Gayá has caves made by Aśoka and bearing his inscriptions; and close to Barábar is the

¹ Probably from some mistake of the graver's the text of the inscription अशोकस्य ते यवनराजेन yields no meaning. Some word for governor or officer is apparently meant.

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Nāgārjuna hill with caves made by Daśaratha also bearing his inscriptions. In one of these inscriptions the remark occurs that one of the Barābar caves was made by Daśaratha 'installed immediately after.' As the caves in the neighbouring hill must have been well known to have been made by Aśoka this 'after' may mean after Aśoka, or the 'after' may refer solely to the sequence between Daśaratha's installation and his excavation of the cave. In any case it is probable that Daśaratha was Aśoka's successor. Jaina records pass over Daśaratha and say that Aśoka was succeeded by his grandson Samprati the son of Kunāla. In the matter of the propagation of the Jain faith, Jain records speak as highly of Samprati as Buddhist records speak of Aśoka.¹ Almost all old Jain temples or monuments, whose builders are unknown, are ascribed to Samprati who is said to have built thousands of temples as Aśoka is said to have raised thousands of *stupas*. In his Pātaliputra-kalpa Jinaprabhasuri the well known Jaina Āchārya and writer gives a number of legendary and other stories of Pātaliputra. Comparing Samprati with Aśoka in respect of the propagation of the faith in non-Aryan countries the Āchārya writes: 'In Pātaliputra flourished the great king Samprati son of Kunāla lord of Bharata with its three continents, the great Arhanta who established *vihāras* for Sramanas even in non-Aryan countries.'² It would appear from this that after Aśoka the Mauryan empire may have been divided into two, Daśaratha ruling Eastern India, and Samprati, whom Jaina records specially mention as king of Ujjain, ruling Western India, where the Jain sect is specially strong. Though we have no specific information on the point, it is probable, especially as he held Mālwa, that during the reign of Samprati Gujarāt remained under Mauryan sway. With Samprati Mauryan rule in Gujarāt seems to end. In later times (A.D. 500) traces of Mauryan chiefs appear in Mālwa and in the North Konkan. The available details will be given in another chapter.

After Samprati, whose reign ended about B.C. 197, a blank of seventeen years occurs in Gujarāt history. The next available information shows traces of Baktrian-Greek sway over parts of Gujarāt. In his description of Surastrene or Surashtra the author of the *Periplus* (A.D. 240) says: 'In this part there are preserved even to this day memorials of the expedition of Alexander, old temples, foundations of camps, and large wells.'³ As Alexander did not

¹ Hemachandra's *Parisīṣṭa Parva*. Merutunga's *Vichitrakroni*.

² The text is 'Kundalasvostrikhundabharatadhipah Paravardhanto Astroyadeśeshorpi Pravarditairamag-vihāras Samprati Mahārāja Sahābhavot' meaning 'He was the great king Samprati son of Kunāla, sovereign of India of three continents, the great saint who had started monasteries for Jain priests even in non-Aryan countries.'

³ McCrindle's *Periplus*, 115. The author of the *Periplus* calls the capital of Surastrene Minnagara. Pandit Bhagvanlal believed Minnagara to be a miswriting of Gīrnagara the form used for Gīrnār both in Rudradāman's (A.D. 150) rock inscription at Gīrnār (Fleet's *Corpus Ins. Ind.* III. 57) and by Varāha-Mihira (A.D. 570) (*Bṛhat-Saṃhita*, XIV. 11). The mention of a Minagara in Ptolemy inland from Sorath and Monoglossum or Mangrul suggests that either Gīrnār or Jūnāgadh was also known as Minnagara either after the Mine or after Men that is Menander. At the same time it is possible that Ptolemy's Agrinagara though much out of place may be Gīrnagara and that Ptolemy's Minagara in the direction of Ujjain may be Mandasor.

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THE GREEKS.
B.C. 180-100.

come so far south as Káthiáváda and as after Alexander's departure the Mauryas held Káthiáváda till about B.C. 197, it may be suggested that the temples, camps and wells referred to by the author of the *Periplus* were not memorials of the expedition of Alexander but remains of later Baktrian-Greek supremacy.

Demetrius, whom Justin calls the king of the Indians, is believed to have reigned from B.C. 190 to B.C. 165.¹ On the authority of Apollodorus of Artamita Strabo (B.C. 50 - A.D. 20) names two Baktrian-Greek rulers who seem to have advanced far into inland India. He says: 'The Greeks who occasioned the revolt of Baktria (from Syria B.C. 256) were so powerful by the fertility and advantages of the country that they became masters of Ariana and India. . . . Their chiefs, particularly Menander, conquered more nations than Alexander. Those conquests were achieved partly by Menander and partly by Demetrius son of Euthydemus king of the Baktrians. They got possession not only of Pattalene but of the kingdoms of Sakaostus and Sigerdia, which constitute the remainder of the coast.'² Pattalene is generally believed to be the old city of Pátal in Sindh (the modern Haidarábád), while the subsequent mention of Sakaostus and Sigerdia as kingdoms which constitute the remainder of the coast, leaves almost no doubt that Sakaostus is Suráshtra and Sigerdia is Sagaradvípa or Cutch. The joint mention of Menander (B.C. 126) and Demetrius (B.C. 190) may mean that Demetrius advanced into inland India to a certain point and that Menander passed further and took Sindh, Cutch, and Káthiáváda. The discovery in Cutch and Káthiáváda of coins of Baktrian kings supports the statements of Justin and Strabo. Dr. Bhagvanlal's collecting of coins in Káthiáváda and Gujarát during nearly twenty-five years brought to light among Baktrian-Greek coins an obolus of Eucratides (B.C. 180-155), a few drachmæ of Menander (B.C. 126-110), many drachmæ and copper coins of Apollodotus (B.C. 110-100), but none of Demetrius. Eucratides was a contemporary of Demetrius. Still, as Eucratides became king of Baktria after Demetrius, his conquests, according to Strabo of a thousand cities to the east of the Indus, must be later than those of Demetrius.

As his coins are found in Káthiáváda Eucratides may either have advanced into Káthiáváda or the province may have come under his sway as lord of the neighbouring country of Sindh. Whether or not Eucratides conquered the province, he is the earliest Baktrian-Greek king whose coins have been found in Káthiáváda and Gujarát. The fact that the coins of Eucratides have been found in different parts of Káthiáváda and at different times seems to show that they were the currency of the province and were not merely imported either for trade or for ornament. It is to be noticed that these coins are all of the smallest value of the numerous coins issued by Eucratides. This may be explained by the fact that these small

¹ Justin's date is probably about A.D. 250. His work is a summary of the History of Trogus Pompeius about A.D. 1. Watson's Justin, 277; Wilson's Ariana Antiqua, 231.

² Hamilton and Falconer's Strabo, II. 252-253.

coins were introduced by Eucratides into Kāthiāvāda to be in keeping with the existing local coinage. The local silver coins in use before the time of Eucratides are very small, weighing five to seven grains, and bear the Buddhist symbols of the Svastika, the Trident, and the Wheel. Another variety has been found weighing about four grains with a misshapen elephant on the obverse and something like a circle on the reverse.¹ It was probably to replace this poor currency that Eucratides introduced his smallest obolus of less weight but better workmanship.

The end of the reign of Eucratides is not fixed with certainty: it is believed to be about B.C. 155.² For the two Baktrian-Greek kings Menander and Apollodotus who ruled in Kāthiāvāda after Eucratides, better sources of information are available. As already noticed Strabo (A.D. 20) mentions that Menander's conquests (B.C. 120) included Cutch and Surāshtra.³ And the author of the *Periplus* (A.D. 240) writes: 'Up to the present day old drachmas bearing the Greek inscriptions of Apollodotus and Menander are current in Barugaza (Broach).'⁴ Menander's silver drachmas have been found in Kāthiāvāda and Southern Gujarāt.⁵ Though their number is small Menander's coins are comparatively less scarce than those of the earliest Kshatrapās Nahapāna and Chashtana (A.D. 100-140). The distribution of Menander's coins suggests he was the first Baktrian-Greek king who resided in these parts and that the monuments of Alexander's times, camps temples and wells, mentioned by the author of the *Periplus*⁶ were camps of Menander in Surāshtra. Wilson and Rochette have supposed Apollodotus to be the son and successor of Menander,⁷ while General Cunningham believes Apollodotus to be the predecessor of Menander.⁸ Inferences from the coins of these two kings found in Gujarāt and Kāthiāvāda support the view that Apollodotus was the successor of Menander. The coins of Apollodotus are found in much larger numbers than those of Menander and the workmanship of Apollodotus' coins appears to be of a gradually declining style. In the later coins the legend is at times undecipherable. It appears from this that for some time after Apollodotus until Nahapāna's (A.D. 100) coins came into use, the chief local currency was debased coins struck after the type of the coins of Apollodotus. Their use as the type of coinage generally happens to the coins of the last king of a dynasty. The statement by the author of the *Periplus* that in his time (A.D. 240) the old drachmas of Apollodotus and Menander were

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¹ These small local coins which were found in Hālār Gondal were presented to the Bombay Asiatic Society by the Political Agent of Kāthiāwar and are in the Society's cabinet. Dr. Bhagvanlal found the two elephant coins in Junāgaḍh.

² Wilson's *Ariana Antiqua*, 266. Gardner's *British Museum Catalogue*, 26, brings Eucratides to after B.C. 162.

³ See above page 15.

⁴ McCrindle's *Periplus*, 121.

⁵ The Bombay Asiatic Society possesses some specimens of these coins of bad workmanship found near Broach with the legend incorrect, probably struck by some local governor of Menander. Two were also found in Junāgaḍh.

⁶ McCrindle's *Periplus*, 115.

⁷ *Numismatic Chronicle* (New Series), X, 80; Wilson's *Ariana Antiqua*, 288.

⁸ *Numismatic Chronicle* (New Series), X, 80.

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current in Barugaza, seems to show that these drachmæ continued to circulate in Gujarât along with the coins of the Western Kshatrapas. The mention of Apollodotus before Menander by the author of the *Periplus* may either be accidental, or it may be due to the fact that when the author wrote fewer coins of Menander than of Apollodotus were in circulation.

The silver coins both of Menander and Apollodotus found in Gujarât and Kâthiâvâda are of only one variety, round drachmæ. The reason that of their numerous large coins, tetradrachmæ didrachmæ and others, drachmæ alone have been found in Gujarât is probably the reason suggested for the introduction of the obolus of Eucratides, namely that the existing local currency was so poor that coins of small value could alone circulate. Still the fact that drachmæ came into use implies some improvement in the currency, chiefly in size. The drachmæ of both the kings are alike. The obverse of Menander's coins has in the middle a helmeted bust of the king and round it the Greek legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΟΥ Of the king the Saviour Menander. On the reverse is the figure of Athene Promachos surrounded by the Baktro-Pâli legend Mahârajasa Trâdatasa Menandrasa that is Of the Great king the Saviour Menander, and a monogram.¹ The drachmæ of Apollodotus have on the obverse a bust with bare filleted head surrounded by the legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΑΠΟΛΛΟΔΟΤΟΥ Of the king the Saviour Apollodotus. Except in the legend the reverse with two varieties of monogram² is the same as the reverse of the drachmæ of Menander. The legend in Baktro-Pâli character is Mahârajasa Râjâtirâjasa Apaladatasa that is Of the Great king the over-king of kings Apaladâta. During his twenty-five years of coin-collecting Dr. Bhagvânâlâl failed to secure a single copper coin of Menander either in Gujarât or in Kâthiâvâda. Of the copper coins of Apollodotus a deposit was found in Junâgadh, many of them well preserved.³ These coins are of two varieties, one square the other round and large. Of the square coin the obverse has a standing Apollo with an arrow in the right hand and on the top and the two sides the Greek legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΠΑΤΗΡΟΦΙΛΟΣ ΑΠΟΛΛΟΔΟΤΟΥ that is Of the King Saviour and Fatherlover Apollodotus. On the reverse is the tripod of Apollo with a monogram⁴ and the letter *del* in Baktro-Pâli on the left and the legend in Baktro-Pâli characters Mahârajasa Trâdatasa Apaladatasa. The round coin has also, on the obverse, a standing Apollo with an arrow in the right hand; behind is the same monogram as in the square coin and all round runs the Greek legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΑΠΟΛΛΟΔΟΤΟΥ. On the reverse is the tripod of Apollo with on its right and left the letters *di* and *u* in Baktro-Pâli and all round the Baktro-Pâli legend Mahârajasa Trâdatasa Apaladatasa.

¹ Wilson's *Ariana Antiqua*, Plate XXII. Number 41. Gardner's *British Museum Catalogue*, Plate XI. Number 8.

² Wilson's *Ariana Antiqua*, Plate XXII. Number 66, shows one variety of this monogram.

³ These coins are said to have been found in 1882 by a cultivator in an earthen pot. Two of them were taken for Pandit Bhagvânâlâl and one for Mr. Vajeshankar Gaurishankar Naib Divân of Bhâvnagar. The rest disappeared.

⁴ *Ariana Antiqua*, Plate XXII. Number 47.

The reason why so few copper coins of Apollodotus have been found in Gujarāt perhaps is that these copper coins were current only in the time of Apollodotus and did not, like his silver drachmæ, continue as the currency of the country with the same or an imitated die. The date of the reign of Apollodotus is not fixed. General Cunningham believes it to be B.C. 165-150,¹ Wilson and Gardner take it to be A.C. 110-100.² Though no Indian materials enable us to arrive at any final conclusion regarding this date the fact that Apollodotus' coins continued to be issued long after his time shows that Apollodotus was the last Baktrian-Greek ruler of Gujarāt and Kāthiāvāda. After Apollodotus we find no trace of Baktrian-Greek rule, and no other certain information until the establishment of the Kshatrapas about A.D. 100. The only fact that breaks this blank in Gujarāt history is the discovery of copper coins of a king whose name is not known, but who calls himself *Basileus Basileon Soter Megas* that is King of Kings the Great Saviour. These coins are found in Kāthiāvāda and Catch as well as in Rājputāna the North-West Provinces and the Kābul valley, a distribution which points to a widespread Indian rule. The suggestion may be offered that this king is one of the leaders of the Yaudheyas whose constitution is said to have been tribal, that is the tribe was ruled by a number of small chiefs who would not be likely to give their names on their coins.³

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¹ Numismatic Chronicle (New Series), X. 86.

² *Ariana Antiqua*, 288; Gardner and Poole's Catalogue of Indian Coins, xxxiii.

³ Wilson (*Ariana Antiqua*, 332-334) identifies the coins marked *Basileus Basileon Soter Megas* with a king or dynasty of Indian extraction who reigned between Acha and Kadphises (A.C. 50-25), chiefly in the Panjāb. Gardner (*British Museum Catalogue*, 47) says: The Nameless king is probably cotemporary with Abdagases (A.D. 30-50): he may have been a member of the Kadphises dynasty. Cunningham (*Ancient Geography*, 245) places the coins of the tribal Yaudheyas in the first century A.D. The remark of Prinsep (*Jour. Bengal Soc.*, VI. 2, 973) that in the Behat group of Buddhist coins some with Haktro-Pāli legends have the name Yaudheya in the margin seems to support the suggestion in the text. But the marked difference between the Stag coins of the Yaudheyas (Thomas' Prinsep, I. Plate V.) and the Nameless king's coins (Gardner, Plate XIV. 1-6) tells strongly against the proposed identification. Of the Yaudheyas details are given below.

CHAPTER V.

THE KSHATRAPAS

(B.C. 70 - A.D. 398.)

Chapter V.

THE KSHATRAPAS,
B.C. 70 - A.D. 398.Two
Dynasties.

WITH the Kshatrapas (B.C. 70) begins a period of clearer light, and, at the same time, of increased importance, since, for more than three centuries, the Kshatrapas held sway over the greater part of Western India. Till recently this dynasty was known to orientalists as the Sâh dynasty a mistaken reading of the terminal of their names which in some rulers is Simha Lion and in others, as in Rudra Sena (A.D. 203-220) son of Rudra Simha, Sena Army.¹

The sway of the rulers who affix the title Kshatrapa to their names extended over two large parts of India, one in the north including the territory from the Kâbul valley to the confluence of the Ganges and the Jamnâ; the other in the west stretching from Ajmir in the north to the North Konkan in the south and from Mâlwa in the east to the Arabian

¹ Journal Bengal Asiatic Society (1835), 684; (1837), 351; (1838), 346; Thomas' Prinsep's Indian Antiquities, I. 425-430, II. 84-93; Thomas in Journal Royal Asiatic Society (Old Series), XII. 1-72; Wilson's Ariana Antiqua, 405-413; Journal B. B. R. A. S. VI. 377, VII. 392; Burgess' Archaeological Report of Kâthiâwar and Kachh, 18-72; Journal B. B. R. A. S. XII. (Proceedings), XXIII.; Indian Antiquary, VI. 43, X. 221-227.

The dynasty of the Kshatrapas or Mahâkshatrapas of Saurâshtra was known to Prinsep (J. R. A. S. B. VII. 1-1. (1837), 351) to Thomas (J. R. A. S. F. S. XII. 1-78), and to Newton (Jl. B. B. R. A. S. IX. 1-19) as the Sâh or Sâh kings. More recently, from the fact that the names of some of them end in Sena or army, the Kshatrapas have been called the Sena kings. The origin of the title Sâh is the ending *sâh*, that is *sipha* lion, which belongs to the names of several of the kings. *Sâh* has been read either *sâh* or *senâ* because of the practice of omitting from the die vowels which would fall on or above the top line of the legend and also of omitting the short vowel *i* with the following *anusvara*. Sâh is therefore a true reading of the writing on certain of the coins. That the form Sâh on these coins is not the correct form has been ascertained from stone inscriptions in which freedom from crowding makes possible the complete cutting of the above-line marks. In stone inscriptions the ending is *sâh* lion. See Fleet's Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, III. 36 note 1. Mr. Fleet (Ditto) seems to suggest that with the proof of the incorrectness of the reading Sâh the evidence that the Kshatrapas were of Indo-Skythian origin ceases. This does not seem to follow. In addition to the Parthian title Kshatrapa, their northern coinage, and the use of the Saka (A.D. 78) era, now accepted as the accession of the great Kushân Kanishka, the evidence in the text shows that the line of Kâthiâvâda Kshatrapas starts from the foreigner Châshâma (A.D. 130) whose predecessor Nahâpâna (A.D. 120) and his Saka son-in-law Ushavâdatta are noted in Naâik inscriptions (Naâik Gazetteer, 538 and 621) as leaders of Sakas, Pallavas, and Yavanas. Further as the limits of Ptolemy's (A.D. 150) Indo-Skythia (McCrindle, 186) agree very closely with the limits of the dominions of the then ruling Mahâkshatrapa Rudradâman (A.D. 150) it follows that Ptolemy or his informant believed Rudradâman to be an Indo-Skythian. There therefore seems no reasonable doubt that the Kshatrapas were foreigners. According to Cunningham (Num. Chron. VIII. 231) they were Sakas who entered Gujarat from Simh. The fact that the Kushân era (A.D. 78) was not adopted by the first two of the Western Kshatrapas, Châshâma and Jayadâman, supports the view that they belonged to a wave of northerners earlier than the Kushân

Sea in the west. The former may be called the Northern the latter the Western Kshatrapas.

Besides as Kshatrapa, in the Prākṛit legends of coins and in inscriptions the title of these dynasties appears under three forms: Chhatrapa,¹ Chhatrava,² and Khatapa.³ All these forms have the same meaning namely Lord or Protector of the warrior-race, the Sanskrit Kshatrapa.⁴ It is to be noted that the title Kshatrapa appears nowhere as a title of any king or royal officer within the whole range of Sanskrit literature, or indeed on any inscription, coin, or other record of any Indian dynasty except the Northern and the Western Kshatrapas. According to Prinsep Kshatrapa is a Sanskritized form of Satrapa, a term familiar to the Grecian history of ancient Persia and used for the prefect of a province under the Persian system of government. As Prinsep further observes Satrapa had probably the same meaning in Ariana that Kshatrapa had in Sanskrit, the ruler feeder or patron of the *kshatra* or warrior class, the chief of a warlike tribe or clan.⁵ Prinsep further notes the Persian kings were often in need of such chiefs and as they entrusted the chiefs with the government of parts of their dominions the word came to mean a governor. So during the anarchy which prevailed on the Skythian overthrow of Greek rule in Baktria⁶ (a.c. 180) several chiefs of Malaya, Pallava, Abhira, Meda, and other predatory tribes came from Baktria to Upper India, and each established for himself a principality or kingdom. Subsequently these chiefs appear to have assumed independent sovereignty. Still though they often call themselves *vijās* or kings with the title Kshatrapa or Mahākshatrapa, if any Baktrian king advanced towards their territories, they were probably ready to acknowledge him as Overlord. Another reason for believing these Kshatrapa chiefs to have been foreigners is that, while the names of the founders of Kshatrapa sovereignty are foreign, their inscriptions and coins show that soon after the establishment of their rule they became converts to one or other form of the Hindu religion and assumed Indian names.⁷

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THE KSHATRAPAS,
B.C. 70 - A.D. 395.
The Name.

¹ The Taxila plate in Journal R. A. S. (New Series), IV. 487; the Baktra-Pālī on Nahapāna's coins also gives the form Chhatrapa.

² Chhatrava appears in an unpublished Kshatrapa inscription from Mathurā formerly (1888) in Pandit Bhagvānāl's possession.

³ Khatapa appears in the inscription of Nahapāna's minister at Junnar (Bombay Gazetteer, XVIII. Pt. III. 167) and in some coins of the Northern Kshatrapa kings Paganashā, Rājavalā, and Sudāsa found near Mathurā. Prinsep's Indian Antiquities, II. Pl. XLIV. Figs. 12, 20, 21.

⁴ Kshatrapāpāṭi Kshatrapah.

⁵ Thomas' Prinsep, II. 63 and 64.

⁶ Malaya or Malava, Pallava, Abhira, Mera or Meda, and Mihira or Meir appear to be the leading warlike tribes who came to India under these chiefs. These tribes formed the Kshatras whose lords or Kshatrapas these chiefs were.

⁷ The explanation of the word Kshatrapa started by Prinsep and accepted by Pandit Bhagvānāl is of doubtful accuracy. The title is well known in Greek literature in the form *σατράπης*, and in the form Kshatrapāvan occurs twice (p. 320) in connection with the governors of Baktria and Arachosia in the great Behistan inscription of Darius (Rawlinson's Herodotus, I. 329; Spiegel's Altpersische Keilinschriften, 24-26). The meaning of Kshatrapāvan in old Persian is not "protector of the Kshatra race" but "protector of the kingdom," for the word *kshatras* occurs in the inscriptions of the Achaemenidae with the meaning of "kingship" or "kingdom" (Spiegel, Altpersische Keilinschriften, 215). As is well known Satrap was the official title of the ruler of a Persian province. That the name continued in use with the same meaning under the Greek kings of Baktria

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NORTHERN
KSHATRAPAS,
B.C. 70-A.D. 78.

According to inscriptions and coins Northern Kshatrapa rule begins with king Maues about B.C. 70 and ends with the accession of the Kushán king Kanishka about A.D. 78. Maues probably belonged to the Saka tribe of Skythians. If the Maues of the coins may be identified with the Moga of the Taxila plate the date of king Patika in the Taxila plate shows that for about seventy-five years after the death of Maues the date of his accession continued to be the initial year of the dynasty. From their connexion with the Sakas, arriving in India during the reign of the Saka Maues and for nearly three quarters of a century accepting the Saka overlordship, the Kshatrapas, though as noted above their followers were chiefly Malayas, Pallavas, Abhiras, and Medas, appear to have themselves come to be called Sakas and the mention of Saka kings in Purāṇik and other records seems to refer to them. After lasting for about 150 years the rule of the Northern Kshatrapas seems to have merged in the empire of the great Kushán Kanishka (A.D. 78).

Though recently found inscriptions and coins show that the Kshatrapas ruled over important parts of India including even a share of the western seaboard, nothing is known regarding them from either Indian or foreign literary sources. What little information can be gleaned is from their own inscriptions and coins. Of the Northern Kshatrapas this information is imperfect and disconnected. It shows that they had probably three or four ruling branches, one in the Kabul valley, a second at Taxila near Attock on the North-West Panjab frontier, a third at Behāt near Saharanpur or Delhi, and a fourth at Mathura. The last two were perhaps subdivisions of one kingdom; but probably those at Kabul and at Taxila were distinct dynasties. An inscription found

(B.C. 250-100) is known from Strabo, who says (XI. 11) "the Greeks who held Baktria divided it into satrapies (*σατραπείαις*) of which Aspionnes and Tourtra were taken from Eukratides (B.C. 180) by the Parthians." It is to be presumed that the Baktri-Greeks introduced the same arrangement into the provinces which they conquered in India. The earliest occurrence of the title in its Indian form is on the coins of a Rajabala or Rajabala (Gardner, R. M. Cat. 67), who in his Greek legend makes use of the title "King of kings," and in his Indian legend calls himself "The unconquered Chhatrapa." His adoption for the reverse of his coins of the Athens Promachos type of Menander and Apollodotus Philopator connects Rajabala in time with those kings (B.C. 125-100) and we know from an inscription (Cunningham Arch. Rep. XX. 48) that he reigned at Mathura. He was probably a provincial governor who became independent about A.D. 100 when the Greek kingdom broke up. The above facts go to show that Kshatrapa was originally a Persian title which was adopted by the Greeks and continued in use among their successors; that it originally denoted a provincial governor; but that, when the Greek kingdom broke up and their provincial chiefs became independent, it continued in use as a royal title. That after the Christian era, even in Parthia, the title Satrapes does not necessarily imply subjection to a sovereign is proved by the use of the phrase *σατραπείας τας* *σατραπείας* Satrap of Satraps, with the sense of King of Kings in Gotarax's Behistan inscription of A.D. 50. See Rawlinson's Sixth Monarchy, 88 n. 2 and 260 n. 1.—(A. M. T. J.)

The Pandit's identification of the Malayas or Malayas with a northern or Skythian tribe is in agreement with Alberuni (A.D. 1015), who, on the authority of the Bāṭi Parāna (Sachau's Text, chap. 29 page 159-155) groups as northern tribes the Pallavas, Sakas, Malayas, and Gurjars. In spite of this authority it seems better to identify the Malayas, Malayas, or Malayas with Alexander the Great's (B.C. 325) Mallai of Multan (compare McCrindle's Alexander's Invasion of India, Note P). At the same time (Rockhill's Life of Baddhi, 132, 133, 137) the importance of the Malayas in Vaisali (between Patna and Tirhut) during the lifetime of Sakya Muni (A.C. 580) favours the view that several distinct tribes have borne the same or nearly the same name.

in Mathurā shows a connection either by marriage or by neighbourhood between the Belāt and Mathurā branches. This is a Baktro-Pāli inscription recording the gift of a stūpa by Nandasirikā daughter of Kshatrapa Rājavula and mother of Kharaosti Yuvārāja. Kharaosti is the dynastic name of the prince, his personal name appears later in the inscription as Talama (Ptolemy?). From his dynastic name, whose crude form Kharaosta or Kharaottha may be the origin of the Prakrit Chaharāta and the Sanskritised Kshaharāta, this Talama appears to be a descendant of the Kshatrapa Kharaosti whose coins found at Taxila call him Artaputa that is the son of Arta apparently the Parthian Ortos.

The same Baktro-Pāli Mathurā inscription also mentions with special respect a Kshatrapa named Patika,¹ who, with the title of Kusulaka or Kozolon, ruled the Kāhni valley with his capital first at Nagaraka and later at Taxila.

The same inscription further mentions that the stūpa was given while the Kshatrapa Sudāsa son of the Mahākshatrapa Rājavula was ruling at Mathurā. The inference from the difference in the titles of the father and the son seems to be that Sudāsa was ruling in Mathurā as governor under his father who perhaps ruled in the neighbourhood of Delhi where many of his coins have been found. While the coins of Sudāsa have the legend in Nāgarī only, Rājavula's coins are of two varieties, one with the legend in Baktro-Pāli and the other with the legend in Nāgarī, a fact tending to show that the father's territories stretched to the far north.

Though Kharaosti is mentioned as a Yuvārāja or prince heir-apparent in the time of his maternal uncle Sudāsa, the inscription shows he had four children. It is curious that while the inscription mentions Nandasirikā as the mother of Kharaosti Yuvārāja, nothing is said about her husband. Perhaps he was dead or something had happened to make Nandasirikā live at her father's home.

Another inscription of Sudāsa found by General Cunningham at Mathurā is in old Nāgarī character. Except that they have the distinctive and long continued Kshatrapa peculiarity of joining *ya* with other letters the characters of this inscription are of the same period as those of the inscriptions of the great Indo-Skythian or Kushān king Kanishka. This would seem to show that the conquest of Mathurā by Kanishka took place soon after the time of Kshatrapa Sudāsa. It therefore appears probable that Nahapāna, the first Kshatrapa ruler of Gujārāt and Kāthiāvāda, the letters of whose inscriptions are of exactly the same Kshatrapa type as those of Sudāsa, was a scion of the Kharaosti family, who, in this overthrow of kingdoms, went westwards conquering either on his own account or as a general sent by Kanishka. Nahapāna's advance seems to have lain through East Rajputāna by Mandasor²

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NORTHERN
KSHATRAPAS,
B.C. 70 - A.D. 75.

WESTERN
KSHATRAPAS,
A.D. 70 - 395.

¹ Patika was apparently the son of the Liako Kujulako of the Taxila plate. Dowson in *Jour. R. A. S. New Series*, IV, 497 mistranslates the inscription and fails to make out the name Patika.

² Compare Specht, *Jour. Asiatique*, 1883, t. II, 325. According to Chinese writers about A.D. 20 Yen-kao-tchin-tai or Kadphises II, conquered India (Thienchoo) and there established generals who governed in the name of the Yuchü.

³ Pandit Bhagvanlal found two of his copper coins at Mandasor in 1894.

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WESTERN
KSHATRAPAS,
A.D. 70-398.

in West Málwa along the easy route to Dohad as far as South Gujarát. From South Gujarát his power spread in two directions, by sea to Káthiáváda and from near Balsár by the Dáng passes to Násik and the Deccan, over almost the whole of which, judging from coins and inscriptions, he supplanted as overlord the great Andhira kings of the Deccan. No evidence is available to show either that East Málwa with its capital at Ujjain or that North Gujarát formed part of his dominions. All the information we have regarding Nahapána is from his own silver coins and from the inscriptions of his son-in-law Ushavadáta at Násik and Kárlé and of his minister Ayama (Sk. Aryaman) at Junnar. Nahapána's coins are comparatively rare. The only published specimen is one obtained by Mr. Justice Newton.¹ Four others were also obtained by Dr. Bhagvánlál from Káthiáváda and Násik.

Kshatrapa I.
Nahapána,
A.D. 78-120.

The coins of Nahapána are the earliest specimens of Kshatrapa coins. Though the type seems to have been adopted from the Baktrian-Greek, the design is original and is not an imitation of any previous coinage. The type seems adopted in idea from the drachma of Apollodotus (B.C. 110-100). On the obverse is a bust with a Greek legend round it and on the reverse a thunderbolt and an arrow probably as on the reverse of the coins of Apollodotus² representing the distinctive weapons of Athene Promachos and of Apollo. In addition to the Báktró-Páli legend on the Apollodotus drachma, the reverse of Nahapána's coin has the same legend in Nágari, since Nágari was the character of the country for which the coin was struck. The dress of the bust is in the style of the over-dress of Nahapána's time. The bust, facing the right, wears a flat grooved cap and has the hair combed in ringlets falling half down the ear. The neck shows the collar of the coat. The workmanship of the coins is good. The die seems to have been renewed from time to time as the face altered with age. Of Dr. Bhagvánlál's four coins one belongs to Nahapána's youth, another to his old age, and the remaining two to his intervening years. In all four specimens the Greek legend is imperfect and unreadable. The letters of the Greek legend are of the later period that is like the letters on the coins of the great Skythian king Kaulphises I. (B.C. 26). One of the coins shows in the legend the six letters ΛΛΟΔΟ-Σ. These may be the remains of the name Apollodotus (B.C. 110-100). Still it is beyond doubt that the letters are later Greek than those on the coins of Apollodotus. Until the legend is found clear on some fresher specimen, it is not possible to say anything further. In three of the coins the Báktró-Páli legend on the reverse runs:

रजो च्छहारतस नहपानस.

Rājō Chhaharātasa Nahapānasa.

Of king Chhaharāta Nahapāna.

The fourth has simply

रजो च्छहारतस

Rājō Chhaharātasa.

Of king Chhaharāta.

¹ This is a bad specimen with the legend dim and worn.

² Some coins of Apollodotus have on the reverse Apollo with his arrow: others have Athene Promachos with the thunderbolt.

The old Nágari legend is the same in all :

राज्ञे क्षहारात्म नक्षपानस

Raño Kshaharātas Nakhapānasa.

Of king Kshaharāta Nahapāna.

The Chaharāta of the former and the Kshaharāta of the latter are the same, the difference in the initial letter being merely dialectical. As mentioned above Kshaharāta is the family name of Nahapāna's dynasty. It is worthy of note that though Nahapāna is not styled Kshatrapa in any of his coins the inscriptions of Ushavadāta at Nāsik repeatedly style him the Kshaharāta Kshatrapa Nahapāna.¹

Ushavadāta was the son-in-law of Nahapāna being married to his daughter Dakhamitā or Dakshamitrā. Ushavadāta bears no royal title. He simply calls himself son of Dinika and son-in-law of Nahapāna, which shows that he owed his power and rank to his father-in-law, a position regarded as derogatory in India, where no scion of any royal dynasty would accept or take pride in greatness or influence obtained from a father-in-law.² Nāsik Inscription XIV. shows that Ushavadāta was a Śaka. His name, as was first suggested by Dr. Bhau Dāji, is Prakrit for Rishabhadatta. From the many charitable and publicly useful works mentioned in various Nāsik and Kārlē inscriptions, as made by him in places which apparently formed part of Nahapāna's dominions, Ushavadāta appears to have been a high officer under Nahapāna. As Nahapāna seems to have had no son Ushavadāta's position as son-in-law would be one of special power and influence. Ushavadāta's charitable acts and works of public utility are detailed in Nāsik Inscriptions X, XII. and XIV. The charitable acts are the gift of three hundred thousand cows; of gold and of river-side steps at the Bārnās or Banās river near Abu in North Gujarāt; of sixteen villages to gods and Brāhmins; the feeding of hundreds of thousands of Brāhmins every year; the giving in marriage of eight wives to Brāhmins at Prabhās in South Kathiāvād; the bestowing of thirty-two thousand coconut trees in Nanamgola or Nārgol village on the Thāna seaboard on the Charaka priesthoods of Pingitakāvād, Govardhana near Nāsik, Suvānamukha, and Rāmātīrtha in Sopārāga or Sopāra on the Thāna coast; the giving of three hundred thousand cows and a village at Pushkara or Pokhar near Ajmir in East Rajputāna; making gifts to Brāhmins at Choehina or Chichan near Kelva-Māhim on the Thāna coast; and the gift of trees and 70,000 *kāraśāpanas* or 2000 *suvarṇas* to gods and Brāhmins at Dāhānu in Thāna. The public works executed by Ushavadāta include rest-houses and alms-houses at Bharu Kachha or Broach, at Dasapūra or Mandasor in North Mālwa, and gardens and wells at Govardhana and Sopārā; free ferries across the Ibā or Ambikā, the Pārāda or Pār, the Damānā or Damanganga, the Tāpi or Tāpti, the Karabēnā or Kaveri, and the Dāhānukā or Dāhānu river. Waiting-places and steps were also built on both banks of each of these rivers. These charitable and public works of Ushavadāta savour much of the Brāhmanic religion. The only

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Western
KSHATRAPAS,
A.D. 70-208.

Ushavadāta,
A.D. 100-120.

¹ Bom. Gaz. XVI. 571ff.

² A well known Sanskrit saying is शत्रुहृत्पुत्रोऽपि मा भवतु : A man known through his father-in-law is the vilest of the vile.

Chapter V.

WESTERN
KSHATRAPAS,
A.D. 70-308.

Ushavadāta,
A.D. 100-120.

Buddhist charities are the gift of a cave at Nāsik; of 3000 *kārsāpapas* and eight thousand coconut trees for feeding and clothing monks living in the cave; and of a village near Kārie in Poona for the support of the monks of the main Kārie cave. Ushavadāta himself thus seems to have been a follower of the Brāhmanical faith. The Buddhist charities were probably made to meet the wishes of his wife whose father's religion the Buddhist wheel and the Bodhi tree on his copper coins prove to have been Buddhism. The large territory over which these charitable and public works of Ushavadāta spread gives an idea of the extent of Nahapāna's rule. The gift of a village as far north as Pokhara near Ajmir would have been proof of dominion in those parts were it not for the fact that in the same inscription Ushavadāta mentions his success in assisting some local Kshatriyas. It is doubtful if the northern limits of Nahapāna's dominions extended as far as Pokhar. The village may have been given during a brief conquest, since according to Hindu ideas no village given to Brāhmins can be resumed. The eastern boundary would seem to have been part of Mālwa and the plain lands of Khāndesh Nāsik and Poona; the southern boundary was somewhere about Bombay; and the western Kāthiāvāda and the Arabian sea.

Nahapāna's
Era.

Nahapāna's exact date is hard to fix. Ushavadāta's Nāsik cave Inscriptions X. and XII. give the years 41 and 42; and an inscription of Nahapāna's minister Ayāna at Junnar gives the year 46. The era is not mentioned. They are simply dated *case Sk. varsha* that is in the year. Ushavadāta's Nāsik Inscription XII. records in the year 42 the gift of charities and the construction of public works which must have taken years to complete. If at that time Ushavadāta's age was 40 to 45, Nahapāna who, as Inscription X. shows, was living at that time, must have been some twenty years older than his son-in-law or say about 65. The Junnar inscription of his minister Ayāna which bears date 46 proves that Nahapāna lived several years after the making of Ushavadāta's cave. The bust on one of his coins also shows that Nahapāna attained a ripe old age.

Nahapāna cannot have lived long after the year 46. His death may be fixed about the year 50 of the era to which the three years 41, 42, and 46 belong. He was probably about 75 years old when he died. Deducting 50 from 75 we get about 25 as Nahapāna's age at the beginning of the era to which the years 41, 42, and 46 belong, a suitable age for an able prince with good resources and good advisers to have established a kingdom. It is therefore probable that the era marks Nahapāna's conquest of Gujarat. As said above, Nahapāna was probably considered to belong to the Śaka tribe, and his son-in-law clearly calls himself a Śaka. It may therefore be supposed that the era started by Nahapāna on his conquest of Gujarat was at first simply called Varsha; that it afterwards came to be called Sakavarsha or Sakasamvatsara; and that finally, after various changes, to suit false current ideas, about the eleventh or twelfth century the people of the Deccan styled it Śālivahana Śaka mixing it with current traditions regarding the great Śātavahana or Śālivāhana king of Paithan. If, as mentioned above, Nahapāna's conquest of Gujarat and the establishment of his era be taken to come close after the conquest of Mathurā by

Kanishka, the Gujarat conquest and the era must come very shortly after the beginning of Kanishka's reign, since Kanishka conquered Mathura early in his reign. As his Mathura inscriptions¹ give 5 as Kanishka's earliest date, he must have conquered Mathura in the year 3 or 4 of his reign. Nahapana's expedition to and conquest of Gujarať was probably contemporary with or very closely subsequent to Kanishka's conquest of Mathura. So two important eras seem to begin about four years apart, the one with Kanishka's reign in Upper India, the other with Nahapana's reign in Western India. The difference being so small and both being eras of foreign conquerors, a Kushan and a Saka respectively, the two eras seem to have been subsequently confounded. Thus, according to Dr. Burnell, the Javanese Saka era is A.D. 74, that is Kanishka's era was introduced into Java, probably because Java has from early times been connected with the eastern parts of India where Kanishka's era was current. On the other hand the astrological works called *Karana* use the era beginning with A.D. 78 which we have taken to be the Western era started by Nahapana. The use of the Saka era in *Karana* works dates from the time of the great Indian astronomer Varaha Mihira (A.D. 527). As Varaha Mihira lived and wrote his great work in Avanti or Malwa he naturally made use of the Saka era of Nahapana, which was current in Malwa. Subsequent astronomers adopted the era used by the master Varaha Mihira. Under their influence Nahapana's A.D. 78 era passed into use over the whole of Northern and Central India eclipsing Kanishka's A.D. 74 era. On these grounds it may be accepted that the dates in the Násik inscriptions of Ushavadata and in Ayama's inscription at Junnar are in the era founded by Nahapana on his conquest of Gujarať and the West Deccan. This era was adopted by the Western Kshatrapa successors of Nahapana and continued on their coins for nearly three centuries.²

¹ Cunningham's Arch. Ser. III. Plate 13. Inscriptions 2 and 3.

² The author's only reason for supposing that two eras began between A.D. 70 and 80 seems to be the fact that the Javanese Saka era begins A.D. 74, while the Indian Saka era begins A.D. 78. It appears, however, from Lassen's Ind. Alt. II. 1040 note 1, that the Javanese Saka era begins either in A.D. 74 or in A.D. 78. The author's own authority, Dr. Burnell (S. Ind. Pal. 72) while saying that the Javanese Saka era dates from A.D. 74, gives A.D. 80 as the epoch of the Saka era of the neighbouring island of Bali, thus supporting Raffle's explanation (Java, II. 68) that the difference is due to the introduction into Java of the Muhammadan mode of reckoning during the past 300 years. The Javanese epoch of A.D. 74 cannot therefore be treated as an authority for assuming a genuine Indian era with this initial date. The era of Kanishka was used continuously down to its year 281 (Fergusson Hist. of Ind. Architecture, 740) after that date we have numerous instances of the use of the Sakaripakala or Sakakala down to the familiar Saka of the present day. It seems much more likely that the parent of the modern Saka era was that of Kanishka, which remained in use for nearly three centuries, than that of Nahapana, who so far as we know left no son, and whose era (if he founded one) probably expired when the Kshaharata power was destroyed by the Andhrakhytiyas in the first half of the second century A.D. We must therefore assume A.D. 78 to be the epoch of Kanishka's era. There remains the question whether Nahapana dates by Kanishka's era, or uses his own regnal years. There is nothing improbable in the latter supposition, and we are not forced to suppose that Nahapana was a feudatory of the Kushan kings. It has been shown above that the use of the title Kshatrapa does not necessarily imply a relation of inferiority. On the other hand (pues Oldenberg in Ind. Ant. X. 213) the later Kshatrapas certainly seem to have used Kanishka's era: and Nahapana and the Kushan dynasty seem to have been of the same race: for Heras, who was certainly a Kushan, apparently calls himself Saka on his coins (Gardner B. M. Cat. xvii.) and it is highly probable that Nahapana, like his son-in-law Ushavadata, was a Saka. Further, the fact that Nahapana does not call himself Maharaja but Raja goes to show that he was not a paramount sovereign. —(A. M. T. J.)

Chapter V.

WESTERN
KSHATRAPAS,
A.D. 70-138.

Nahapana's
Era.

Chapter V.

WESTERN
K. BHATTA,
A.D. 70-398,
11th Malava Era,
A.C. 36.

The question arises why should not the dates on the Western Kshatrapa coins belong to the era which under the incorrect title of the Vikrama era is now current in Gujarāt and Mālwa. Several recently found Mālwa inscriptions almost prove that what is called the Vikrama era beginning with A.C. 56 was not started by any Vikrama, but marks the institution of the tribal constitution of the Mālavas.¹ Later the era came to be called either the era of the Mālava lords² or Mālava Kāla that is the era of the Mālavas. About the ninth century just as the Saka era became connected with the Saliyāhana of Paithan, this old Mālava era became connected with the name of Vikramāditya, the great legendary king of Ujain.

It might be supposed that the Mālavas who gave its name to the Mālava era were the kings of the country now called Mālwa. But it is to be noted that no reference to the present Mālwa under the name of Mālavadeśa occurs in any Sanskrit work or record earlier than the second century after Christ. The original Sanskrit name of the country was Avanti. It came to be called Mālava from the time the Mālava tribe conquered it and settled in it, just as Kāthiāvāda and Mevāda came to be called after their Kāthi and Meva or Meda conquerors. The Mālavas, also called Mālayas,³ seem like the Medas to be a foreign tribe, which, passing through Upper India conquered and settled in Central India during the first century before Christ. The mention in the *Mudrārākshasa*⁴ of a Mālava king among five Upper Indian kings shows that in the time of the Mauryas (B.C. 300) a Mālava kingdom existed in Upper India which after the decline of Maurya supremacy spread to Central India. By Nahapāna's time the Mālavas seem to have moved eastwards towards Jaipur, as Ushavādāta defeated them in the neighbourhood of the Pushkar lake: but the fact that the country round Ujain was still known to Rudradāman as Avanti, shows that the Mālavas had not yet (A.D. 150) entered the district now known as Mālwa. This settlement and the change of name from Avanti to Mālwa probably took place in the weakness of the Kshatrapas towards the end of the third century A.D. When they established their sway in Central India these Mālavas or Mālayas like the ancient Yaudheyas (B.C. 100) and the Kāthiis till recent times (A.D. 1818) seem to have had a democratic constitution.⁵ Their political system seems to have proved unsuited to the conditions of a settled community. To put an end to dissensions the Mālava tribe appears to have framed what the Mandasor inscription terms a *sthiti* or constitution in honour of which they began a new era.⁶ It may be asked, Why may not Nahapāna have been the head of the Mālavas who under the new constitution became the first Mālava sovereign and his reign-dates be those of

¹ Jour. B. R. A. S. XVI. 378; Ind. Ant. XV. 198, 201, XIII. 126; Arch. Sur. X. 23.

² Cunningham's Arch. Sur. XIII. 162. Cf. Kielhorn in Ind. Ant. XIX. 200.

³ Cunningham's Arch. Sur. X. 23-34. Numerous Western India inscriptions prove that *ya* and *va* are often interchanged in Prakrit.

⁴ Vide Telang's *Mudrārākshasa*, 294. Mr. Telang gives several readings the best of which mean either the king of the Mālava country or the king of the Mālava tribe.

⁵ Macmurdo (1818) notices the democratic constitution of the Kāthiis. Trans. Bom. Lit. Soc. I. 274.

⁶ Compare Fleet's *Corpus Ins. Ind.* III. 87, 152, 158 from the (supremacy of) the tribal constitution of the Mālavas. Prof. Kielhorn has however shown that the words of the inscription do not necessarily mean this. Ind. Ant. XIX. 56.

the new Málava era? Against this we know from a Násik inscription of Ushavadata¹ that Nahapána was not a Málava himself but an opponent of the Málavas as he sent Ushavadata to help a tribe of Kshatriyas called Uttamabhadras whom the Málavas had attacked. Further a chronological examination of the early ruling dynasties of Gujارات does not favour the identification of the Kshatrapa era with the Málava era. The available information regarding the three dynasties the Kshatrapas the Guptas and the Valabhis, is universally admitted to prove that they followed one another in chronological succession. The latest known Kshatrapa date is 310. Even after this we find the name of a later Kshatrapa king whose date is unknown but may be estimated at about 320. If we take this Kshatrapa 320 to be in the Vikrama Samvat, its equivalent is A.D. 264. In consequence of several new discoveries the epoch of the Gupta era has been finally settled to be A.D. 319. It is further settled that the first Gupta conqueror of Málwa and Gujارات was Chandragupta II.² the date of his conquest of Málwa being Gupta 80 (A.D. 399). Counting the Kshatrapa dates in the Samvat era this gives a blank of $(399 - 264 =)$ 135 years between the latest Kshatrapa date and the date of Chandragupta's conquest of Gujارات to fill which we have absolutely no historical information. On the other hand in support of the view that the Kshatrapa era is the S'aka era the Káthiaváda coins of the Gupta king Kumáragupta son of Chandragupta dated 100 Gupta closely resemble the coins of the latest Kshatrapa kings, the workmanship proving that the two styles of coin are close in point of time. Thus taking the Kshatrapa era to be the S'aka era the latest Kshatrapa date is $320 + 78 =$ A.D. 398, which is just the date (A.D. 399) of Chandragupta's conquest of Málwa and Gujارات. For these reasons, and in the absence of reasons to the contrary, it seems proper to take the dates in Ushavadata's and Ayáma's inscriptions as in the era which began with Nahapána's conquest of Gujارات, namely the S'aka era whose initial date is A.D. 78.

After Nahapána's the earliest coins found in Gujارات are those of Chashtana. Chashtana's coins are an adaptation of Nahapána's coins. At the same time Chashtana's bust differs from the bust in Nahapána's coins. He wears a mustache, the cap is not grooved but plain, and the hair which reaches the neck is longer than Nahapána's hair. In one of Chashtana's coins found by Mr. Justice Newton, the hair seems dressed in ringlets as in the coins of the Parthian king Phraates II. (B.C. 136-128).³ On the reverse instead of the thunderbolt and arrow as in Nahapána's coins, Chashtana's coins have symbols of the sun and moon in style much like the sun and moon symbols on the Parthian coins of Phraates II., the moon being a crescent and the sun represented by eleven rays shooting from a central beam. To the two on the reverse a third symbol seems to have been added consisting of two arches resting on a straight line, with a third arch over and between

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WESTERN
KSHATRAPAS,
A.D. 70-398.

The Málava Era,
B.C. 56.

Kshatrapa II.
Chashtana,
A.D. 130.

¹ Inscription 10 lines 3-4. Bom. Gaz. XVI. 572.

² Details are given below under the Guptas.

³ Burgess' Archaeological Report of Káthiáwar and Catch, 55; Numismata Orientalia, I. Pl. II. Fig. 8.

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WESTERN
KOHATHAPAN,
A.D. 70-283.

Chashtana's
Coins,
A.D. 130.

the two arches, and over the third arch an inverted semicircle. Below these symbols stretches a waving or serpentine line.¹

The same symbol appears on the obverse of several very old medium-sized square copper coins found in Upper India. These coins Dr. Bhagvānlāl took to be coins of Asoka. They have no legend on either side, and have a standing elephant on the obverse and a rampant lion on the reverse. As these are the symbols of Asoka, the elephant being found in his rock inscriptions and the lion in his pillar inscriptions, Dr. Bhagvānlāl held them to be coins of Asoka. The arch symbol appears in these coins over the elephant on the obverse and near the lion on the reverse but in neither case with the underlying zigzag line.² So also a contemporary coin bearing in the Asoka character the clear legend वटस्विक Vatasvika shows the same symbol, with in addition a robed male figure of good design standing near the symbol saluting it with folded hands. The position of the figure (*Āriana Antiqua*, Plate XV. Fig. 30) proves that the symbol was an object of worship. In Chashtana's coins we find this symbol between the sun and the moon, a position which suggests that the symbol represents the mythical mountain Meru, the three semicircular superimposed arches representing the peaks of the mountain and the crescent a *Siddha-rūpī* or Siddhas' seat, which Jaina works describe as crescent-shaped and situated over Meru. The collective idea of this symbol in the middle and the sun and moon on either side recalls the following śloka:

यावद्वीचीतरङ्गान्वहति सुखदी जन्तुवी पूर्ण ज्ञेया ।
यावच्चाक्राशमार्गे तपति दिनकरो मास्करो लोकपालः
यावद्वेन्दुनीलस्फटिकमणिशिला वर्तते मेरुशृङ्गे ।
तावत्त्वं पुत्रपौत्रैः स्वजनपरिवृतो जीव शम्भोः प्रसादात् ॥

Mayest thou by the favour of S'ambhu live surrounded by sons grandsons and relations so long as the heavenly Gauges full of water flows with its waves, so long as the brilliant sun the protector of the universe shines in the sky, and so long as the slab of diamond moonstone lapis lazuli and sapphire remains on the top of Meru.

Dr. Bird's Kanheri copperplate has a verse with a similar meaning regarding the continuance of the glory of the relic shrine of one Pushya, so long as Meru remains and rivers and the sea flow.³ The meaning of showing Meru and the sun and moon is thus clear. The underlying serpentine line apparently stands for the Jahnvi river or it may perhaps be a representation of the sea.⁴ The object of repre-

¹ The meaning of this symbol has not yet been made out. It is very old. We first find it on the punched coins of Malwa and Gujrat (regarded as the oldest coinage in India) without the serpentine line below, which seems to show that this line does not form part of the original symbol and has a distinct meaning.

² Compare Wilson's *Āriana Antiqua*, Plate XV. Fig. 26-27.

³ Cave Temple Inscriptions, Bombay Archaeological Survey, Extra Number (1881), 38.

⁴ *Āriana Antiqua*, Plate XV. Fig. 29. Some imaginary animals are shown under the serpentine line.

sending these symbols on coins may be that the coins may last as long as the sun, the moon, mount Meru, and the Ganges or ocean. Against this view it may be urged that the coins of the Buddhist kings of Kuninda (A.D. 100), largely found near Sahāranpur in the North-West Provinces, show the arch symbol with the Buddhist trident over it, the Bodhi tree with the railing by its side, and the serpentine line under both the tree and the symbol, the apparent meaning being that the symbol is a Buddhist shrine with the Bodhi tree and the river Niranjana of Buddha Gaya near it. The same symbol appears as a Buddhist shrine in Andhra coins¹ which make it larger with four rows of arches, a tree by its side, and instead of the zigzag base line a railing. This seems a different representation perhaps of the shrine of Mahabodhi at Buddha Gaya. These details seem to show that popular notions regarding the meaning of this symbol varied at different times.²

Such of the coins of Chashtana as have on the reverse only the sun and the moon bear on the obverse in Baktro-Pāli characters a legend of which the four letters रजो जिमो Raño jīmo can alone be made out. An illegible Greek legend continues the Baktro-Pāli legend. The legend on the reverse is in old Nāgarī character :

राज्ञो क्षत्रपस यमोतिकपुत्र [सच] टनस.³

Rājño Kshatrapasa Yasmotikaputra(sa) Chashtanasa.
Of the king Kshatrapa Chashtana son of Yasmotika.

The variety of Chashtana's coins which has the arch symbol on the reverse, bears on the obverse only the Greek legend almost illegible and on the reverse the Baktro-Pāli legend चटनस Chatanasa meaning. Of Chashtana and in continuation the Nāgarī legend :

राज्ञो महिक्षत्रपस यमोतिकपुत्रस चटनस

Rājño Mahākshatrapasa Yasmotikaputrasa Chashtanasa.
Of the king the great Kshatrapa Chashtana son of Yasmotika.

The name Zamotika is certainly not Indian but foreign apparently a corruption of some such form as Psamotika or Xamotika. Further the fact that Zamotika is not called Kshatrapa or by any other title, would seem to show that he was an untitled man whose son somehow came to authority and obtained victory over these parts where (as his earlier coins with the sun and the moon show) he was at first called a Kshatrapa and afterwards (as his later coins with the third symbol show) a Mahākshatrapa or great Kshatrapa. We know nothing of any connection between Nabapāna and Chashtana. Still it is clear that Chashtana obtained a great part of the territory over which

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KSHATRAPAS,
A.D. 70 - 398.
Chashtana's
Coins,
A.D. 130.

Chashtana's
Father.

¹ Journ. B. B. R. A. Soc. XIII. 263.

² The variations noted in the text seem examples of the law that the later religion reads its own new meaning into early look signs.

³ This letter रज in both is curiously formed and never used in Sanskrit. Yet it is clear and can be read without any doubt as रज. Pandit Bhagvanlal thought that it was probably meant to stand as a new-coined letter to represent the Greek Z which has nothing corresponding to it in Sanskrit. The same curiously formed letter appears in the third syllable in the coin of the fourth Kshatrapa king Dānujadasvi.

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KSHATRAPAS,
A.D. 70-388.

Chashtana,
A.D. 130.

Nahapána previously held sway. Though Chashtana's coins and even the coins of his son and grandson bear no date, we have reason to believe they used a nameless era, of which the year 72 is given in the Junágad inscription of Chashtana's grandson Rudradáman.¹ Though we have no means of ascertaining how many years Rudradáman had reigned before this 72 it seems probable that the beginning of the reign was at least several years earlier. Taking the previous period at seven years Rudráman's succession may be tentatively fixed at 65. Allowing twenty-five years for his father Jayadáman and his grandfather Chashtana (as they were father and son and the son it is supposed reigned for some years with his father²) Chashtana's conquest of Gujarát comes to about the year 40 which makes Chashtana contemporary with the latter part of Nahapána's life. Now the Tiastanes whom Ptolemy mentions as having Ozene for his capital³ is on all hands admitted to be Chashtana and from what Ptolemy says it appears certain that his capital was Ujjain. Two of Chashtana's coins occur as far north as Ajmir. As the Chashtana coins in Dr. Gerson DaCunha's collection were found in Káthiaváda he must have ruled a large stretch of country. The fact that in his earlier coins Chashtana is simply called a Kshatrapa and in his latter coins a Maháskshatrapa leads to the inference that his power was originally small. Chashtana was probably not subordinate to Nahapána but a contemporary of Nahapána originally when a simple Kshatrapa governing perhaps North Gujarát and Málwa. Nor was Chashtana a member of Nahapána's family as he is nowhere called Kshaharáta which is the name of Nahapána's family. During the lifetime of Nahapána Chashtana's power would seem to have been established first over Ajmir and Mewád. Perhaps Chashtana may have been the chief of the Uttamabhadra Kshatriyas, whom, in the year 42, Ushavadáta went to assist when they were besieged by the Malavas or Málavas⁴; and it is possible that the Malavas being thus driven away Chashtana may have consolidated his power, taken possession of Málwa, and established his capital at Ujjain.

On Nahapána's death his territory, which in the absence of a son had probably passed to his son-in-law Ushavadáta, seems to have been wrested from him by his Andhra neighbours, as one of the attributes of Gautamiputra Śātakarni is exterminator of the dynasty of Khakharáta (or Kshaharáta). That North Konkan, South Gujarát, and Káthiaváda were taken and incorporated with Andhra territory appears from Gautamiputra's Násik inscription (No. 26) where Suráshtra and Aparánta are mentioned as parts of his dominions. These Andhra

Deccan Recovered
by the Andhras,
A.D. 138.

¹ The text of the inscription is रुद्रदाम्नी वर्षे that is in the year of Rudradáman. That this phrase means 'in the reign of' is shown by the Gunda inscription of Rudradáman's son Rudrasimha, which has रुद्रसिंहस्य वर्षे अुत्तरशते that is in the hundred and third year of Rudrasimha. Clearly a regnal year cannot be meant as no reign could last over 103 years. So with the year 72 in Rudradáman's inscription. The same style of writing appears in the inscriptions at Mathura of Huvishka and Vasudeva which say 'year — of Huvishka' and 'year — of Vasudeva', though it is known that the era is of Kanishka. In all these cases what is meant is 'the dynastic or era year — in the reign of —'.

² See below page 34.

³ McCrindle's Ptolemy, 155.

⁴ See above page 29.

conquests seem to have been shortlived. Chashtana appears to have eventually taken Kāthiāvāda and as much of South Gujarāt as belonged to Nahapāna probably as far south as the Narbada. Mevād, Malwa, North and South Gujarāt and Kāthiāvāda would then be subject to him and justify the title Mahākshatrpa on his later coins.

The bulk of Chashtana's army seems to have consisted of the Mevas or Medas from whose early conquests and settlements in Central Rajputāna the province seems to have received its present name Mevāda. If this supposition be correct an inference may be drawn regarding the origin of Chashtana. The Mathurā inscription of Nandasirika, daughter of Kshatrpa Rājavula and mother of Kharaostī Yuvarāja, mentions with respect a Mahākshatrpa Kuzulko Patika who is called in the inscription Mevaki that is of the Meva tribe. The inscription shows a relation between the Kharaostis (to which tribe we have taken Kshaharāta Nahapāna to belong) and Mevaki Patika perhaps in the nature of subordinate and overlord. It proves at least that the Kharaostis held Patika in great honour and respect.

The Taxila plate shows that Patika was governor of Taxila during his father's lifetime. After his father's death when he became Mahākshatrpa, Patika's capital was Nagaraka in the Jallālabād or Kābul valley. The conquest of those parts by the great Kushān or Indo-Skythian king Kanishka (A.D. 78) seems to have driven Patika's immediate successors southwards to Sindh where they may have established a kingdom. The Skythian kingdom mentioned by the author of the *Periplus* as stretching in his time as far south as the mouths of the Indus may be a relic of this kingdom. Some time after their establishment in Sindh Patika's successors may have sent Chashtana, either a younger member of the reigning house or a military officer, with an army of Mevas through Umarmot and the Great Ran to Central Rajputāna, an expedition which ended in the settlement of the Mevas and the change of the country's name to Mevāda. Probably it was on account of their previous ancestral connection that Nahapāna sent Ushavadāta to help Chashtana in Mevāda when besieged by his Mālava neighbours. That Ushavadāta went to bathe and make gifts¹ at Pushkara proves that the scene of the Uttamabhadras' siege by the Mālayas was in Mevāda not far from Pushkara.

Chashtana is followed by an unbroken chain of successors all of the dynasty of which Chashtana was the founder. As the coins of Chashtana's successors bear dates and as each coin gives the name of the king and of his father they supply a complete chronological list of the Kshatrpa dynasty.

Of Chashtana's son and successor Jayadāman the coins are rare. Of three specimens found in Kāthiāvāda two are of silver and one of copper. Both the silver coins were found in Junāgad² but they are doubtful specimens as the legend is not complete. Like Chashtana's

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The Mevas or
Medas.

Kshatrpa III.
Jayadāman,
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¹ See above page 25.

² Of these coins Dr. Bhagvānlāl kept one in his own collection. He sent the other to General Cunningham. The Pundit found the copper coin in Auneli in 1863 and gave it to Dr. Bhanu Dāji.

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Kshatrapa III.
Jayadāman,
A.D. 140-143.

coins they have a bust on the obverse and round the bust an incomplete and undecipherable Greek legend. The reverse has the sun and the moon and between them the arched symbol with the zigzag under-line. All round the symbols on the margin within a dotted line is the legend in Baktro-Pali and Devanāgarī. Only three letters रजो छ न of the Baktro-Pali legend can be made out. Of the Nāgarī legend seven letters राज्ञो क्षत्रपस ज Rājño Kshatrapasa Ja can be made out. The remaining four letters Dr. Bhagvānlāl read यदामस Yadāmasa.¹ The copper coin which is very small and square has on the obverse in a circle a standing humped bull looking to the right and fronting an erect trident with an axe. In style the bull is much like the bull on the square hemidrachma of Apollodotus (A.C. 110-100). Round the bull within a dotted circle is the legend in Greek. It is unfortunate the legend is incomplete as the remaining letters which are in the Skythian-Greek style are clearer than the letters on any Kshatrapa coin hitherto found. The letters that are preserved are STRXY. The reverse has the usual moon and sun and between them the arched symbol without the zigzag under-line. All round within a dotted circle is the Nāgarī legend:

राज्ञो क्षत्र पस] जयदामस.

Rājño Kshatra(pasa) Jayadāmasa.

Of the king Kshatrapa Jayadāman.

Though the name is not given in any of these coins, the fact that Chashtana was Jayadāman's father has been determined from the genealogy in the Gunda inscription of Rudrasimha I. the seventh Kshatrapa,² in the Jashdhan inscription of Rudrasena I. the eighth Kshatrapa,³ and in the Junāgadh cave inscription⁴ of Rudradāman's son Rudrasimha. All these inscriptions and the coins of his son Rudradāman call Jayadāman Kshatrapa not Mahākshatrapa. This would seem to show either that he was a Kshatrapa or governor of Kāthiāvāḍa under his father or that his father's territory and his rank as Mahākshatrapa suffered some reduction.⁵ The extreme rarity of his coins suggests that Jayadāman's reign was very short. It is worthy of note that while Zamotika and Chashtana are foreign names, the names of Jayadāman and all his successors with one exception⁶ are purely Indian.

Jayadāman was succeeded by his son Rudradāman who was probably the greatest of the Western Kshatrapas. His beautiful silver coins, in style much like those of Chashtana, are frequently found in Kāthiāvāḍa. On the obverse is his bust in the same style of dress as Chashtana's and

Kshatrapa IV.
Rudradāman,
A.D. 143-158.

¹ Except that the न is much clearer the Nāgarī legend in the silver coin obtained for General Cunningham is equally bad, and the Baktro-Pali legend is wanting.

² Ind. Ant. X. 157.

³ Journal B. B. K. A. Soc. VIII. 224-5 and Ind. Ant. XII. 325.

⁴ Dr. Burgess' Archaeological Report of Kāthiawār and Cutch, 140.

⁵ The explanation of the reduction of Jayadāman's rank is probably to be found in the Nāśik Inscription (No. 26) of Gautamiputra Śātakarni who claims to have conquered Surishtra, Kukura (in Rajputāna), Anūpa, Vīḍurhīa (Berar), Akara, and Avanti (Ujjain). (A. M. T. J.)

⁶ See below page 39.

round the bust is the Greek legend incomplete and undecipherable. The reverse has the usual sun and moon and the arched symbol with the zigzag under-line. The old Nāgarī legend fills the whole outer circle. None of Rudradāman's coins shows a trace of the Bāktra-Pāli legend. The Nāgarī legend reads:

राज्ञो क्षत्रपस जयदामपुत्रस राज्ञो महाक्षत्रपस रुद्रदामस.

Bājno Kshatrapasa Jayadāmaputrasa
Rājno Mahākshatrapasa Rudradāmanasa.

Of the king the great Kshatrapa Rudradāman son of the
king the Kshatrapa Jayadāman.

None of Rudradāman's copper coins have been found. Except Jayadāman none of the Kshatrapas seem to have stamped their names on any but silver coins.¹

An inscription on the Girnār rock gives us more information regarding Rudradāman than is available for any of the other Kshatrapas. The inscription records the construction of a new dam on the Sudarsana lake close to the inscription rock in place of a dam built in the time of the Maurya king Chandragupta (B.C. 300) and added to in the time of his grandson the great Āśoka (B.C. 240) which had suddenly burst in a storm. The new dam is recorded to have been made under the orders of Suvishakha son of Kulapaia a Pahlava by tribe, who was 'appointed by the king to protect the whole of Anarta and Surāshtra.' Pahlava seems to be the name of the ancient Persians and Parthians² and the name Suvishakha as Dr. Bhau Dāji suggests may be a Sanskritised form of Syivaxa.³ One of the Kārlē inscriptions gives a similar name Sovasaka apparently a corrupt Indian form of the original Persian from which the Sanskritised Suvishakha must have been formed. Sovasaka it will be noted is mentioned in the Kārlē inscription as an inhabitant of Abulāmī, apparently the old trade mart of Obollah at the head of the Persian Gulf. This trade connection between the Persian Gulf and the Western Indian seaboard must have led to the settlement from very early times of the Pahlavas who gradually became converted to Buddhism, and, like the Parsis their modern enterprising representatives, seem to have advanced in trade and political influence. Subsequently the Pahlavas attained such influence that about the fifth century a dynasty of Pallava kings reigned in the Dekhan, Hindu in religion and name, even tracing their origin to the great ancient sage Bhāradvāja.⁴

The statement in Rudradāman's Sudarsana lake inscription, that Anarta and Surāshtra were under his Pahlava governor, seems to show

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Sudarsana Lake,
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¹ Several small mixed metal coins weighing from 8 to 10 grains with on the obverse an elephant in some and a bull in others and on the reverse the usual arched Kshatrapa symbol have been found in Malwa and Kāthiāvāḍa. The symbols show them to be of the lowest Kshatrapa currency. Several of them bear dates from which it is possible as in the case of Rudrasimha's and Rudrasena's coins to infer to what Kshatrapa they belonged. Lead coins have also been found at Anrell in Kāthiāvāḍa. They are square and have a bull on the obverse and on the reverse the usual arched Kshatrapa symbol with underneath it the date 184.

² Compare however Weber, *Hist. of Indian Lit.* 187-8.

³ Jour. R. B. R. A. S. VII. 114.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.* II. 156; V. 50, 154 &c.

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that Rudradāman's capital was not in Gujaraṭ or Kāthiāvāda. Probably like his grandfather Chashtana Rudradāman held his capital at Ujjain. The poetic eulogies of Rudradāman appear to contain a certain share of fact. One of the epithets 'he who himself has earned the title Mahākshatrapa' indicates that Rudradāman had regained the title of Mahākshatrapa which belonged to his grandfather Chashtana but not to his father Jayadāman. Another portion of the inscription claims for him the overlordship of Akarāvanti,¹ Anūpa,² Anarta, Surāshtra, Śvabhira,³ Maru,⁴ Kachchha,⁵ Sindhu-Sauvira,⁶ Kukura,⁷ Aparānta,⁸ and Nishāda;⁹ that is roughly the country from Bhilsa in the east to Sindh in the west and from about Abu in the north to the North Konkan in the south including the peninsulas of Cutch and Kāthiāvāda. The inscription also mentions two wars waged by Rudradāman, one with the Yaudheyas the other with Śatākarni lord of Dakṣiṇāpatha. Of the Yaudheyas the inscription says that they had become arrogant and untractable in consequence of their having proclaimed their assumption of the title of Heroes among all Kshatriyas. Rudradāman is described as having exterminated them. These Yaudheyas were known as a warlike race from the earliest times and are mentioned as warriors by Pāṇini.¹⁰

The Yaudheyas.

Like the Mālavas these Yaudheyas appear to have had a democratic constitution. Several round copper coins of the Yaudheyas of about the third century A.D. have been found in various parts of the North-West Provinces from Mathurā to Sahāranpur. These coins

¹ Akarāvanti that is Akara and Avanti are two names which are always found together. Cf. Gotamiputra's Nāik inscription (No. 26). Avanti is well known as being the name of the part of Mālwa which contains Ujjain. Akara is probably the modern province of Bhilsa whose capital was Vidha the modern deserted city of Besnagar. Instead of Akarāvanti Bhīmasambhita mentions Akaravansantaka of which the third name Vena Pandit Bhagvānlal took to be the country about the Sagara zila containing the old town of Erap, near which still flows a river called Vena. The adjectives east and west are used respectively as referring to Akara which is East Mālwa and Avanti which is West Mālwa. Compare Indian Antiquary, VII. 259; Bombay Gazetteer, XVI. 631.

² Anūpa is a common noun literally meaning well-watered. The absence of the term *vispā* or 'country' which is in general superadded to it shows that Anūpa is here used as a proper noun, meaning the Anūpa country. Dr. Bhagvānlal was unable to identify Anūpa. He took it to be the name of some well-watered tract near Gujaraṭ.

³ See above page 10 note 1. The greater part of North Gujaraṭ was probably included in Śvabhira.

⁴ Maru is the well known name of Marwar.

⁵ Kachchha is the flourishing state still known by the name of Cutch.

⁶ Sindhu Sauvira like Akarāvanti are two names usually found together. Sindhu is the modern Sind and Sauvira may have been part of Upper Sind, the capital of which is mentioned as Dattāmitra. Alberuni (I. 300) defines Sauvira as including Multan and Jahāwār.

⁷ Nothing is known about Kukura and it cannot be identified. It was probably part of East Rajputana.

⁸ Aparānta meaning the Western End is the western seaboard from the Mahi in the north to Goa in the south. Ind. Ant. VII. 259. The portion of Aparānta actually subject to Rudradāman must have been the country between the Mahi and the Damanganga as at this time the North Konkan was subject to the Andhras.

⁹ Nishāda cannot be identified. As the term Nishāda is generally used to mean Bhils and other wild tribes, its mention with Aparānta suggests the wild country that includes Banāda, Dharanpur, and north-east Thāna.

¹⁰ Grāmam, V. iii. 117.

which are adapted from the type of Kanishka's coins¹ have on the obverse a standing robed male figure extending the protecting right hand of mercy. On the reverse is the figure of a standing Kārtika-
evāmi and round the figure the legend in Gupta characters of about the third century :

यौधेय गणस्य

Yāudheya Gaṇasya.

Of the Yaudheya tribe.²

That the Gīrnār inscription describes Rudradāman as the exterminator of 'the Yaudheyas' and not of any king of the Yaudheyas confirms the view that their constitution was tribal or democratic.³

The style of the Yaudheya coins being an adaptation of the Kanishka type and their being found from Mathura to Sahāranpur where Kanishka ruled is a proof that the Yaudheyas wrested from the successors of Kanishka the greater part of the North-West Provinces. This is not to be understood to be the Yaudheyas' first conquest in India. They are known to be a very old tribe who after a temporary suppression by Kanishka must have again risen to power with the decline of Kushān rule under Kanishka's successors Huvishka (A.D. 100-123) or Vasudeva (A.D. 123-150?) the latter of whom was a contemporary of Rudradāman.⁴ It is probably to this increase of Yaudheya power that Rudradāman's inscription refers as making them arrogant and intractable. Their forcible extermination is not to be understood literally but in the Indian hyperbolic fashion.

The remark regarding the conquest of Śātakarni lord of Dakshināpatha is as follows: 'He who has obtained glory because he did not destroy Śātakarni, the lord of the Dekhan, on account of there being no distance in relationship, though he twice really conquered him.'⁵ As Śātakarni is a dynastic name applied to several of the Āndhra kings, the question arises Which of the Śātakarnis did Rudradāman twice defeat? Of the two Western India kings mentioned by Ptolemy one Tīastanes with his capital at Ozene or Ujjain⁶ has been identified with Chasthana; the other Siri Ptolemaios or Polemaios, with his royal seat at Baithana or Paithan,⁷ has been identified with the Pulumāyi Vāsishthīputra of the Nāsik cave inscriptions. These statements of

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¹ Compare Gardner and Poole's Catalogue, Pl. XXVI. Fig. 2 &c.

² Another variety of their brass coins was found at Behat near Sahāranpur. Compare Thomas' Prinsep's Indian Antiquities, I. Pl. IV. Figs. 118 128 and Pl. XIX. Figs. 5, 6, 9. General Cunningham, in his recent work on The Coins of Ancient India, 76ff., describes three chief types, the Behat coins being the earliest and belonging to the first century B.C., the second type which is that described above is assigned to about A.D. 300, and the third type, with a six-headed figure on the obverse, is placed a little later. General Cunningham's identification of the Yaudheyas with the Jubbha Rajputs of the lower Satlej, seems certain, Rudradāman would then have "uprooted" them when he acquired the province of Sauvira.

³ Mr. Fleet notices a later inscription of a *Maharāja Mahādevapati* "who has been set over" the 'Yaudheya gana or tribe' in the fort of Byān in Bharatpur. Ind. Ant. XIV. 8, Corp. Insc. Ind. III. 251ff. The Yaudheyas are also named among the tribes which submitted to Samudragupta. See Corp. Insc. Ind. III. 8.

⁴ Huvishka's latest inscription bears date 45 that is A.D. 123 (Cunningham's Arch. Sur. III. Pl. XV. Number 8).

⁵ Ind. Ant. VII. 262.

⁶ McCrindle's Ptolemy, 152.

⁷ McCrindle's Ptolemy, 176.

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Ptolemy seem to imply that Chashtana and Pulumāyi were contemporary kings reigning at Ujjain and Paithan. The evidence of their coins also shows that if not contemporaries Chashtana and Pulumāyi were not separated by any long interval. We know from the Nāsik inscriptions and the Purānas that Pulumāyi was the successor of Gautamīputra Śātakarni and as Gautamīputra Śātakarni is mentioned as the exterminator of the Kshaharāta race (and the period of this extermination has already been shown to be almost immediately after Nahapāna's death), there is no objection to the view that Chashtana, who was the next Kshatrapa after Nahapāna, and Pulumāyi, who was the successor of Gautamīputra, were contemporaries. We have no positive evidence to determine who was the immediate successor of Pulumāyi, but the only king whose inscriptions are found in any number after Pulumāyi is Gautamīputra Yajña Sri Śātakarni. His Kanheri inscription recording gifts made in his reign and his coin found among the relics of the Sopāra stūpa built also in his reign prove that he held the North Konkan. The Sopāra coin gives the name of the father of Yajñaśri. Unfortunately the coin is much worn. Still the remains of the letters constituting the name are sufficient to show they must be read चतुरपन Chaturapana.¹ A king named Chaturapana is mentioned in one of the Nānāghāt inscriptions where like Pulumāyi he is called Vāsishthiputra and where the year 13 of his reign is referred to.² The letters of this inscription are almost coeval with those in Pulumāyi's inscriptions. The facts that he was called Vāsishthiputra and that he reigned at least thirteen years make it probable that Chaturapana was the brother and successor of Pulumāyi. Yajñaśri would thus be the nephew and second in succession to Pulumāyi and the contemporary of Rudradāman the grandson of Chashtana, whom we have taken to be a contemporary of Pulumāyi. A further proof of this is afforded by Yajñaśri's silver coin found in the Sopāra stūpa. All other Andhra coins hitherto found are adapted from contemporary coins of Ujjain and the Central Provinces, the latter probably of the Sungas. But Gautamīputra Yajñaśri Śātakarni's Sopāra coin is the first silver coin struck on the type of Kshatrapa coins; it is in fact a clear adaptation of the type of the coins of Rudradāman himself which proves that the two kings were contemporaries and rivals. An idea of the 'not distant relationship' between Rudradāman and Yajñaśri Śātakarni mentioned in Rudradāman's Gīrnār inscription, may be formed from a Kanheri inscription recording a gift by a minister named Satoraka which mentions that the queen of Vāsishthiputra Śātakarni was born in the Kārdamaka dynasty and was connected apparently on the maternal side with a Mahāksatrapa whose name is lost. If the proper name of the lost Vāsishthiputra be Chaturapana, his son Yajñaśri Śātakarni would, through his mother being a Mahāksatrapa's granddaughter, be a relative of Rudradāman.

Rudradāman's other epithets seem to belong to the usual stock of

¹ Journ. B. B. R. A. Soc. XV. 308.

² Journ. B. B. R. A. Soc. XV. 313, 314. See also Ind. Ant. XII 272, where Bühler suggests that the queen was a daughter of Rudradāman, and traces the syllables Rudradā in the Kanheri inscription.

Indian court epithets. He is said 'to have gained great fame by studying to the end, by remembering understanding and applying the great sciences such as grammar, polity, music, and logic.' Another epithet describes him as having 'obtained numerous garlands at the Svayamvaras of kings' daughters,' apparently meaning that he was chosen as husband by princesses at several *svayamvaras* or choice-marriages a practice which seems to have been still in vogue in Rudradāman's time. As a test of the civilized character of his rule it may be noted that he is described as 'he who took, and kept to the end of his life, the vow to stop killing men except in battle.' Another epithet tells us that the embankment was built and the lake reconstructed by 'expending a great amount of money from his own treasury, without oppressing the people of the town and of the province by (exacting) taxes, forced labour, acts of affection (benevolences) and the like.'

As the Kshatrapa year 80 (A.D. 138) has been taken to be the date of close of Chashtana's reign, and as five years may be allowed for the short reign¹ of Jayadāman, the beginning of the reign of Rudradāman may be supposed to have been about the year 65 (A.D. 143). This Gīrnār inscription gives 72 as the year in which Rudradāman was then reigning and it is fair to suppose that he reigned probably up to 80. The conclusion is that Rudradāman ruled from A.D. 143 to 158.²

Rudradāman was succeeded by his son Dāmāzāda or Dāmājadaśrī regarding whom all the information available is obtained from six coins obtained by Dr. Bhagvānlāl.³ The workmanship of all six coins is good, after the type of Rudradāman's coins. On the obverse is a bust in the same style as Rudradāman's and round the bust is an illegible Greek legend. Like Rudradāman's coins these have no dates, a proof of their antiquity, as all later Kshatrapa coins have dates in Nāgarī numerals. The reverse has the usual sun and moon and between them the arched symbol with the zigzag under-line. Around them in three specimens is the following legend in old Nāgarī:

राज्ञो महाक्षत्रपस रुद्रदामपुत्रस राज्ञः क्षत्रपस दामासडस

Rājño Mahākshatrapasa Rudradāmaputrasa Rājñah
Kshatrapasa Damasyadasa.

Of the king the Kshatrapa Dāmāzāda's son of the king the
Kshatrapa Rudradāman.

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Kshatrapa V.
Dāmāzāda or
Dāmājadaśrī,
A.D. 158-168.

¹ See above page 34.

² It seems doubtful whether the Pandit's estimate of fifteen years might not with advantage be increased. As his father's reign was so short Rudradāman probably succeeded when still young. The abundance of his coins points to a long reign and the scarcity of the coins both of his son Dāmāzāda and of his grandson Jivadāman imply that neither of his successors reigned more than a few years. Jivadāman's earliest date is A.D. 178 (S. 100). If five years are allowed to Jivadāman's father the end of Rudradāman's reign would be A.D. 173 (S. 95) that is a reign of thirty years, no excessive term for a king who began to rule at a comparatively early age.—(A. M. T. J.)

³ Two specimens of his coins were obtained by Mr. Vajeshankar Gavrishankar Nāib Diwan of Bhavnagar, from Kāthiāvāda, one of which he presented to the Pandit and lent the other for the purpose of description. The legend in both was legible but doubtful. A recent find in Kāthiāvāda supplied four new specimens, two of them very good.

⁴ Apparently a mistake for रुद्रदाम्नः पुत्रस.

⁵ As in the case of Zamtika the father of Chashtana, the variation दस for ञ proves that at first दस and afterwards ञ was used to represent the Greek Z.

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Kshatrapa V.
Dāmāzāda or
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The legend on the other three is :

राज्ञे महाक्षत्रपस रुद्रदान्नः पुत्रस राज्ञे क्षत्रपस दामाजडाश्रियः

Rājño Mahākshatrapasa Rudradānnahputrasa Rājñah
Kshatrapasa Dāmājadaśrīyah.

Of the king the Kshatrapa Dāmājadaśrī son of the king
the great Kshatrapa Rudradāna.

Dāmāzāda and Dāmājadaśrī seem to be two forms of the same name, Dāmāzāda with ञ for Z being the name first struck, and Dāmājadaśrī, with the ordinary ज for Z, and with Sri added to adorn the name and make it more euphonic, being the later form. It will be noted that, except by his son Jivadāman, Dāmāzāda or Dāmājadaśrī is not called a Mahākshatrapa but simply a Kshatrapa. His coins are very rare. The six mentioned are the only specimens known and are all from one find. He may therefore be supposed to have reigned as heir-apparent during the life-time of Rudradāman, or it is possible that he may have suffered loss of territory and power. His reign seems to have been short and may have terminated about 90 that is A.D. 168 or a little later.

Kshatrapa VI.
Jivadāman,
A.D. 178.

Dāmāzāda or Dāmājadaśrī was succeeded by his son Jivadāman. All available information regarding Jivadāman is from four rare coins obtained by Pandit Bhagvānlal, which for purposes of description, he has named A, B, C, and D.¹ Coin A bears date 100 in Nāgarī numerals, the earliest date found on Kshatrapa coins. On the obverse is a bust in the usual Kshatrapa style with a plump young face of good workmanship. Round the bust is first the date 100 in Nāgarī numerals and after the date the Greek legend in letters which though clear cannot be made out. In these and in all later Kshatrapa coins merely the form of the Greek legend remains; the letters are imitations of Greek by men who could not read the original. On the reverse is the usual arched symbol between the sun and the moon, the sun being twelve-rayed as in the older Kshatrapa coins. Within the dotted circle in the margin is the following legend in old Nāgarī :

राज्ञे महाक्षत्रपस दामश्रियः पुत्रस राज्ञे महाक्षत्रपस जीवदान्नः

Rājño Mahākshatrapasa Dāmashrīyahputrasa Rājño
Mahākshatrapasa Jivadānnah.

Of the king the great Kshatrapa Jivadāman son of the king
the great Kshatrapa Dāmashrī.

Coin B has the bust on the obverse with a face apparently older than the face in A. Unfortunately the die has slipped and the date has not been struck. Most of the Greek legend is very clear but as in coin A the result is meaningless. The letters are ΚΙΥΙΟΥΖΚΝΣΥΛ perhaps meant for Kuzulka. On the reverse are the usual three symbols, except

¹ The oldest of the four was found by the Pandit for Dr. Bhan Diji in Aurang. A fair copy of it is given in a plate which accompanied Mr. Justice Newton's paper in Jour. B. B. R. A. S. IX, page 111, Plate I, Fig. 6. Mr. Newton read the father's name in the legend Dāmashrī, but it is Dāmājadaśrī, the die having missed the letters ज and ड though space is left for them. This is coin A of the description. Of the remaining three, B was lent to the Pandit from his collection by Mr. Vajeshankar Gavrishankar. C and D were in the Pandit's collection.

that the sun has seven instead of twelve rays. The legend is:

राज्ञो महाक्षत्रपस दामजडस पुत्रस राज्ञो महाक्षत्रपस जीवदामस

Rājño Mahākshatrapasa Dāmajaḍasaputrasa Rājño
Mahākshatrapasa Jivadāmasa.

Of the king the great Kshatrapa Jivadāman son of the
king the great Kshatrapa Dāmajaḍa.

Coin C though struck from a different die is closely like B both on the obverse and the reverse. Neither the Greek legend nor the date is clear, though enough remains of the lower parts of the numerals to suggest the date 118. Coin D is in obverse closely like C. The date 118 is clear. On the reverse the legend and the symbols have been twice struck. The same legend occurs twice, the second striking having obliterated the last letters of the legend which contained the name of the king whose coin it is:

राज्ञो महाक्षत्रपस दामजडस पुत्रस

Rājño Mahākshatrapasa Dāmajaḍasaputrasa.

Of the son of the king the great Kshatrapa Dāmajaḍa.

In these four specimens Dāmasrī or Dāmajaḍa is styled Mahākshatrapa, while in his own coins he is simply called Kshatrapa. The explanation perhaps is that the known coins of Dāmasrī or Dāmajaḍa belong to the early part of his reign when he was subordinate to his father, and that he afterwards gained the title of Mahākshatrapa. Some such explanation is necessary as the distinction between the titles Kshatrapa and Mahākshatrapa is always carefully preserved in the earlier Kshatrapa coins. Except towards the close of the dynasty no ruler called Kshatrapa on his own coins is ever styled Mahākshatrapa on the coins of his son unless the father gained the more important title during his lifetime.

The dates and the difference in the style of die used in coining A and in coining B, C, and D are worth noting as the earliest coin has the date 100 and C and D the third and fourth coins have 118. If Jivadāman's reign lasted eighteen years his coins would be common instead of very rare. But we find between 102 and 118 numerous coins of Rudrasimha son of Rudradāman and paternal uncle of Jivadāman. These facts and the difference between the style of A and the style of B, C, and D which are apparently imitated from the coins of Rudrasimha and have a face much older than the face in A, tend to show that soon after his accession Jivadāman was deposed by his uncle Rudrasimha, on whose death or defeat in 118, Jivadāman again rose to power.

Rudrasimha the seventh Kshatrapa was the brother of Dāmajaḍasrī. Large numbers of his coins have been found. Of thirty obtained by Dr. Bhagvānlāl twenty have the following clearly cut dates: 103, 106, 108, 109, 110, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, and 118. As the earliest year is 103 and the latest 118 it is probable that Rudrasimha deposed his nephew Jivadāman shortly after Jivadāman's accession. Rudrasimha appears to have ruled fifteen years when power again passed to his nephew Jivadāman.

Chapter V.

WESTERN
KSHATRAPAS,
A.D. 70-398.

Kshatrapa VI.
Jivadāman,
A.D. 178.

Kshatrapa VII.
Rudrasimha I.
A.D. 181-196.

Chapter V.

WESTERN
KSHATRAPAS,
Kshatrapa VII.
Rudrasimha I.
A.D. 181-196.

The coins of Rudrasimha are of a beautiful type of good workmanship and with clear legends. The legend in old Nāgarī character reads :

राज्ञो महाक्षत्रपस रुद्रदामपुत्रस राज्ञो महाक्षत्रपस रुद्रसिंहस

Rājño Mahākṣhatrapasa Rudradāmaputrasa Rājño
Mahākṣhatrapasa Rudrasimhasa.

Of the king the great Kshatrapa Rudrasimha son of the
king the great Kshatrapa Rudradāma.

Rudrasimha had also a copper coinage of which specimens are recorded from Malwa but not from Kāthiāvāda. Pamlit Bhagvānlāl had one specimen from Ujjain which has a bull on the obverse with the Greek legend round it and the date 117. The reverse seems to have held the entire legend of which only five letters रुद्रसिंहस (Rudrasimhasa) remain. This coin has been spoilt in cleaning.

To Rudrasimha's reign belongs the Gunda inscription carved on a stone found at the bottom of an unused well in the village of Gunda in Halār in North Kāthiāvāda.¹ It is in six well preserved lines of old Nāgarī letters of the Kshatrapa type. The writing records the digging and building of a well for public use on the borders of a village named Rasopadra by the commander-in-chief Rudrabhūti an Alhira son of Senāpati Bāpaka. The date is given both in words and in numerals as 103, 'in the year' of the king the Kshatrapa Svāmi Rudrasimha, apparently meaning in the year 103 during the reign of Rudrasimha. The genealogy given in the inscription is : 1 Chashtana ; 2 Jayadāman ; 3 Rudradāman ; 4 Rudrasimha, the order of succession being clearly defined by the text, which says that the fourth was the great grandson of the first, the grandson of the second, and the son of the third. It will be noted that Dāmājadaśrī and Jivadāman the fifth and sixth Kshatrapas have been passed over in this genealogy probably because the inscription did not intend to give a complete genealogy but only to show the descent of Rudrasimha in the direct line.

Kshatrapa VIII.
Rudrasena,
A.D. 203-220.

The eighth Kshatrapa was Rudrasena, son of Rudrasimha, as is clearly mentioned in the legends on his coins. His coins like his father's are found in large numbers. Of forty in Dr. Bhagvānlāl's collection twenty-seven bear the following eleven² dates, 125, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 138, 140, 142. The coins are of the usual Kshatrapa type closely like Rudrasimha's coins. The Nāgarī legend reads :

राज्ञो महाक्षत्रपस रुद्रसिंहस पुत्रस राज्ञो महाक्षत्रपस रुद्रसेनस

Rājño Mahākṣhatrapasa Rudrasimhasa putrasa Rājño
Mahākṣhatrapasa Rudrasenas.

Of the king the great Kshatrapa Rudrasena son of the king
the great Kshatrapa Rudrasimha.

Two copper coins square and smaller than the copper coins of

¹ This inscription which has now been placed for safe custody in the temple of Dwarkanāth in Jāmnagar, has been published by Dr. Bühler in Ind. Ant. X. 157-159, from a transcript by Acharya Vallabji Haridatta. Dr. Bhagvānlāl held that the date is 103 *tryuttarakāte* not 102 *tryuttarakāte* as read by Dr. Bühler ; that the name of the father of the donor is Bāpaka and not Bāhaka ; and that the name of the *nakṣatra* or constellation is Rohini not Śravana.

² Several coins have the same date.

Rudrasimha have been found in Ujjain¹ though none are recorded from Kāthiāvaḍa. On their obverse these copper coins have a facing bull and on the back the usual symbols and below them the year 140, but no legend. Their date and their Kshatrapa style show that they are coins of Rudrasena.

Besides coins two inscriptions one at Muliyāsar the other at Jasdan give information regarding Rudrasena. The Muliyāsar inscription, now in the library at Dwārka ten miles south-west of Muliyāsar, records the erection of an upright slab by the sons of one Vānījaka. This inscription bears date 122, the fifth of the dark half of Vaiśākha in the year 122 during the reign of Rudrasimha.² The Jasdan inscription, on a stone about five miles from Jasdan, belongs to the reign of this Kshatrapa. It is in six lines of old Kshatrapa Nāgarī characters shallow and dim with occasional engraver's mistakes, but on the whole well-preserved. The writing records the building of a pond by several brothers (names not given) of the Mānasasa gotra sons of Pranāthaka and grandsons of Kham. The date is the 5th of the dark half of Bhādrapada 'in the year' 126.³ The genealogy is in the following order:

Mahākshatrapa Chashtana.
Kshatrapa Jayadāman.
Mahākshatrapa Rudradāman.
Mahākshatrapa Rudrasimha.
Mahākshatrapa Rudrasena.

Each of them is called Svāmi Lord and Bhādrāmukha Luckyfaced.⁴ As Rudrasena's reign began at least as early as 122, the second reign of Jivadāman is narrowed to four years or even less. As the latest date is 142 Rudrasena's reign must have lasted about twenty years.

After Rudrasena the next evidence on record is a coin of his son Prithivisena found near Amreli. Its workmanship is the same as that of Rudrasena's coins. It is dated 144 that is two years later than the last date on Rudrasena's coins. The legend runs:

राज्ञो महाक्षत्रपस रुद्रसेनस पुत्रस राज्ञः क्षत्रपस प्रथिवीसेनस

Rājño Mahākshatrapasa Rudrasenasa putrasa Rājñah.
Kshatrapasa Prithivīsenasa.

Of the king the Kshatrapa Prithivisena son of the king
the great Kshatrapa Rudrasena.

As this is the only known specimen of Prithivisena's coinage; as the earliest coin of Prithivisena's uncle the tenth Kshatrapa Saṅghadāman is dated 144; and also as Prithivisena is called only Kshatrapa he seems to have reigned for a short time perhaps as Kshatrapa of Surāshtra or Kāthiāvaḍa and to have been ousted by his uncle Saṅghadāman.

Rudrasena was succeeded by his brother the Mahākshatrapa Saṅghadāman. His coins are very rare. Only two specimens have been

Chapter V.

WESTERN
KSHATRAPAS,
A.D. 70-398.

Kshatrapa VIII.
Rudrasena,
A.D. 203-220.

Kshatrapa IX.
Prithivisena,
A.D. 222.

Kshatrapa X.
Saṅghadāman,
A.D. 222-226.

¹ One is in the collection of the B. B. R. A. Society, the other belonged to the Pandit.

² An unpublished inscription found in 1865 by Mr. Bhagvānli Sampatram.

³ The top of the third numeral is broken. It may be 7 but is more likely to be 6.

⁴ The Jasdan inscription has been published by Dr. Bhanu Dāś, J. B. R. A. S. VIII, 234ff, and by Dr. Hoernle, Ind. Ant. XII, 32ff.

Chapter V.

WRITTEN
KĀSHATRĀPA,
A.D. 70-398,
Kāshatrāpa X.
Saṅghadāman,
A.D. 222-226.

obtained, of which one was in the Pandit's collection the other in the collection of Mr. Vajeshankar Gavrishankar.¹ They are dated 145 and 144. The legend in both reads :

राज्ञो महाकाशत्रपस रुद्रसिंहस पुत्रस राज्ञो महाकाशत्रपस संघदान [:]

Rājño Mahākāshatrāpasa Rudrasimhasa putrasa Rājño
Mahākāshatrāpasa Saṅghadāmana.

Of the king the great Kāshatrāpa Saṅghadāman son of the king
the great Kāshatrāpa Rudrasimha.

These two coins seem to belong to the beginning of Saṅghadāman's reign. As the earliest coins of his successor Dāmasena are dated 148 Saṅghadāman's reign seems not to have lasted over four years.²

¹ Five have recently been identified in the collection of Dr. Gerson da Cunha.

² His name, the fact that he regained the title Mahākāshatrāpa, and his date about A.D. 225 suggest that Saṅghadāman (A.D. 222-226) may be the Sandanes whom the Periplus (McCrindle, 128) describes as taking the regular mart Kalyān near Bombay from Saraganes, that is the Dakhan Satakarnis, and, to prevent it again becoming a place of trade, forbidding all Greek ships to visit Kalyān, and sending under a guard to Broach any Greek ships that even by accident entered its port. The following reasons seem conclusive against identifying Saṅghadāman with Sandanes: (1) The abbreviation from Saṅghadāman to Sandanes seems excessive in the case of the name of a well known ruler who lived within thirty years of the probable time (A.D. 247) when the writer of the Periplus visited Gujarat and the Konkan; (2) The date of Saṅghadāman (A.D. 222-226) is twenty to thirty years too early for the probable collection of the Periplus details; (3) Apart from the date of the Periplus the apparent distinction in the writer's mind between Sandanes' capture of Kalyān and his own time implies a longer lapse than suits a reign of only four years.

In favour of the Sandanes of the Periplus being a dynastic not a personal name is its close correspondence both in form and in geographical position with Ptolemy's (A.D. 150) Sandanis, who gave their name, Ariake Sandinon or the Sandine' Aria, to the North Konkan, and, according to McCrindle (Ptolemy, 39) in the time of Ptolemy ruled the prosperous trading communities that occupied the sea coast to about Penalla or Chaul. The details in the present text show that some few years before Ptolemy wrote the conquests of Rudradāman had brought the North Konkan under the Gujarat Kāshatrāpas. Similarly shortly before the probable date of the Periplus (A.D. 247) the fact that Saṅghadāman and his successors Dāmasena (A.D. 226-236) and Vijayāsena (A.D. 238-249) all used the title Mahākāshatrāpa makes their possession of the North Konkan probable. The available details of the Kāthiāvāda Kāshatrāpas therefore confirm the view that the Sandans of Ptolemy and the Sandanes of the Periplus are the Gujarat Kāshatrāpas. The question remains how did the Greeks come to know the Kāshatrāpas by the name of Sandan or Sandan. The answer seems to be the word Sandan or Sandan is the Sanskrit *Sādhanā* which according to Lassen (McCrindle's Ptolemy, 40) and Williams' Sanskrit Dictionary may mean agent or representative and may therefore be an accurate rendering of Kāshatrāpa in the sense of Viceroy. Wilford (As. Res. IX. 76, 128) notices that Sanskrit writers give the early English in India the title *Sadhan Engrez*. This Wilford would translate Lord but it seems rather meant for a rendering of the word Factor. Prof. Bhāndarkar (Bom. Gaz. XIII. 418 note 1) notices a tribe mentioned by the geographer Varāhamihira (A.D. 580) as *Sāntikas* and associated with the *Ayadrakatas* or people of the west coast. He shows how according to the rules of letter change the Sanskrit *Sāntika* would in Prakrit be *Sandino*. In his opinion it was this form *Sandino* which was familiar to Greek merchants and sailors. Prof. Bhāndarkar holds that when (A.D. 100-110) the Kāshatrāpa Nahapāna displaced the *Sātavāhans* or *Andhrabhrityas* the *Sāntikas* or *Sandino* became independent in the North Konkan and took Kalyān. To make their independence secure against the Kāshatrāpas they forbade intercourse between their own territory and the Dakhan and sent foreign ships to Barygama. Against this explanation it is to be urged: (1) That Nāik and Junnar inscriptions show Nahapāna supreme in the North Konkan at least up to A.D. 120; (2) That according to the Periplus the action taken by the Sandanes or Sandans was not against the Kāshatrāpas but against the *Sātakarnis*; (3) That the action was not taken in the time of Nahapāna but at a later time, later not only than the first Gautamiputra the conqueror of Nahapāna or his son-in-law Ushavādāta (A.D. 138), but later than the second Gautamiputra, who was defeated by the Kāthiāvāda Kāshatrāpa Rudradāman some time before A.D. 150; (4) That if the *Sāntikas* were solely a North

Saṅghadāman was succeeded by his brother Dāmasena, whose coins are fairly common, of good workmanship, and clear lettering. Of twenty-three specimens eleven have the following dates: 148, 150, 153, 155, 156, 157, 158. The legend runs:

राज्ञो महाक्षत्रपस रुद्रसिंहस पुत्रस राज्ञो महाक्षत्रपस दामसेनस

Rājño Mahākṣhatrapasa Rudrasinḥasa putrasa Rājño
Mahākṣhatrapasa Dāmasenasa.

Of the king the great Kshatrapa Dāmasena son of the king
the great Kshatrapa Rudrasinḥa.

Dāmasena seems to have reigned ten years (148-158) as coins of his son Viradāman are found dated 158.

Dāmājadaśrī the twelfth Kshatrapa is styled son of Rudrasena probably the eighth Kshatrapa. Dāmājadaśrī's coins are rare.¹ The legend runs:

राज्ञो महाक्षत्रपस रुद्रसेनपुत्रस राज्ञःक्षत्रपस दामाजदश्रियः

Rājño Mahākṣhatrapasa Rudrasenaputrasa Rājñah Kṣhatrapasa
Dāmājadaśrīyah.

Of the king the Kshatrapa Dāmājadaśrī son of the king
the great Kshatrapa Rudrasena.

Five specimens, the only specimens on record, are dated 154.² As 154 falls in the reign of Dāmasena it seems probable that Dāmājadaśrī was either a minor or a viceroy or perhaps a ruler claiming independence, as about this time the authority of the main dynasty seems to have been much disputed.

Chapter V.

WESTERN
KSHATRAPAS,
A.D. 70-398.

Kshatrapa XI.
Dāmasena,
A.D. 226-236.

Kshatrapa XII.
Dāmājadaśrī II.
A.D. 236.

Konkan tribe they would neither wish nor be able to send foreign ships to Broach. The action described in the Periplus of refusing to let Greek ships enter Kalyān and of sending all such ships to Broach was the action of a Gujarāt conqueror of Kalyān determined to make foreign trade centre in his own chief emporium Broach. The only possible lord of Gujarāt either in the second or third century who can have adopted such a policy was the Kshatrapa of Ujjain in Malwa and of Minnagara or Junagadh in Kāthiāvāda, the same ruler, who, to encourage foreign vessels to visit Broach had (McCrindle's Periplus, 118, 119) stationed native fishermen with well-manned long boats off the south Kāthiāvāda coast to meet ships and pilot them through the tidal and other dangers up the Narbada to Broach. It follows that the Sandanes of the Periplus and Ptolemy's North Konkan Sādāna are the Gujarāt Mahākṣhatrapas. The correctness of this identification of Sādan with the Sanskrit Sādhan and the explanation of Sādhan as a translation of Kshatrapa or representative receive confirmation from the fact that the account of Kālakāchārya in the Bhārateshwara Vṛtti (J. B. R. A. S. IX, 141-142), late in date (A.D. 1000-1100) but with notable details of the Saka or Sāhi invaders, calls the Saka king Sādhanas-Sinḥa. If on this evidence it may be held that the Kshatrapas were known as Sādhanas, it seems to follow that Sāntika the form used by Vardhamānīra (A.D. 503-557) is a conscious and intentional Sanskritizing of Sādan whose correct form and origin had passed out of knowledge, a result which would suggest conscious or artificial Sanskritizing as the explanation of the forms of many Purāṇic tribal and place names. A further important result of this inquiry is to show that the received date of A.D. 70 for the Periplus cannot stand. Now that the Kanishka era A.D. 78 is admitted to be the era used by the Kshatrapas both in the Dakhan and in Gujarāt it follows that a writer who knows the elder and the younger Sātakarnis cannot be earlier than A.D. 150 and from the manner in which he refers to them must almost certainly be considerably later. This conclusion supports the date A.D. 247 which on other weighty grounds the French scholar Renaud (Ind. Ant. Dec. 1879, pp. 330, 335) has assigned to the Periplus.

¹ The Pandit's coin was obtained by him in 1863 from Amreli in Kāthiāvāda. A copy of it is given by Mr. Justice Newton who calls Saṅghadāman son of Rudrasinḥa (Jour. B. B. R. A. S. IX, Pl. I, Fig. 7). The other specimen is better preserved.

² One of these coins was lent to the Pandit by Mr. Vajeshankar Gavri Shankar.

Chapter V.

WESTERN
KSHATRAPAS,
A.D. 70-398.

After Dāmasena we find coins of three of his sons Virādāman Yaśadāman and Vijayasena. Virādāman's coins are dated 158 and 163, Yaśadāman's 160 and 161, and Vijayasena's earliest 160. Of the three brothers Virādāman who is styled simply Kshatrapa probably held only a part of his father's dominions. The second brother Yaśadāman, who at first was a simple Kshatrapa, in 161 claims to be Mahākshatrapa. The third brother Vijayasena, who as early as 160, is styled Mahākshatrapa, probably defeated Yaśadāman and secured the supreme rule.

Virādāman's coins are fairly common. Of twenty-six in Pandit Bhagvānlāl's collection, nineteen were found with a large number of his brother Vijayasena's coins. The legend reads :

राज्ञो महाक्षत्रपस दामसेनस पुत्रस राज्ञो क्षत्रपस वीरदाम्नः

Rājño Mahākshatrapasa Dāmasenasa putrasa Rājño
Kshatrapasa Virādāmanah.

Of the king the Kshatrapa Virādāman son of the king
the great Kshatrapa Dāmasena.

Of the twenty-six ten are clearly dated, six with 158 and four with 160.

Yaśadāman's coins are rare. Pandit Bhagvānlāl's collection contained seven.¹ The bust on the obverse is a good imitation of the bust on his father's coins. Still it is of inferior workmanship, and starts the practice which later Kshatrapas continued of copying their predecessor's image. On only two of the seven specimens are the dates clear, 160 and 161. The legend on the coin dated 160 is :

राज्ञो महाक्षत्रपस दामसेनस पुत्रस राज्ञः क्षत्रपस यशदासः

Rājño Mahākshatrapasa Dāmasenasa putrasa Rājño
Kshatrapasa Yaśadāmanah.

Of the king the great Kshatrapa Yaśadāman son of the
king the great Kshatrapa Dāmasena.

On the coin dated 161 the legend runs :

राज्ञो महक्षत्रपस दामसेनस पुत्रस राज्ञो महाक्षत्रपस यशदासः

Rājño Mahākshatrapasa Dāmasenasa putrasa Rājño
Mahākshatrapasa Yaśadāmanah.

Of the king the great Kshatrapa Yaśadāman son of the
king the great Kshatrapa Dāmasena.

Vijayasena's coins are common. As many as 167 were in the Pandit's collection. Almost all are of good workmanship, well preserved, and clearly lettered. On fifty-four of them the following dates can be clearly read, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 170, and 171. This would give Vijayasena a reign of at least eleven years from 160 to 171 (A.D. 238-249). The legend reads :

राज्ञो महाक्षत्रपस दामसेनपुत्रस राज्ञो महाक्षत्रपस विजयसेनस

Rājño Mahākshatrapasa Dāmasenaputrasa Rājño
Mahākshatrapasa Vijayasenasa.

Of the king the great Kshatrapa Vijayasena son of the
king the great Kshatrapa Dāmasena.

¹ One specimen in the collection of Mr. Vajeshankar bears date 158.

Kshatrapa XIII.
Virādāman,
A.D. 236-238.

Kshatrapa XIV.
Yaśadāman,
A.D. 239.

Kshatrapa XV.
Vijayasena,
A.D. 238-249.

In two good specimens of Vijayasena's coins with traces of the date 166 he is styled Kshatrapa. This the Pandit could not explain.¹

Vijayasena was succeeded by his brother Dāmājadaśrī III. called Mahākshatrapa on his coins. His coins which are comparatively uncommon are inferior in workmanship to the coins of Vijayasena. Of seven in the Pandit's collection three are dated 174, 175, and 176.

After Dāmājadaśrī come coins of Rudrasena II. son of Viradāman, the earliest of them bearing date 178. As the latest coins of Vijayasena are dated 171, 173 may be taken as the year of Dāmājadaśrī's succession. The end of his reign falls between 176 and 178, its probable length is about five years. The legend on his coins reads :

राज्ञो महाक्षत्रपस दामसेनपुत्रस राज्ञो महाक्षत्रपस दामाजडश्रियः

Rājño Mahākshatrapasa Dāmasenaputrassa Rājño Mahākshatrapasa
Dāmājadaśrīyah.

Of the king the great Kshatrapa Dāmājadaśrī son of the king
the great Kshatrapa Dāmasena.

Dāmājadaśrī III. was succeeded by Rudrasena II. son of Dāmājadaśrī's brother Viradāman the thirteenth Kshatrapa. Rudrasena II.'s coins like Vijayasena's are found in great abundance. They are of inferior workmanship and inferior silver. Of eighty-four in Dr. Bhagavānlāl's collection eleven bore the following clear dates : 178, 180, 183, 185, 186, 188, and 190. The earliest of 178 probably belongs to the beginning of Rudrasena's reign as the date 176 occurs on the latest coins of his predecessor. The earliest coins of his son and successor Viśvasimha are dated 198. As Viśvasimha's coins are of bad workmanship with doubtful legend and date we may take the end of Rudrasena II.'s reign to be somewhere between 190 and 198 or about 194. This date would give Rudrasena a reign of about sixteen years, a length of rule supported by the large number of his coins. The legend reads :

राज्ञो क्षत्रपस वीरदामपुत्रस राज्ञो महाक्षत्रपस रुद्रसेनस

Rājño Kshatrapasa Vīradāmaputrassa Rājño Mahāksha-
trapasa Rudrasenassa

Of the king the great Kshatrapa Rudrasena son of the
king the Kshatrapa Vīradāma.

Rudrasena was succeeded by his son Viśvasimha. In style and abundance Viśvasimha's coins are on a par with his father's. They are carelessly struck with a bad die and in most the legend is faulty often omitting the date. Of fifty-six in the Pandit's collection only four bear legible dates, one with 198, two with 200, and one with 201. The date 201 must be of the end of Viśvasimha's reign as a coin of his brother Bharatridāman is dated 200. It may therefore be held that Viśvasimha reigned for the six years ending 200 (A.D. 272-278). The legend reads :

राज्ञो महाक्षत्रपस रुद्रसेनपुत्रस राज्ञः क्षत्रपस विश्वसिंहस.

Rājño Mahākshatrapasa Rudrasenaputrassa Rājñah
Kshatrapasa Viśvasimhassa.

Of the king the Kshatrapa Viśvasimha son of the king
the great Kshatrapa Rudrasena.

Chapter V.

WESTERN
KSHATRAPAS,
A.D. 70-395.

Kshatrapa XVI.
Dāmājadaśrī,
A.D. 250-255.

Kshatrapa XVII.
Rudrasena II.,
A.D. 256-272.

Kshatrapa XVIII.
Viśvasimha,
A.D. 272-278.

¹ One of them was lent by Mr. Vajeshankar Gavvishankar.

Chapter V.

WESTERN
KSHATRAPAS,
A.D. 70-398.

It is not known whether Viśvasimha's loss of title was due to his being subordinate to some overlord, or whether during his reign the Kshatrapas suffered defeat and loss of territory. The probable explanation seems to be that he began his reign in a subordinate position and afterwards rose to supreme rule.

Kshatrapa XIX.
Bhartridāman,
A.D. 278-294.

Viśvasimha was succeeded by his brother Bhartridāman.¹ His coins which are found in large numbers are in style and workmanship inferior even to Viśvasimha's coins. Of forty-five in the Pandit's collection seven bear the dates 202, 207, 210, 211, and 214. As the earliest coin of his successor is dated 218, Bhartridāman's reign seems to have lasted about fourteen years from 202 to 216 (A.D. 278-294). Most of the coin legends style Bhartridāman Mahākshatrapa though in a few he is simply styled Kshatrapa. This would seem to show that like his brother Viśvasimha he began as a Kshatrapa and afterwards gained the rank and power of Mahākshatrapa.

In Bhartridāman's earlier coins the legend reads:

राज्ञे महाक्षत्रपस रुद्रसेनपुत्रस राज्ञः क्षत्रपस भर्तृदाम्नः

Rājño Mahākshatrapasa Rudrasenaputrassa Rājñah
Kshatrapasa Bhartridāmanah.

Of the king the Kshatrapa Bhartridāman son of the king
the great Kshatrapa Rudrasena.

In the later coins the legend is the same except that महाक्षत्रपस the great Kshatrapa takes the place of क्षत्रपस the Kshatrapa.

Kshatrapa XX.
Viśvasena,
A.D. 294-300.

Bhartridāman was succeeded by his son Viśvasena the twentieth Kshatrapa. His coins are fairly common, and of bad workmanship, the legend imperfect and carelessly struck, the obverse rarely dated. Of twenty-five in Dr. Bhagvānlāl's collection, only three bear doubtful dates one 218 and two 222. The legend reads:

राज्ञे महाक्षत्रपस भर्तृदामपुत्रस राज्ञः क्षत्रपस विश्वसेनस,

Rājño Mahākshatrapasa Bhartridāmanaputrassa Rājñah
Kshatrapasa Viśvasenassa.

Of the king the Kshatrapa Viśvasena son of the king the
Mahākshatrapa Bhartridāman.

It would seem from the lower title of Kshatrapa which we find given to Viśvasena and to most of the later Kshatrapas that from about 220 (A.D. 298) the Kshatrapa dominion lost its importance.

A hoard of coins found in 1861 near Karād on the Krishna, thirty-one miles south of Sātara, suggests² that the Kshatrapas retained the North Konkan and held a considerable share of the West Dakhan down to the time of Viśvasena (A.D. 300). The hoard includes coins of the six following rulers: Vijayasena (A.D. 238-249), his brother Dāmājadaśri III, (A.D. 251-255), Rudrasena II. (A.D. 256-272) son of Vīradāman, Viśvasimha (A.D. 272-278) son of Rudrasena, Bhartridāman (A.D. 278-294) son of Rudrasena II., and Viśvasena (A.D. 296-300) son of Bhartridāman. It may be argued that this Karād hoard is of no historical value being the chance importation of some Gujarāt pilgrim to the Krishna. The following considerations favour the

¹ This name has generally been read Atridāman.

² Jour. B. R. R. A. S. VII. 16.

view that the contents of the hoard furnish evidence of the local rule of the kings whose coins have been found at Karād. The date (A.D. 238-249) of Vijayasena, the earliest king of the hoard, agrees well with the spread of Gujarāt power in the Dakhan as it follows the overthrow both of the west (A.D. 180-200) and of the east (A.D. 220) Śātakarnis, while it precedes the establishment of any later west Dakhan dynasty: (2) All the kings whose coins occur in the hoard were Mahākshatrapas and from the details in the Periplus (A.D. 247), the earliest, Vijayasena, must have been a ruler of special wealth and power: (3) That the coins cease with Viśvasena (A.D. 296-300) is in accord with the fact that Viśvasena was the last of the direct line of Chashtana, and that with or before the close of Viśvasena's reign the power of the Gujarāt Kshatrapas declined. The presumption that Kshatrapa power was at its height during the reigns of the kings whose coins have been found at Karād is strengthened by the discovery at Amravati in the Berars of a hoard of coins of the Mahākshatrapa Rudrasena (II. ?) (A.D. 256-272) son of the Mahākshatrapa Dāmodarajī,¹

Whether the end of Chashtana's direct line was due to their conquest by some other dynasty or to the failure of heirs is doubtful. Whatever may have been the cause, after an interval of about seven years (A.D. 300-308) an entirely new king appears, Rudrasimha son of Jivadāman. As Rudrasimha's father Jivadāman is simply called Svāmi he may have been some high officer under the Kshatrapa dynasty. That Rudrasimha is called a Kshatrapa may show that part of the Kshatrapa dominion which had been lost during the reign of Viśvasena was given to some distant member or scion of the Kshatrapa dynasty of the name of Rudrasimha. The occurrence of political changes is further shown by the fact that the coins of Rudrasimha are of a better type than those of the preceding Kshatrapas. Rudrasimha's coins are fairly common. Of twelve in Dr. Bhagvānlāl's collection five are clearly dated, three 230, one 231, and one 240. This leaves a blank of seven years between the last date of Viśvasena and the earliest date of Rudrasimha. The legend reads:

स्वामिजिवदामपुत्रस राज्ञः क्षत्रपस रुद्रसिंहस

Svāmi Jivadāma putrasa Rājñah Kshatrapasa Rudrasimhasa.

Of the king the Kshatrapa Rudrasimha son of Svāmi Jivadāman.

Rudrasimha was succeeded by his son Yaśadāman whose coins are rather rare. Of three in Dr. Bhagvānlāl's collection two are dated 239, apparently the first year of Yaśadāman's reign as his father's latest coins are dated 240. Like his father Yaśadāman is simply called Kshatrapa. The legend reads:

राज्ञः क्षत्रपस रुद्रसिंहपुत्रस राज्ञः क्षत्रपस यशदाम्नः

Rājñah Kshatrapasa Rudrasimhaputrasa Rājñah
Kshatrapasa Yaśadāmanah.

Of the king the Kshatrapa Yaśadāman son of the
king the Kshatrapa Rudrasimha.

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WESTERN
KSHATRAPAS,
A.D. 70-508.
Kshatrapa XX.
Viśvasena,
A.D. 294-300.

Kshatrapa XXI.
Rudrasimha,
A.D. 308-311.

Kshatrapa XXII.
Yaśadāman,
A.D. 320.

¹ See below Chapter VI. page 57.

Chapter V.

WESTERN
KSHATRAPAS,
A.D. 70-333.

Kshatrapa
XXIII.
Damasiri,
A.D. 320.

The coins found next after Yaśadāman's are those of Dāmasiri who was probably the brother of Yaśadāman as he is mentioned as the son of Rudrasimha. The date though not very clear is apparently 242. Only one coin of Dāmasiri's is recorded. In the style of face and in the form of letters it differs from the coins of Yaśadāman, with which except for the date and the identity of the father's name any close connection would seem doubtful. The legend on the coin of Dāmasiri reads:

राज्ञो महाक्षत्रपस रुद्रसिंहस पुत्रस राज्ञो महाक्षत्रपस दामसिरिस.

Rājño Mahākshatrapasa Rudrasimhasaputrasa Rājño
Mahākshatrapasa Dāmasirisa.

Of the king the great Kshatrapa Dāmasiri son of the king the
great Kshatrapa Rudrasimha.

It will be noted that in this coin both Rudrasimha and Dāmasiri are called great Kshatrapas, while in his own coin and in the coins of his son Yaśadāman, Rudrasimha is simply styled Kshatrapa. It is possible that Dāmasiri may have been more powerful than Yaśadāman and consequently taken to himself the title of Mahākshatrapa. The application of the more important title to a father who in life had not enjoyed the title is not an uncommon practice among the later Kshatrapas. The rarity of Dāmasiri's coins shows that his reign was short.

After Dāmasiri comes a blank of about thirty years. The next coin is dated 270. The fact that, contrary to what might have been expected, the coins of the later Kshatrapas are less common than those of the earlier Kshatrapas, seems to point to some great political change during the twenty-seven years ending 270 (A.D. 321-348).

Kshatrapa
XXIV.
Rudrasena,
A.D. 348-370.

The coin dated 270 belongs to Svāmi Rudrasena son of Svāmi Rudradāman both of whom the legend styles Mahākshatrapas. The type of the coin dated 270 is clearly adapted from the type of the coins of Yaśadāman. Only two of Rudrasena's coins dated 270 are recorded. But later coins of the same Kshatrapa of a different style are found in large numbers. Of fifty-four in the Pandit's collection, twelve have the following dates 285, 290, 292, 293, 294, 296, and 298. The difference in the style of the two sets of coins and the blank between 270 and 285 leave no doubt that during those years some political change took place. Probably Rudrasena was for a time overthrown but again came to power in 285 and maintained his position till 298. Besides calling both himself and his father Mahākshatrapas Rudrasena adds to both the attribute Svāmi. As no coin of Rudrasena's father is recorded it seems probable the father was not an independent ruler and that the legend on Rudrasena's coins is a further instance of a son ennobling his father. The legend is the same both in the earlier coins of 270 and in the later coins ranging from 288 to 298. It reads:

राज्ञो महाक्षत्रपस स्वामिरुद्रदामपुत्रस राज्ञो महाक्षत्रपस स्वामिरुद्रसेनस.

Rājño Mahākshatrapasa Svāmi Rudradāmaputrasa Rājño
Mahākshatrapasa Svāmi Rudrasenas.

Of the king the great Kshatrapa Svāmi Rudrasena son of the king
the great Kshatrapa Svāmi Rudradāman.

After Rudrasena come coins of Kshatrapa Rudrasena son of Satyasena. These coins are fairly common. Of five in the Pandit's collection through faulty minting none are dated. General Cunningham mentions coins of Kshatrapa Rudrasena dated 300, 304, and 310.¹ This would seem to show that he was the successor of Rudrasena son of Rudradaman and that his reign extended to over 310. The legend on these coins runs:

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WESTERN
KSHATRAPAS,
A.D. 70-395.
Kshatrapa XXV.
Rudrasena,
A.D. 378-388.

राज्ञो महाक्षत्रपस स्वामिसत्यसेनपुत्रस राज्ञो महाक्षत्रपस स्वामिरुद्रसेनस.

Rājño Mahākshatrapasa Svāmi Satyasenaputrasa Rājño
Mahākshatrapasa Svāmi Rudrasenasa.

Of the king the great Kshatrapa Svāmi Rudrasena son
of the king the great Kshatrapa Svāmi Satyasena.

Of Rudrasena's father Satyasena no coin is recorded and as this Rudrasena immediately succeeds Rudrasena IV. son of Rudradaman, there is little doubt that Satyasena was not an actual ruler with the great title Mahākshatrapa, but that this was an honorific title given to the father when his son attained to sovereignty. General Cunningham records that a coin of this Rudrasena IV. was found along with a coin of Chandragupta II. in a *stupa* at Sultanganj on the Ganges about fifteen miles south-east of Mongir.²

With Rudrasena IV. the evidence from coins comes almost to a close. Only one coin in Dr. Bhagvānlāl's collection is clearly later than Rudrasena IV. In the form of the bust and the style of the legend on the reverse this specimen closely resembles the coins of Rudrasena IV. Unfortunately owing to imperfect stamping it bears no date. The legend reads:

Kshatrapa
XXVI.
Simhasena.

राज्ञो महाक्षत्रपस स्वामि रुद्रसेनस राज्ञो महाक्षत्रपस स्वस्वियस्य स्वामिसिंहेनस,

Rājño Mahākshatrapasa Svāmi Rudrasenasa Rājño Mahākshatrapasa
svasviyasya Svāmi Simhasenasa.

Of the king the great Kshatrapa Svāmi Simhasena, sister's son of
the king the great Kshatrapa Svāmi Rudrasena.

This legend would seem to show that Rudrasena IV. left no issue and was succeeded by his nephew Simhasena. The extreme rarity of Simhasena's coins proves that his reign was very short.

The bust and the characters in one other coin show it to be of later date than Simhasena. Unfortunately the legend is not clear. Something like the letters राज्ञो क्षत्रपस Rājño Kshatrapasa may be traced in one place and something like पुत्रस स्कन्द Putrasa Skanda in another place. Dr. Bhagvānlāl took this to be a Gujarāt Kshatrapa of unknown lineage from whom the Kshatrapa dominion passed to the Guptas.

Kshatrapa
XXVII.
Skanda.

Along with the coins of the regular Kshatrapas coins of a Kshatrapa of unknown lineage named Īśvaradatta have been found in Kāthiāvāda. In general style, in the bust and the corrupt Greek legend on the obverse, and in the form of the old Nāgarī legend

Īśvaradatta,
A.D. 230-250.

¹ Cunningham's Arch. Sur. X. 137; XV. 29-30.

² This coin of Rudrasena may have been taken so far from Gujarāt by the Gujarāt monk in whose honour the *stupa* was built.

Chapter V.

WESTERN
KSHATRAPAS,
A.D. 70-298.
Kshatrapa
XXVIII.
Íśvaradatta,
A.D. 232-250.

on the reverse, Íśvaradatta's coins closely resemble those of the fifteenth Kshatrapa Vijayasena (A.D. 238-249). At the same time the text of the Nāgarī legend differs from that on the reverse of the Kshatrapa coins by omitting the name of the ruler's father and by showing in words Íśvaradatta's date in the year of his own reign. The legend is:

राज्ञो महाक्षत्रपस ईश्वरदत्तस वर्षे प्रथमे,

Bājño Mahākshatrapasa Íśvaradattasa varṣhe prathamē.
In the first year of the king the great Kshatrapa Íśvaradatta.

Most of the recorded coins of Íśvaradatta have this legend. In one specimen the legend is

वर्षे द्वितीये.

Varṣhe dvitīye.
In the second year.

It is clear from this that Íśvaradatta's reign did not last long. His peculiar name and his separate date leave little doubt that he belonged to some distinct family of Kshatrapas. The general style of his coins shows that he cannot have been a late Kshatrapa while the fact that he is called Mahākshatrapa seems to show he was an independent ruler. No good evidence is available for fixing his date. As already mentioned the workmanship of his coins brings him near to Vijayasena (A.D. 238-249). In Nāsik Cave X, the letters of Inscription XV. closely correspond with the letters of the legends on Kshatrapa coins, and probably belong to almost the same date as the inscription of Rudrādaman on the Gīrnār rock that is to about A.D. 150. The absence of any record of the Andhras except the name of the king Madharīputa Sirisena or Sakasena (A.D. 180), makes it probable that after Yajñaśrī Gautamīputra (A.D. 150) Andhra power waned along the Konkan and South Gujarāt seaboard. According to the Purāṇas the Abhīras succeeded to the dominion of the Andhras. It is therefore possible that the Abhīra king Íśvarasena of Nāsik Inscription XV. was one of the Abhīra conquerors of the Andhras who took from them the West Dakhan. A migration of Abhīras from Ptolemy's Abiria in Upper Sindh through Sindh by sea to the Konkan and thence to Nāsik is within the range of possibility. About fifty years later king Íśvaradatta¹ who was perhaps of the same family as the Abhīra king of the Nāsik inscription seems to have conquered the kingdom of Kshatrapa Vijayasena, adding Gujarāt, Kāthiāwāḍa, and part of the Dakhan to his other territory. In honour of this great conquest he may have taken the title Mahākshatrapa and struck coins in the Gujarāt Kshatrapa style but in an era reckoned from the date of his own conquest. Íśvaradatta's success was shortlived. Only two years later (that is about A.D. 252) the Mahākshatrapa Dāmājadāsī won back the lost Kshatrapa territory. The fact that Íśvaradatta's recorded coins belong to only two years and that the break between the regular

¹ Íśvaradatta's name ends in *datta* as does also that of Sivadatta the father of king Íśvarasena of the Nāsik inscription.

Kshatrapas Vijayasena and Dāmasjādāśri did not last more than two or three years gives support to this explanation.¹

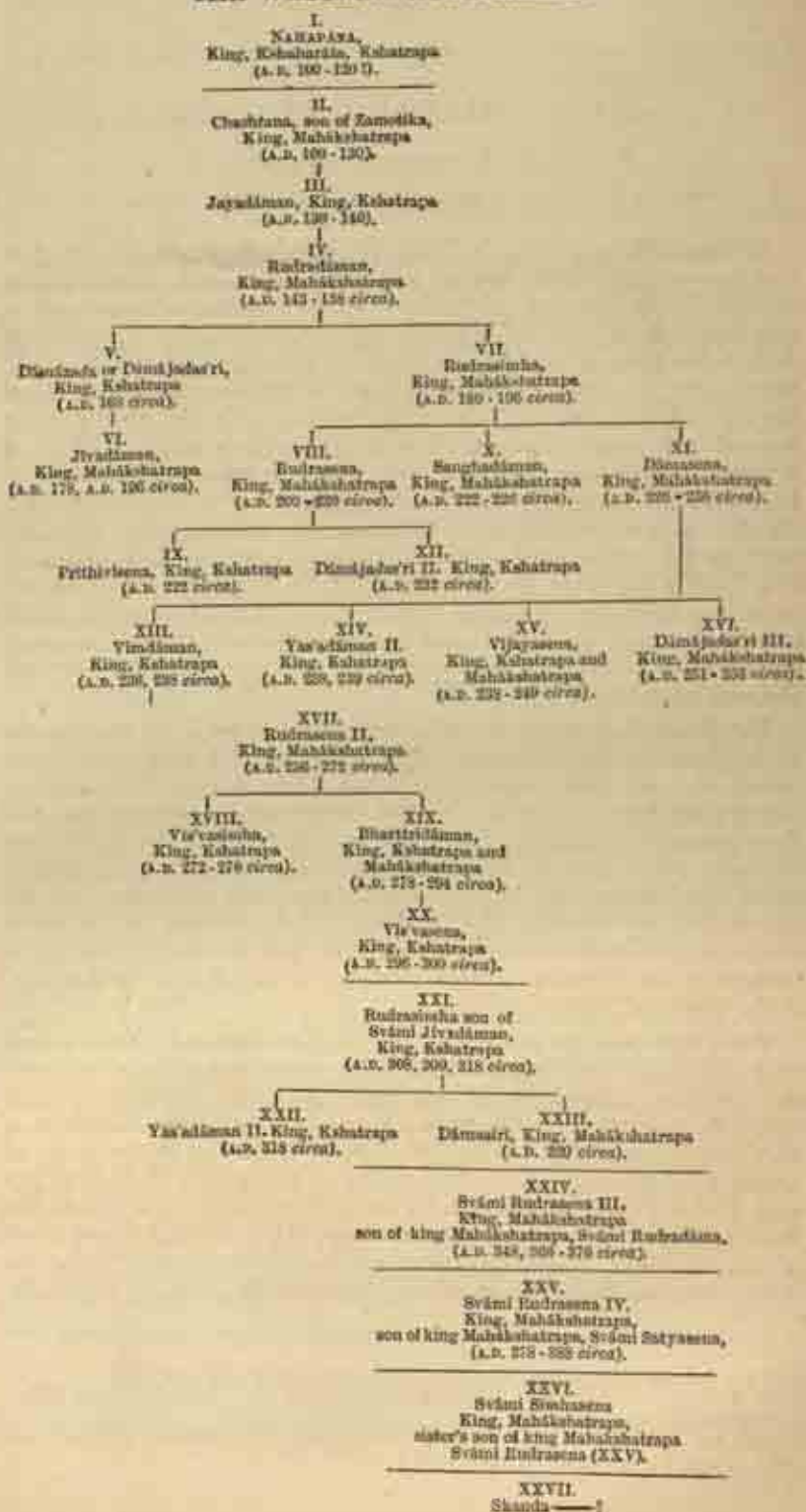
The following table gives the genealogy of the Western Kshatrapas :

Chapter V.

WESTERN
KSHATRAPAS,
A.D. 70-398.

¹ Dr. Bhandarkar's suggestion that Vijayasena (A.D. 238-249) was defeated by the Abhir or Alur king Iśvaradatta who entered Gujara from the North Konkan seems open to question. First as regards the suggestion that Vijayasena was the Kshatrapa whose power Iśvaradatta overthrew it is to be noticed that though the two coinless years (A.D. 249-251) between the last coin of Vijayasena and the earliest coin of Dāmasjādāśri agree with the recorded length of Iśvaradatta's supremacy the absence of coins is not in itself proof of a reverse or loss of Kshatrapa power between the reigns of Vijayasena and Dāmasjādāśri. It is true the Pandit considers that Iśvaradatta's coins closely resemble those of Vijayasena. At the same time he also (Nāsik Stat. Acct. 624) thought them very similar to Virādaman's (A.D. 236-238) coins. Virādaman's date so immediately precedes Vijayasena's that in many respects their coins must be closely alike. It is to be noted that A.D. 230-235 the time of rival Kshatrapas among whom Virādaman was one (especially the time between A.D. 236 and 238 during which none of the rivals assumed the title Mahākshatrapa) was suitable to (perhaps was the result of) a successful invasion by Iśvaradatta, and that this same invasion may have been the cause of the transfer of the capital, noted in the Periplus (A.D. 247) as having taken place some years before, from Ozene or Ujjain to Minnagara or Junagadh (McCrimble, 114, 122). On the other hand the fact that Vijayasena regained the title of Mahākshatrapa and handed it to his successor Dāmasjādāśri III. would seem to show that no reverse or humiliation occurred during the coinless years (A.D. 249-251) between their reigns, a supposition which is supported by the flourishing state of the kingdom at the time of the Periplus (A.D. 247) and also by the evidence that both the above Kshatrapas ruled near Karād in Sātara. At the same time if the difference between Virādaman's and Vijayasena's coins is sufficient to make it unlikely that Iśvaradatta's can be copies of Virādaman's it seems possible that the year of Iśvaradatta's overlordship may be the year A.D. 244 (K. 166) in which Vijayasena's coins bear the title Kshatrapa, and that the assumption of this lower title in the middle of a reign, which with this exception throughout claims the title Mahākshatrapa, may be due to the temporary necessity of acknowledging the supremacy of Iśvaradatta. With reference to the Pandit's suggestion that Iśvaradatta was an Abhira the fact noted above of a trace of Kshatrapa rule at Karād thirty-one miles south of Sātara together with the fact that they held Agartata or the Konkan makes it probable that they reached Karād by Chiplūn and the Kumbhārī pass. That the Kshatrapas entered the Dakhan by so southerly a route instead of by some one of the more central Thāna passes, seems to imply the presence of some hostile power in Nāsik and Khāndesh. This after the close of the second century A.D. could hardly have been the Andhras or Sātākarnis. It may therefore be presumed to have been the Andhras' successors the Abhiras. As regards the third suggestion that Kshatrapa Gujara was overrun from the North Konkan it is to be noted that the evidence of connection between Iśvarasena of the Nāsik inscription (Cave X. No. 13) and Iśvaradatta of the coins is limited to a probable nearness in time and a somewhat slight similarity in name. On the other hand no inscription or other record points to Abhira ascendancy in the North Konkan or South Gujara. The presence of an Abhira power in the North Konkan seems inconsistent with Kshatrapa rule at Kalyān and Karād in the second half of the third century. The position allotted to Aberia in the Periplus (McCrimble, 113) inland from Eurastraea, apparently in the neighbourhood of Thar and Pārkar, the finding of Iśvaradatta's coins in Kathiāvāḍa (Nāsik Gazetteer, XIII. 624); and (perhaps between A.D. 230 and 240) the transfer westwards of the headquarters of the Kshatrapa kingdom seem all to point to the east rather than to the south, as the side from which Iśvaradatta invaded Gujara. At the same time the reference during the reign of Rudrasimha I. (A.D. 181) to the Abhira Rudrabhūti who like his father was Senāpati or Commander-in-Chief suggests that Iśvaradatta may have been not a foreigner but a revolted general. This supposition, his assumption of the title Mahākshatrapa, and the finding of his coins only in Kathiāvāḍa to a certain extent confirm.

THE WESTERN KSHATRAPAS.

Chapter V.
The Kshatrapa
Family Tree.

CHAPTER VI.

THE TRAIKŪṬAKAS

(A.D. 250-450.)

THE materials regarding the Traikūṭakas, though meagre, serve to show that they were a powerful dynasty who rose to consequence about the time of the middle Kshatrapas (A.D. 250). All the recorded information is in two copperplates, one the Kanheri copperplate found by Dr. Bird in 1839,¹ the other a copperplate found at Pārdi near Balsār in 1885.² Both plates are dated, the Kanheri plate 'in the year two hundred and forty-five of the increasing rule of the Traikūṭakas'; the Pārdi plate in Samvat 207 clearly figured. The Kanheri plate contains nothing of historical importance; the Pārdi plate gives the name of the donor as Dahrasena or Dharasena 'the illustrious great king of the Traikūṭakas.' Though it does not give any royal name the Kanheri plate expressly mentions the date as the year 245 of the increasing rule of the Traikūṭakas. The Pārdi plate gives the name of the king as 'of the Traikūṭakas' but merely mentions the date as Sam. 207. This date though not stated to be in the era of the Traikūṭakas must be taken to be dated in the same era as the Kanheri plate seeing that the style of the letters of both plates is very similar.

The initial date must therefore have been started by the founder of the dynasty and the Kanheri plate proves the dynasty must have lasted at least 245 years. The Pārdi plate is one of the earliest copper-plate grants in India. Neither the genealogy nor even the usual three generations including the father and grandfather are given, nor like later plates does it contain a wealth of attributes. The king is called 'the great king of the Traikūṭakas,' the performer of the *asvamedha* or horse-sacrifice, a distinction bespeaking a powerful sovereign. It may therefore be supposed that Dahrasena held South Gujarāt to the Narbāda together with part of the North Konkan and of the Ghāt and Dakhan plateau.

What then was the initial date of the Traikūṭakas? Ten Gujarāt copper-plates of the Gurjjaras and Chalukyas are dated in an unknown era with Sam. followed by the date figures as in the Pārdi plate and as in Gupta inscriptions. The earliest is the fragment from Sāṅkheḍā in the Baroda State dated Sam 346, which would fall in the reign of Dadda I. of Broach.³ Next come the two Kaira grants of the Gurjara king Dadda Prasāntarāja dated Sam. 380 and Sam. 385⁴; and the Sāṅkheḍā grant of Ramgraha dated Sam. 391⁵; then the Kaira grant of the Chalukya king Vijayarāja or Vijayavarman dated Samvatsara 394⁶; then the Bagumrā grant of the Sendraka chief Nikumbhalla-

Chapter VI.
TRAIKŪṬAKAS,
 A.D. 250-450.
 Two Plates.

Initial Date.

¹ Cave Temple Inscriptions, Bom. Arch. Sur. Sep. Number XI, page 57B.

² J. B. B. E. A. S. XVI. 546. ³ Epigraphia Indica, II. 19. ⁴ Ind. Ant. XIII. 81B.

⁵ Ep. Ind. II. 20.

⁶ Ind. Ant. VII. 248E. Dr. Bhandarkar (Early Hist. of the Deccan, 42 note 7) has given reasons for believing this grant to be a forgery.

Chapter VI.

TRAIKUTAKAS,
A.D. 250-400.

Initial Date.

śakti¹; two grants from Navsāri and Surat of the Chalukya king Śilāditya Sryāśraya dated 421 and 443²; two the Navsari and Kāvi grants of the Gurjjara king Jayabhata dated respectively Samv. 456 and Samv. 486³; and a grant of Pulakesi dated Samvat 490.⁴

Of these the grant dated 421 speaks of Śilāditya Sryāśraya as Yuvarāja or heir-apparent and as the son of Jayasinhavarman. The plate further shows that Jayasinhavarman was brother of Vikramāditya and son of Pulakesi Vallabha 'the conqueror of the northern king Harshavardhana.' The name Jayasinhavarman does not occur in any copperplate of the main line of the Western Chalukyas of the Dakhan. That he is called Mahārāja or great king and that his son Śilāditya is called Yuvarāja or heir-apparent suggest that Jayasinhavarman was the founder of the Gujarāt branch of the Western Chalukyas and that his great Dakhan brother Vikramāditya was his overlord, a relation which would explain the mention of Vikramāditya in the genealogy of the copper-plate. Vikramāditya's reign ended in A.D. 680 (Saka 602).⁵ Supposing our grant to be dated in this last year of Vikramāditya, Samvat 421 should correspond to Saka 602, which gives Saka 181 or A.D. 259 as the initial date of the era in which the plate is dated. Probably the plate was dated earlier in the reign of Vikramāditya giving A.D. 250. In any case the era used cannot be the Gupta era whose initial year is now finally settled to be A.D. 319.

The second grant of the same Śilāditya is dated Samvat 443. In it, both in an eulogistic verse at the beginning and in the text of the genealogy, Vinayāditya Satyāśraya Vallabha is mentioned as the paramount sovereign which proves that by Samvat 443 Vikramāditya had been succeeded by Vinayāditya. The reign of Vinayāditya has been fixed as lasting from Saka 602 to Saka 618 that is from A.D. 680 to A.D. 696-97.⁶ Taking Saka 615 or A.D. 693 to correspond with Samvat 443, the initial year of the era is A.D. 250.

The grant of Pulakesivallabha Janāśraya dated Samvat 490, mentions Mangalarasārāja as the donor's elder brother and as the son of Jayasinhavarman. And a Balsear grant whose donor is mentioned as Mangalarāja son of Jayasinhavarman, apparently the same as the Mangalarasārāja of the plate just mentioned, is dated Saka 653.⁷ Placing the elder brother about ten years before the younger we get Samvat 480 as the date of Mangalarāja, which, corresponding with Saka 653 or A.D. 730-31, gives A.D. 730 minus 480 that is A.D. 250-51 as the initial year of the era in which Pulakesi's grant is dated. In the Navsāri plates, which record a gift by the Gurjjara king Jayabhata in Samvat 456, Dadda II. the donor of the Kaira grants which bear date 380 and 385, is mentioned in the genealogical part at the beginning as 'protecting the lord of Valabhi who had been defeated by the great lord the illustrious Harshadeva.' Now the great Harshadeva or Harsha Vardhana of Kanauj whose court was visited by the Chinese pilgrim Hsien

¹ Ind. Ant. XVIII. 265ff.² J. B. B. R. A. S. XVI. 1ff. ; Trans. Vienna Or. Congress, 210ff.³ Ind. Ant. XIII. 70ff. and V. 169ff.⁴ Fleet's Kāmarasa Dynasties, 37.⁵ Trans. Vienna Or. Congress, 210ff.⁶ Fleet's Kāmarasa Dynasties, 27.⁷ Ind. Ant. XIV. 75 and Jour. B. B. R. A. S. XVI. 1ff.

Tsiang between A.D. 629 and 645, reigned according to Reinaud from A.D. 607 to about A.D. 648. Taking A.D. 250 as the initial year of the era of the Kaira plates, Dadda II.'s dates 380 and 385, corresponding to A.D. 630 and 635, fall in the reign of Harshavardhana.

These considerations seem to show that the initial date of the Traikūṭaka era was at or about A.D. 250 which at once suggests its identity with the Chedi or Kalachuri era.¹ The next question is, Who were these Traikūṭakas. The meaning of the title seems to be kings of Triṅṅṭa. Several references seem to point to the existence of a city named Triṅṅṭa on the western seaboard. In describing Raghu's triumphant progress the Rāmāyana and the Raghuvaṃśa mention him as having established the city of Triṅṅṭa in Aparānta on the western seaboard.² Triṅṅṭakam or Triṅṅṭam, a Sanskrit name for sea salt seems a reminiscence of the time when Triṅṅṭa was the emporium from which Konkan salt was distributed over the Dakhan. The scanty information regarding the territory ruled by the Traikūṭakas is in agreement with the suggestion that Junnar in North Poona was the probable site of their capital and that in the three ranges that encircle Junnar we have the origin of the term Triṅṅṭa or Three-Peaked.

Of the race or tribe of the Traikūṭakas nothing is known. The conjecture may be offered that they are a branch of the Abhira kings of the Purāṇas, one of whom is mentioned in Inscription XV. of Nāsik Cave X, which from the style of the letters belongs to about A.D. 150 to 200. The easy connection between Nāsik and Balsār by way of Peth (Peint) and the nearness in time between the Nāsik inscription and the initial date of the Traikūṭakas support this conjecture. The further suggestion may be offered that the founder of the line of Traikūṭakas was the Īśvaradatta, who, as noted in the Kshatrapa chapter, held the overlordship of Kāthiāwāḍa as Mahākshatrapa, perhaps during the two years A.D. 248 and 249, a result in close agreement with the conclusions drawn from the examination of the above quoted Traikūṭaka and Chalukya copperplates. As noted in the Kshatrapa chapter after two years' supremacy Īśvaradatta seems to have been defeated and regular Kshatrapa rule restored about A.D. 252 (K. 174) by Dāmasājāsri son of Vijayasena. The unbroken use of the title Mahākshatrapa, the moderate and uniform lengths of the reigns, and the apparently unquestioned successions suggest, what the discovery of Kshatrapa coins at Karād near Sātāra in the Dakhan and at Amrāvati in the Berārs seems to imply, that during the second half of the third century Kshatrapa rule was widespread and firmly established.³ The conjecture may be offered that Rudrasena (A.D. 256-272) whose coins have been found in Amrāvati in the Berārs spread his power at the expense of the Traikūṭakas driving them towards the Central Provinces where they established themselves at Tripura and Kālanjara.⁴ Further that under Brāhman

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TRAIKUTAKAS,
A.D. 250-450.

Initial Date.

Their Race
or Tribe.

¹ Mr. Fleet (Corp. Ins. Ind. III. 9) and Sir A. Cunningham (Arch. Sur. IX. 77) agree in fixing A.D. 250 as the initial date of the Chedi era. Prof. Kielhorn has worked out the available dates and finds that the first year of the era corresponds to A.D. 249-50, Ind. Ant. XVII. 215.

² Valmiki's Rāmāyana, Ganpat Krishnaji's Edition: Raghuvaṃśa, IV. 59.

³ For details see above page 48.

⁴ Tripura four miles west of Jabalpur; Kālanjara 140 miles north of Jabalpur.

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TRAIKÚTAKAS,
A.D. 250-450,

Their Race
or Tribe.

influence, just as the Gurjjaras called themselves descendants of Karna the hero of the Mahābhārata, and the Pallavas claimed to be of the Bhāradvāja stock, the Traikútakas forgot their Abhira origin and claimed descent from the Haihayas. Again as the Valabhis (A.D. 480-767) adopted the Gupta era but gave it their own name so the rulers of Tripura seem to have continued the original Traikútaka era of A.D. 248-9 under the name of the Chedi era. The decline of the Kshatrapas dates from about A.D. 300 the rule of Viśvasena the twentieth Kshatrpa son of Bhartridāman. The subsequent disruption of the Kshatrpa empire was probably the work of their old neighbours and foes the Traikútakas, who, under the name of Haihayas, about the middle of the fifth century (A.D. 455-6) rose to supremacy and established a branch at their old city of Trikūṭa ruling the greater part of the Bombay Dakhan and South Gujarāt and probably filling the blank between A.D. 410 the fall of the Kshatrapas and A.D. 500 the rise of the Chalukyas.

About 1887 Pandit Bhagvānlāl secured nine of a hoard of 500 silver coins found at Daman in South Gujarāt. All are of one king a close imitation of the coins of the latest Kshatrapas. On the obverse is a bust of bad workmanship and on the reverse are the usual Kshatrpa symbols encircled with the legend:

महाराजेंद्रवर्मपुत्रपरमवैष्णवश्रीमहाराजरुद्रगणः

Mahārājendravarmaputra Parama Vaiṣṇava
Śrī Mahārāja Rudragana.

The devoted Vaiṣṇava the illustrious king Rudragana
son of the great king Indravarma.

At Karād, thirty-one miles south of Sātara, Mr. Justice Newton obtained a coin of this Rudragana, with the coins of many Kshatrapas including Viśvasimha son of Bhartridāman who ruled up to A.D. 300. This would favour the view that Rudragana was the successful rival who wrested the Dakhan and North Konkan from Viśvasimha. The fact that during the twenty years after Viśvasimha (A.D. 300-320) none of the Kshatrapas has the title Mahākshatrpa seems to show they ruled in Kāthiavāda as tributaries of this Rudragana and his descendants of the Traikūtaka family. The Dahrasena of the Pārdi plate whose inscription date is 207, that is A.D. 457, may be a descendant of Rudragana. The Traikūtaka kingdom would thus seem to have flourished at least till the middle of the fifth century. Somewhat later, or at any rate after the date of the Kanheri plate (245 = A.D. 495), it was overthrown by either the Mauryas or the Guptas.¹

¹ That the era used by the Gurjjaras and Chalukyas of Gujarāt was the Chedi era may be regarded as certain since the discovery of the Saṅkheḍā grant of Nīrharāja (Ep. Ind. II. 21), who speaks of a certain Saṅkarāja as his overlord. Palaeographic ally this grant belongs to the sixth century, and Dr. Bühler has suggested that Saṅkarāja is the Chedi Saṅkaragana whose son Buddharāja was defeated by Maṅgalīśa some time before A.D. 602 (Ind. Ant. XIX. 16). If this is accepted, the grant shows that the Chedis or Kalachuris were in power in the Narbada valley during the sixth century, which explains the prevalence of their era in South Gujarāt. Chedi rule in the Narbada valley must have come to an end about A.D. 880 when Dudda I. established himself at Broach. It is difficult in the way of identifying the Traikūtakas with them. There is no great Traikūtaka grants are dated in the third century of their era, and belong to the two known to the fifth century A.D. Their era, therefore, like that of the Kalachuris, begins in the third century A.D. and it is simpler to suppose that the two eras were the same than

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that two different eras, whose initial points were only a few years apart, were in use in the same district. Now that the Saka and the Vikrama eras are known to have had different names at different times, the change in the name of the era offers no special difficulty. This identification would carry back Kalachuri rule in South Gujarat to at least A.D. 450-6, the date of the Pardi grant: and it is worth noting that Varahamihira (Br. Samh. XIV. 20) places the Hailuyas or Kalachuris in the west along with the Aparantakas or Kankas.

Though the name Traikūtaka means of Trikūṭa, the authorities quoted by Dr. Bhagvān-hi do not establish the existence of a city called Trikūṭa. They only vouch for a mountain of that name somewhere in the Western Ghats, and there is no evidence of any special connection with Junnar. Further, the word Trikūṭakasa seems to mean rock-salt, not sea-salt, so that there is here no special connection with the Western coast. Whenever Trikūṭa may have been, there seems no need to reject the tradition that connects the rise of the Kalachuris with their capture of Kalanjara (Cunningham's Arch. Surv. IX. 77ff), as it is more likely that they advanced from the East down the Nerbuddā than that their original seats were on the West Coast, as the Western Indian inscriptions of the third and fourth centuries contain no reference either to Traikūtakas or to Junnar or other western city as Trikūṭa.

With reference to the third suggestion that the Traikūtakas twice overthrew the Kshatrapas, under Isvaradatta in A.D. 318 and under Rudragana in A.D. 310-320, it is to be noted that there is no evidence to show that Isvaradatta was either an Abhira or a Traikūtaka and that the identification of his date with A.D. 245-250 seems less probable than with either A.D. 244 or A.D. 230. (Compare above Footnote page 53). Even if Isvaradatta's supremacy coincided with A.D. 250 the initial date of the Traikūtaka era, it seems improbable that a king who reigned only two years and left no successor should have had any connection with the establishment of an era which is not found in use till two centuries later. As regards Rudragana it may be admitted that he belonged to the race or family who weakened Kshatrapa power early in the fourth century A.D. At the same time there seems no reason to suppose that Rudragana was a Traikūtaka or a Kalachuri except the fact that his name, like that of Saṅkaragana, is a compound of the word *gana* and a name of Śiva; while the irregular posthumous use of the title Mahākshatrapa among the latest (23rd to 25th) Kshatrapas favours the view that they remained independent till their overthrow by the Guptas about A.D. 410. The conclusion seems to be that the Traikūtaka and the Kalachuri eras are the same namely A.D. 318-9: that this era was introduced into Gujarat by the Traikūtakas who were connected with the Hailuyas; and that the introduction of the era into Gujarat did not take place before the middle of the fifth century A.D.—(A. M. T. J.)

CHAPTER VII.

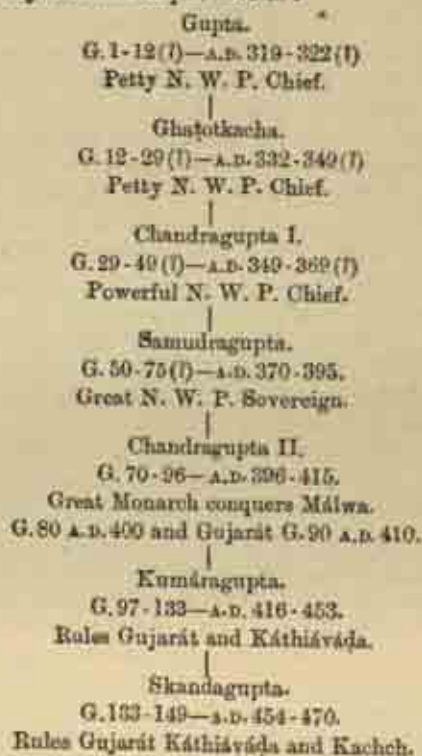
THE GUPTAS

(G. 90-149; A.D. 410-470.)

Chapter VII.

THE GUPTAS,
A.D. 410-470.

AFTER the Kshatrapas (A.D. 120-410) the powerful dynasty of the Guptas established themselves in Gujarât. So far as the dynasty is connected with Gujarât the Gupta tree is :



According to the Purânas¹ the original seat of the Guptas was between the Ganges and the Jamna. Their first capital is not determined. English writers usually style them the Guptas of Kanauj. And though this title is simply due to the chance that Gupta coins were first found at Kanauj, further discoveries show that the chief remains of Gupta records and coins are in the territory to the east and south-east of Kanauj. Of the race of the Guptas nothing is known. According to the ordinances of the Smritis or Sacred Books,² the terminal *gupta* belongs only to Vaisya a class including shepherds

¹ Váyu Purâna, Wilson's Works, IX. 219n.

² Vishnu Purâna, III. Chapter 10 Verse 9: Burnell's Manu, 20. Mr. Fleet (Corp. Ins. Ind. III. Ins. 11 note 1) quotes an instance of a Brahman named Brahmagupta.

cultivators and traders. Of the first three kings, Gupta Ghatotkacha and Chandragupta I., beyond the fact that Chandragupta I. bore the title of *Mahārājādhirāja*, neither descriptive titles nor details are recorded. As the fourth king Samudragupta performed the long-neglected horse-sacrifice he must have been Brahmanical in religion. And as inscriptions style Samudragupta's three successors, Chandragupta II. Kumāragupta and Skandagupta, Parama Bhāgavata, they must have been Smārta Vaishnavas, that is devotees of Vishnu and observers of Vedic ceremonies.

The founder of the dynasty is styled Gupta. In inscriptions this name always appears as *Śrī-gupta* which is taken to mean protected by Śrī or Lakshmi. Against this explanation it is to be noted that in their inscriptions all Gupta's successors have a *Śrī* before their names. The question therefore arises: If *Śrī* forms part of the name why should the name *Śrīgupta* have had no second *Śrī* prefixed in the usual way. Further in the inscriptions the lineage appears as *Gupta-vamśa* that is the lineage of the Guptas never *Śrīgupta-vamśa*¹; and whenever dates in the era of this dynasty are given they are conjoined with the name Gupta never with *Śrīgupta*.² It may therefore be taken that Gupta not *Śrīgupta* is the correct form of the founder's name.³

Gupta the founder seems never to have risen to be more than a petty chief. No known inscription gives him the title *Mahārājādhirāja* Supreme Ruler of Great Kings, which all Gupta rulers after the founder's grandson Chandragupta assume. Again that no coins of the founder and many coins of his successors have been discovered makes it probable that Gupta was not a ruler of enough importance to have a currency of his own. According to the inscriptions Gupta was succeeded by his son Ghatotkacha a petty chief like his father with the title of *Mahārāja* and without coins.

Chandragupta I. (A.D. 349-369 [?]), the son and successor of Ghatotkacha, is styled *Mahārājādhirāja* either because he himself became powerful, or more probably, because he was the father of his very powerful successor Samudragupta. Though he may not have gained the dignity of "supreme ruler of great kings" by his own successes Chandragupta I. rose to a higher position than his predecessors. He was connected by marriage with the Licchhavi dynasty of Tirhut an alliance which must have been considered of importance since his son Samudragupta puts the name of his mother Kumāradevi on his coins, and always styles himself daughter's son of Licchhavi.⁴

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THE GUPTAS.
A.D. 410-470.

The Founder
Gupta,
A.D. 319-322 (?).

Ghatotkacha,
A.D. 322-349 (?).

Chandragupta I.
A.D. 349-369 (?).

¹ Fleet's Corp. Ins. Ind. III. Ins. 53 line 7.

² Compare Skandagupta's Junāgadh Inscription line 15, Ind. Ant. XIV.; Cunningham's Arch. Sur. X. 113; Fleet's Corp. Ins. Ind. III. Ins. 59.

³ Compare Mr. Fleet's note in Corp. Ins. Ind. III. Ins. 8.

⁴ Fleet's Corp. Ins. Ind. III. 135. Mr. Fleet believes that the Licchhavi family concerned was that of Nepal, and that they were the real founders of the era used by the Guptas. Dr. Bühler (Vienna Or. Journal, V. Pt. 3) holds that Chandragupta married into the Licchhavi family of Pataliputra and became king of that country in right of his wife. The coins which bear the name of Kumāradevi are by Mr. Smith (J. B. A. S. (N. S.) XXI. 63) and others assigned to Chandragupta I., reading the reverse legend *Licchhaviya* The Licchhavis in place of Dr. Bhandarkar's *Licchhaviya* Daughter's son of Licchhavi. On the Kaicha coins see below page 62 note 2.

The Licchhavis claim to be sprung from the solar dynasty. Manu (Burnell's Manu,

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THE GUPTAS,
A.D. 410-470.
Samudragupta,
A.D. 370-395.

His Coins.

Samudragupta was the first of his family to strike coins. His numerous gold coins are, with a certain additional Indian element, adopted from those of his Indo-Skythian predecessors. The details of the royal figure on the obverse are Indian in the neck ornaments, large earrings, and headdress; they are Indo-Skythian in the tailed coat, long boots, and straddle. The goddess on the reverse of some coins with a fillet and cornucopia is an adaptation of an Indo-Skythian figure, while the lotus-holding Ganges on an alligator and the standing Glory holding a flyflapper on the reverse of other coins are purely Indian.¹

A noteworthy feature of Samudragupta's coins is that one or other of almost all his epithets appears on each of his coins with a figure of the king illustrating the epithet. Coins with the epithet *Sarva-rājachakrhatta* Destroyer-of-all-kings have on the obverse a standing king stretching out a banner topped by the wheel or disc of universal supremacy.²

Coins with the epithet *Apratiratha* Peerless have on the obverse a standing king whose left hand rests on a bow and whose right hand holds a loose-lying unaimed arrow and in front an Eagle or Garuda standard symbolizing the unrivalled supremacy of the king, his arrow no longer wanted, his standard waving unchallenged. On the obverse is the legend:

308) describes them as descended from a degraded Kshatriya. Beal (R. A. S. N. S. XIV, 39) would identify them with an early wave of the Yuechi or Kushana; Smith (J. R. A. S. XX, 55 n. 2) and Howitt (J. R. A. S. XX, 355-366) take them to be a Kolurian or local tribe. The fame of the Lichchhavis of Vatsali or Patala between Patna and Tirhut goes back to the time of Gautama Buddha (n.c. 480) in whose funeral rites the Lichchhavis and their neighbours and associates the Mallas took a prominent share (Rockhill's Life of Buddha, 62-63, 143, 203. Compare Legge's Fa Hien, 71-75; Beal's Buddhist Records, II, 67, 70, 73, 77 and 81 note). According to Buddhist writings the first king of Tibet (A.D. 50) who was elected by the chiefs of the South Tibet tribes was a Lichchhavi the son of Prasradjit of Kotala (Rockhill's Life of Buddha, 208). Between the seventh and ninth centuries (A.D. 635-854) a family of Lichchhavis was ruling in Nepal (Fleet's Corp. Ins. Ind. III, 134). The earliest historical member of the Nepāl family is Jayadeva I. whose date is supposed to be about A.D. 330 to 355. Mr. Fleet (Ditto, 135) suggests that Jayadeva's reign began earlier and may be the epoch from which the Gupta era of A.D. 318-319 is taken. He holds (Ditto, 136) that in all probability the so-called Gupta era is a Lichchhavi era.

¹ The figure of the Ganges standing on an alligator with a stalked lotus in her left hand on the reverse of the gold coins of Samudragupta the fourth king of the dynasty may be taken to be the Sri or Luck of the Guptas. Compare Smith's Gupta Coinage, J. Bong. A. S. LIII, Plate I, Fig. 10. J. R. A. S. (N. S.) XXI, Pl. I, 2.

² The presence of the two letters ॠ ॡ that is *ka cha* on the obverse under the arm of the royal figure, has led the late Mr. Thomas, General Cunningham, and Mr. Smith to suppose that the coins belonged to Ghatotkacha, the last two letters of the name being the same. This identification seems improbable. Ghatotkacha was never powerful enough to have a currency of his own. *Sarva-rājachakrhatta* the attribute on the reverse is one of Samudragupta's epithets, while the figure of the king on the obverse grasping the standard with the disc illustrating the attribute of universal sovereignty, can refer to none other than Samudragupta the first very powerful king of the dynasty. Perhaps the Kacha or Kača on these coins is a pet or child name of Samudragupta. Mr. Rapson (Numismat. Chron. 3rd Ser. XL 489) has recently suggested that the Kacha coins belong to an elder brother and predecessor of Samudragupta. But it seems unlikely that a ruler who could justly claim the title Destroyer-of-all-kings should be passed over in silence in the genealogy. Further, as is remarked above, the title *Sarva-rājachakrhatta* belongs in the inscriptions to Samudragupta alone; and the fact that in his lifetime Samudragupta's father chose him as successor is against his exclusion from the throne even for a time.

³ Smith's Gupta Coinage in J. R. A. S. (N. S.) XXI, Pl. I, 10.

अप्रतिरथराज्यकीर्ति (र) मम विजयते.

Apratiratharājanyakīrti(r)mama vijāyate.¹

Triumphant is the glory of me the unrivalled sovereign.

Coins with the attribute *Kritānta paraśu* the Death-like-battle-axe have on the obverse a royal figure grasping a battle-axe.² In front of the royal figure a boy, perhaps Samudragupta's son Chandragupta, holds a standard. Coins with the attribute *Aśvamedhaparākramah* Able-to-hold-a-horse-sacrifice have on the obverse a horse standing near a sacrificial post *yūpa* and on the reverse a female figure with a fly-flap.³ The legend on the obverse is imperfect and hard to read. The late Mr. Thomas restores it:

नवजमवः राजाधिराज पृथिवीं जियत्य.

Navajamaḥaḥ rājādhirāja prithivīm jiyaty.

Horse sacrifice, after conquering the earth, the great king (performs).

Coins with the legend *Licchhavyaś*, a coin abbreviation for *Licchhavidauhitra* Daughter's son of Licchhavi (?), have on the obverse a standing king grasping a javelin.⁴ Under the javelin hand are the letters *Chandraguptaś*. Facing the king a female figure with trace of the letters *Kumiradevi* seems to speak to him. These figures of his mother and father are given to explain the attribute *Licchhavyaś* or scion of Licchhavi. This coin has been supposed to belong to Chandragupta I. but the attribute *Licchhavyaś* can apply only to Samudragupta.

A fuller source of information regarding Samudragupta remains in his inscription on the Allahābād Pillar.⁵ Nearly eight verses of the first part are lost. The first three verses probably described his learning as what remains of the third verse mentions his poetic accomplishments, and line 27 says he was skilled in poetry and music, a trait further illustrated by what are known as his Lyrist coins where he is shown playing a lute.⁶ The fourth verse says that during his lifetime his father chose Samudragupta to rule the earth from among others of equal birth. His father is mentioned as pleased with him and this is followed by the description of a victory during which several opponents are said to have submitted. The seventh verse records the sudden destruction of the army of Achyuta Nāgasena and the punishment inflicted on a descendant of the Kōta family.

Lines 19 and 20 record the conquest, or submission, of the following South Indian monarchs, Mahendra of Kosala, Vyāghrarāja of Mahā Kāntāra,⁷ Mundarāja of Kaurāttā,⁸ Svāmīdatta of Paishatapura Mahendra-Giri and Auṭṭura⁹, Damana of Airaṇḍapallaka, Vishnu of Kāñchī, Nilarāja Śāpāvamukta,¹⁰ Hastivarman of Veṅgī, Ugrasena of Pālaka,¹¹

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THE GUPTAS.

A.D. 410-470.

Samudragupta.

A.D. 370-395.

His Allahābād
Inscription.

¹ Compare Wilson's *Ariana Antiqua*, Pl. XVIII. Fig. 8, which has the same legend with me for *mama*. ² Smith J. R. A. S. (N. S.) XXI. Pl. I. 11, 12.

³ Smith J. R. A. S. (N. S.) XXI. Pl. I. 4.

⁴ Smith J. R. A. S. (N. S.) XXI. Pl. I. Mr. Smith reads *Licchhavyaś* (the *Licchhavi*) and assigns this type to Chandragupta I.

⁵ *Corpus Ins. Ind.* III. 1. ⁶ Smith J. R. A. S. (N. S.) XXI. Pl. I. 5, 6.

⁷ Apparently South Kosala, the country about Raipur and Chhattisgarh.

⁸ Fleet reads *Mandirāja* of Kerala.

⁹ Fleet divides the words differently and translates "Mahendra of Paishatapura, Svāmīdatta of Kōttora on the hill."

¹⁰ Fleet reads "Nilarāja of Avamukta."

¹¹ Fleet reads *Palakka* or *Pilakka*.

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THE GUPTAS,
A.D. 410-470,
Samudragupta,
A.D. 370-395.

Kubera of Daivarāshtra, and Dhananjaya of Kausthalapura. Line 21 gives a further list of nine kings of Aryāvarta exterminated by Samudragupta:

Rudradeva.	Chandravarman.	Achyuta.
Matila.	Ganapati-nāga.	Nandin.
Nāgadatta.	Nāgasena.	Balavarman.

As no reference is made to the territories of these kings they may be supposed to be well known neighbouring rulers. General Cunningham's coins and others obtained at Mathurā show that the fifth ruler Ganapati-nāga was one of the Nāga kings of Gwālior and Narwar.¹ The inscription next mentions that Samudragupta took into his employ the chiefs of the forest countries. Then in lines 22 and 23 follows a list of countries whose kings gave him tribute, who obeyed his orders, and who came to pay homage. The list includes the names of many frontier countries and the territories of powerful contemporary kings. The frontier kingdoms are:²

Samatata.	Davaka.	Kamarupa.	Nepala.	Karttika.
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The Indian kingdoms are:³

Mālava.	Madraka.	Sanakānika.
Arjunayana.	Abhira.	Kāka.
Yaudheya.	Prarjuna.	Kharaparika.

Mention is next made of kings who submitted, gave their daughters in marriage, paid tribute, and requested the issue of the Garuda or Eagle charter to secure them in the enjoyment of their territory.⁴ The tribal names of these kings are:⁵

Devaputra.	Saka.
Shāhi.	Murunda.
Shāhānushāhi.	Saiphālakā.
Island Kings.	

¹ Arch. Surv. II. 310; J. B. A. S. 1895. 115-121.

² Samatata is the Ganges delta: Davaka may, as Mr. Fleet suggests, be Dacca: for Karttika Mr. Fleet reads Karttipura, otherwise Uttarak might be intended.

³ For the Mālavas see above page 24. The Arjunayanas can hardly be the Kalachuris as Mr. Fleet (C. I. I. III. 10) has suggested, as Varāha Mihira (Br. S. XIV. 25) places the Arjunayanas in the north near Trigarta, and General Cunningham's coin (Coins of Ancient India, 90) points to the same region. The Yaudheyas lived on the lower Sutlej: see above page 36. The Madrakas lived north-east of the Yaudheyas between the Chenab and the Sutlej (Cunningham Anc. Geog. 185). The Abhiras must be those on the south-east border of Sindh. The Prarjunas do not appear to be identifiable. A Sanakānika Mahārāja is mentioned (C. I. I. III. 3) as dedicating an offering at Udayagiri near Bilas, but we have no clue to the situation of his government. The name of his grandfather, Chhagalaga, has a Turki look. Kāka may be Kakrapur near Bithur (Cunningham Anc. Geog. 386). Kharaparika has not been identified.—(A. M. T. J.)

⁴ Mr. Fleet translates "(giving) Garuda-tokens, (surrendering) the enjoyment of their own territories."

⁵ The first three names Devaputra, Shāhi, and Shāhānushāhi, belong to the Kushān dynasty of Kanishka (A.D. 78). Shāhānushāhi is the oldest, as it appears on the coins from Kanishka downwards in the form Shāhānushāh (Stein in Babylonian and Oriental Record, I. 163). It represents the old Persian title Shāhānshāh or king of kings. Shāhi, answering to the simple Shah, appears to be first used alone by Vasudeva (A.D. 128-176). The title of Devaputra occurs first in the inscriptions of Kanishka. In the present inscription all three titles seem to denote divisions of the Kushān empire in

The inscribed pillar is said to have been set up by the great Captain or Dandanāyaka named Tilabhāṭṭanāyaka.

This important inscription shows that Samudragupta's dominions included Mathurā, Oudh, Gorakhpur, Allahābād, Benares, Behār, Tirhut, Bengal, and part of East Rājputāna. The list of Dakṣiṇ and South Indian kingdoms does not necessarily imply that they formed part of Samudragupta's territory. Samudragupta may have made a victorious campaign to the far south and had the countries recorded in the order of his line of march. The order suggests that he went from Behār, by way of Gayā, to Kosala the country about the modern Raipur in the Central Provinces, and from Kosala, by Ganjam and other places in the Northern Circars, as far as Kāñchi or Conjeveram forty-six miles south-west of Madras. Mālwa is shown in the second list as a powerful allied kingdom. It does not appear to have formed part of Samudragupta's territory nor, unless the Sakas are the Kshatrapas, does any mention of Gujaraṭ occur even as an allied state.

Samudragupta was succeeded by his son Chandragupta II. whose mother was the queen Dattadevī. He was the greatest and most powerful king of the Gupta dynasty and added largely to the territory left by Samudragupta. His second name Vikramāditya or the Sun of Prowess appears on his coins. Like his father Chandragupta II. struck gold coins of various types. He was the first Gupta ruler who spread his power over Mālwa and Gujaraṭ which he apparently took from the Kshatrapas as he was the first Gupta to strike silver coins and as his silver coins of both varieties the eastern and the western are modifications of the Kshatrapa type. The expedition which conquered Mālwa seems to have passed from Allahābād by Bundelkhand to Bhilsā and thence to Mālwa. An undated inscription in the Udayagiri caves at Vidiśā (the modern Besnagar) near Bhilsā records the making of a cave of Mahādeva by one Śiṣṭa of the Kautsa gotra and the family name of Virasena, a poet and native of Pāṭaliputra who held the hereditary office of minister of peace and war *sandhivigrahika*, and who is recorded to have arrived with the king who was intent upon conquering the whole earth.¹ A neighbouring cave bears an inscription of a feudatory of Chandragupta who was chief of Sanakānika.² The chief's name is lost, but the names of his father Vishnudāsa and of his grandfather Chālagala remain. The date is the eleventh of the bright half of

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A.D. 410-470.

Samudragupta.

A.D. 370-395.

Chandragupta II.

A.D. 390-415.

India. The title of Shāhi was continued by the Turks (A.D. 600?-900) and Beilmans (A.D. 900-1000) of Kabul (Alberuni, II. 10) and by the Shāhis (Elliot, I. 138) of Aler in Sindh (A.D. 400?-631). Unless it refers to the last remnants of the Gujaraṭ Mahakshatrapas the word Saka seems to be used in a vague sense in reference to the non-Indian tribes of the North-West frontier. The Murundas may be identified with the Murudas of the Native dictionaries, and hence with the people of Lampaka or Laughaṇa twenty miles north-west of Jalalābād. It is notable that in the fifth century A.D. Jayanātha, Mahārāja of Uchchakalpa (not identified) married a Murundadevī (Corp. Ins. Ind. III. 128, 131, 136).

The mention of the King of Sindhala and the Island Kings rounds off the geographical picture. Possibly after the Chinese fashion presents from these countries may have been magnified into tribute. Or Sindhala may here stand, not for Ceylon, but for one of the many Sinhapuras known in Indian geography. Sihar in Kāthiavāḍa, an old capital, may possibly be the place referred to. The Island Kings would then be the chiefs of Cutch and Kāthiavāḍa.—(A. M. T. J.)

¹ Corp. Ins. Ind. III. Ins. 6.

² Corp. Ins. Ind. III. Ins. 3.

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A.D. 396-415.

Ashādha Samvatsara 82 (A.D. 401). From this Chandragupta's conquest of Vidiśā may be dated about Samvatsara 80 (A.D. 399) or a little earlier.

A third inscription is on the railing of the great Sāṁcī stūpa.¹ It is dated the 4th day of Bhādrapada Samvat 93 (A.D. 412) and records the gift of 25 *dīnāras* and something called *Iśvaravāsaka* (perhaps a village or a field) to the monks of the great monastery of Kakanādabojasri for the daily maintenance of five *bhikkhus* and the burning of a lamp in the *ratnagriha* or shrine of the Buddhist *triratna*, for the merit of the supreme king of great kings Chandragupta who bears the popular name of Devarāja or god-like.² The donor a feudatory of Chandragupta named Amrakārdava is described as having the object of his life gratified by the favour of the feet of the supreme ruler of great kings the illustrious Chandragupta, and as showing to the world the hearty loyalty of a good feudatory. Amrakārdava seems to have been a chief of consequence as he is described as winning the flag of glory in numerous battles. The name of his kingdom is also recorded. Though it cannot now be made out the mention of his kingdom makes it probable that he was a stranger come to pay homage to Chandragupta. The reference to Chandragupta seems to imply he was the ruler of the land while the two other inscriptions show that his rule lasted from about 80 (A.D. 399) to at least 93 (A.D. 412). During these years Chandragupta seems to have spread his sway to Ujjain the capital of west Mālwa, of which he is traditionally called the ruler. From Ujjain by way of Bāgh and Tānda in the province of Rāth he seems to have entered South Gujarāt and to have passed from the Broach coast to Kāthiāvāda. He seems to have wrested Kāthiāvāda from its Kshatrapa rulers as he is the first Gupta who struck silver coins and as his silver coins are of the then current Kshatrapa type. On the obverse is the royal bust with features copied from the Kshatrapa face and on the reverse is the figure of a peacock, probably chosen as the bearer of Kārtikasvāmi the god of war. Round the peacock is a Sanskrit legend. This legend is of two varieties. In Central Indian coins it runs:

श्री गुप्तकुलस्य महाराजाधिराज श्री चंद्रगुप्तविक्रमादिकस्य

Srī Guptakulasya Mahārājādhirāja Śrī Chandraguptavikramādikasya,

(Coin) of the king of kings the illustrious Chandragupta Vikramādika,
of the family of the illustrious Gupta.³

In the very rare Kāthiāvāda coins, though they are similar to the above in style, the legend runs:

परमभागवत महाराजाधिराज श्री चन्द्रगुप्त विक्रमादित्य

Paramabhāgavata Mahārājādhirāja Śrī Chandragupta Vikramāditya.

The great devotee of Vishnu the supreme ruler of great kings,
the illustrious Chandragupta Vikramāditya.⁴

Several gold coins of Chandragupta show a young male figure behind the king with his right hand laid on the king's shoulder. This youthful figure is apparently Chandragupta's son Kumāragupta who may have acted as Yuvarāja during the conquest of Mālwa.

¹ Corp. Ins. Ind. III. Ins. 5.

² Mr. Fleet (Corp. Ins. Ind. III. Ins. 33) prefers to take Devarāja to be the name of Chandragupta's minister.

³ J. R. A. S. (N. S.) XXI. 120.

⁴ J. R. A. S. (N. S.) XXI. 121.

The rareness of Chandragupta's and the commonness of Kumāragupta's coins in Kāthiāvāda, together with the date 90 (A.D. 409) on some of Kumāragupta's coins make it probable that on their conquest his father appointed Kumāragupta viceroy of Gujārāt and Kāthiāvāda.

As the first Gupta was a chief of no great power or influence it is probable that though it is calculated from him the Gupta era was established not by him but by his grandson the great Chandragupta II.¹ This view is confirmed by the absence of datta on all existing coins of Chandragupta's father Samudragupta. It further seems probable that like the Mālavās in a.c. 57 and the Kehatrapas in A.D. 78 the occasion on which Chandragupta established the Gupta era was his conquest of Mālwa. The Gupta era did not remain long in use. After the fall of Gupta power (A.D. 470) the old Mālwa era of a.c. 57 was revived. The conjecture may be offered that, in spite of the passing away of Gupta power, under his title of Vikramāditya, the fame of the great Gupta conqueror Chandragupta II. lived on in Mālwa and that, drawing to itself tales of earlier local champions, the name Vikramāditya came to be considered the name of the founder of the Mālwa era.²

Working back from Gupta Samvat 80 (A.D. 400) the date of Chandragupta's conquest of Mālwa we may allot 1 to 12 (A.D. 319-332) to the founder Gupta: 12 to 29 (A.D. 332-349) to Gupta's son Ghaṭotkacha: 29 to 49 (A.D. 349-369) to Ghaṭotkacha's son Chandragupta I.: and 50 to 75 (A.D. 370-395) to Chandragupta's powerful son Samudragupta who probably had a long reign. As the latest known date of Chandragupta II. is 93 (A.D. 413) and as a Bilśad inscription³ of his successor Kumāragupta is dated 96 (A.D. 416) the reign of Chandragupta II. may be calculated to have lasted during the twenty years ending 95 (A.D. 415).

¹ Mr. Fleet (Corp. Ins. Ind. III. Introd. 130ff) argues that the era was borrowed from Nepal after Chandragupta I. married his Lichchhavi queen. Dr. Bühler thinks there is no evidence of this, and that the era was started by the Guptas themselves (Vienna Or. II. V. Pt. 3).

² The further suggestion may be offered that if as seems probable Dr. Bhagvatsāl is correct in considering Chandragupta II. to be the founder of the Gupta era this high honour was due not to his conquest of Mālwa but to some success against the Irāh-Skythians or Sakas of the Panjāb. The little more than nominal suzerainty claimed over the Devaputras, Śāhis, and Śāhāntśhis in Chandragupta's father's inscription shows that when he came to the throne Chandragupta found the Saka power practically unbroken. The absence of reference to conquests is no more complete in the case of the Panjāb than it is in the case of Gujārāt or of Kāthiāvāda which Chandragupta is known to have added to his dominions. In Kāthiāvāda, though not in Gujārāt, the evidence from coins is stronger than in the Panjāb. Still the discovery of Chandragupta's coins (J. B. A. S. XXI. 5 note 1) raises the presumption of conquests as far north and west as Pāṇipat and as Leśhians (in the heart of the Panjāb). Chandragupta's name Devārjya may, as Pandit Bhagvatsāl suggests, be taken from the Saka title Devaputra. Further, the use of the name Vikramāditya and of the honorific Śrī is in striking agreement with Heron's statement (Sachau, II. 6) that the conqueror of the Sakas was named Vikramāditya and that to the conqueror's name was added the title Śrī. Mr. Fleet (Corp. Ins. Ind. III. 37 note 2) holds it not improbable that either Chandragupta I. or II. defeated the Irāh-Skythians. The fact that Chandragupta I. was not a ruler of sufficient importance to issue coins and that even after his son Samudragupta's victories the Sakas remained practically independent makes it almost certain that if any subjection of the Sakas to the Guptas took place it happened during the reign of Chandragupta II.

³ Corp. Ins. Ind. III. Ins. 104.

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THE GUPTAS,
A.D. 410-470.Kumārāgupta,
A.D. 410-453.

Chandragupta II. was succeeded by his son Kumārāgupta whose mother was the queen Dhruva-Devī. On Kumārāgupta's coins three titles occur: Mahendra, Mahendra-Vikrama, and Mahendrāditya. As already noticed the circulation of Kumārāgupta's coins in Kāthiāvāda during his father's reign makes it probable that on their conquest his father appointed him viceroy of Kāthiāvāda and Gujarāt. Kumārāgupta appears to have succeeded his father about 96 (A.D. 416). An inscription at Mankavār near Prayāga shows he was ruling as late as 129 (A.D. 449) and a coin of his dated 130 (A.D. 450) adds at least one year to his reign. On the other hand the inscription on the Gīrnār rock shows that in 137 (A.D. 457) his son Skandagupta was king. It follows that Kumārāgupta's reign ended between 130 and 137 (A.D. 450-457) or about 133 (A.D. 453).

None of Kumārāgupta's four inscriptions gives any historical or other details regarding him.¹ But the number and the wide distribution of his coins make it probable that during his long reign he maintained his father's dominions intact.

Large numbers of Kumārāgupta's coins of gold silver and copper have been found. The gold which are of various types are inferior in workmanship to his father's coins. The silver and copper coins are of two varieties, eastern and western. Both varieties have on the obverse the royal bust in the Kshatrapa style of dress. In the western pieces the bust is a copy of the moustached Kshatrapa face with a corrupted version of the corrupt Greek legend used by the Kshatrapas. The only difference between the obverses of the Western Gupta and the Kshatrapa coins is that the date is in the Gupta instead of in the Kshatrapa era. On the reverse is an ill formed peacock facing front as in Chandragupta II.'s coins. The legend runs:

परम भागवत महाराजाधिराज श्री कुमारगुप्त महेंद्रादित्य.

Paramabhāgavata Maharājādhirāja Śrī Kumārāgupta
Mahendrāditya.

The great Vaishnava the supreme ruler of great kings,
the illustrious Kumārāgupta Mahendrāditya.²

In Kumārāgupta's eastern silver and copper coins the bust on the obverse has no moustache nor is there any trace of the corrupt Greek legend. The date is in front of the face in perpendicular numerals one below the other instead of behind the head as in the Kshatrapa and Western Kumārāgupta coins. On the reverse is a well-carved peacock facing front with tail feathers at full stretch. Round the peacock runs the clear cut legend:

विजितावनिरवनिपति कुमारगुप्तो देवं जयति.

Vijitāvāniravaniapati Kumārāgupto devaṃ jayati.

This legend is hard to translate. It seems to mean:

Kumārāgupta, lord of the earth, who had conquered the
kings of the earth, conquers the Deva.

¹ Corp. Ins. Ind. III. Ins. 2, 9, 10 and 11.

² J. R. A. S. (N. S.) XXI. 123.

Probably the Deva whose name suggested the antithesis between the kings of the earth and the gods was one of the Devaputra family of Indo-Skythian rulers.¹

Kumārāgupta was succeeded by his son Skandagupta. An inscription of his on a pillar at Bhitari near Saidpur in Ghazipur bearing no date shows that on his father's death Skandagupta had a hard struggle to establish his power.² The text runs: "By whom when he rose to fix fast again the shaken fortune of his house, three months³ were spent on the earth as on a bed," an apparent reference to flight and wanderings. A doubtful passage in the same inscription seems to show that he was opposed by a powerful king named Pushyamitra on whose back he is said to have set his left foot.⁴ The inscription makes a farther reference to the troubles of the family stating that on re-establishing the shaken fortune of his house Skandagupta felt satisfied and went to see his weeping afflicted mother. Among the enemies with whom Skandagupta had to contend the inscription mentions a close conflict with the Hūnas that is the Ephthalites, Thetals, or White Huns.⁵ Verse 3 of Skandagupta's Girnār inscription confirms the reference to struggles stating that on the death of his father by his own might he humbled his enemies to the earth and established himself. As the Girnār inscription is dated 136 (A.D. 456) and as Kumārāgupta's reign ended about 134, these troubles and difficulties did not last for more than two years. The Girnār inscription further states that on establishing his power he conquered the earth, destroyed the arrogance of his enemies, and appointed governors in all provinces. For Surāshtra he selected a governor named Parnadatta and to Parnadatta's son Chakrapālita he gave a share of the management placing him in charge of Junāgadh city. During the governorship of Parnadatta the Sadārsina lake close to Junāgadh, which had been strongly rebuilt in the time of the Kshatrapa Rudradāman (A.D. 150), again gave way during the dark sixth of Bhādrapada of the year 136 (A.D. 456). The streams Palāśini Sīkatā and Vilāśini⁶ burst through the dam and flowed unchecked. Repairs were begun on the first of bright *Grishma* 137 (A.D. 457) and finished in two months. The new dam is said to have been 100 cubits

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A.D. 410-470.Skandagupta,
A.D. 454-470.

¹ J. R. A. S. (N. S.) XXI. 126. That Kumārāgupta's two successors, Skandagupta and Budhagupta, use the same phrase *desaja jagati* makes the explanation in the text doubtful. As Mr. Smith (ibid.) suggests *ideam* is probably a mistake for *desa*, meaning His Majesty. The legend would then run: Kumārāguptadeva lord of the earth . . . is triumphant. Dr. Bhagvānīl would have preferred *desa* (see page 70 note 2) but could not neglect the *anuvāda*.—(A. M. T. J.) ² Corp. Ins. Ind. III. Ins. 13.

³ Mr. Fleet (Corp. Ins. Ind. III. 53, 55) reads "*nīti trayāni*" and translates "a (whole) night was spent." Dr. Bhagvānīl read "*nīti trayāni*."

⁴ Mr. Fleet finds that Pushyamitra is the name of a tribe not of a king. No. VI. of Dr. Bühler's Jain inscriptions from Mathura (Ep. Ind. I. 378f) mentions a Pushyamitriya-kula of the Varānagana, which is also referred to in Bhadrabāhu's Kalpa-sūtra (Jacobi's Edition, 80), but is there referred to the Churana-gana, no doubt a misreading for the Varāna of the inscription. Dr. Bühler points out that Varāna is the old name of Belandshahr in the North-West Provinces, so that it is there that we must look for the power that first weakened the Guptas.—(A. M. T. J.)

⁵ See V. de St. Martin's Essay, Les Huns Blancs; Specht in Journal Asiatique Oct.-Dec. 1883 and below page 74.

⁶ In Rudradāman's inscription the Palāśini is mentioned, and also the Suvarna-sīkatā "and the other rivers." In Skandagupta's inscription Mr. Fleet translates Sīkatāvilāśini as an adjective agreeing with Palāśini.

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long by 68 cubits broad and 7 men or about 38 feet high. The probable site of the lake is in the west valley of the Gīrnār hill near what is called Bhavanātha's pass.¹ The inscription also records the making of a temple of Vishnu in the neighbourhood by Chakrapālita, which was probably on the site of the modern Dāmodar's Mandir in the Bhavanātha pass, whose image is of granite and is probably as old as the Guptas. A new temple was built in the fifteenth century during the rule of Mandalika the last Chulāsami ruler of Junāgaḍh. At the time of the Musalmān conquest (A.D. 1484) as violence was feared the images were removed and buried. Mandalika's temple was repaired by Amarji Divān of Junāgaḍh (1759-1784). It was proposed to make and consecrate new images. But certain old images of Vishnu were found in digging foundations for the enclosure wall and were consecrated. Two of these images were taken by Gīrnāra Brāhmins and consecrated in the names of Baladevji and Revati in a neighbouring temple specially built for them. Of the original temple the only trace is a pillar built into the wall to the right as one enters. The style and carving are of the Gupta period.

As almost all the Gupta coins found in Cutch are Skandagupta's and very few are Kumāragupta's, Skandagupta seems to have added Cutch to the provinces of Gujārāt and Kāthiāvāḍa inherited from his father. In Kāthiāvāḍa Skandagupta's coins are rare, apparently because of the abundant currency left by his father which was so popular in Kāthiāvāḍa that fresh Kumāragupta coins of a degraded type were issued as late as Valabhi times.

Like his father, Skandagupta issued a gold coinage in his eastern dominions but no trace of a gold currency appears in the west. Like Kumāragupta's his silver coins were of two varieties, eastern and western. The eastern coins have on the obverse a bust as in Kumāragupta's coins and the date near the face. On the reverse is a peacock similar to Kumāragupta's and round the peacock the legend:

विजितावनिरवनिपति जयति देवं स्कन्दगुप्तो यः

Vijitāvaniravanipati jayati devaṃ Skandagupto'yaṃ.

This king Skandagupta who having conquered the earth conquers the Deva.²

Skandagupta's western coins are of three varieties, one the same as the western coins of Kumāragupta, a second with a bull instead of a peacock on the reverse, and a third with on the reverse an altar with one upright and two side jets of water. Coins of the first two varieties are found both in Gujārāt and in Kāthiāvāḍa. The third water-jet variety is peculiar to Cutch and is an entirely new feature in the western Gupta coinage. On the reverse of all is the legend:

परमभागवत महाराजाधिराज स्कन्दगुप्त क्रमादित्य

Paramabhāgavata Mahārājādhirāja Skandagupta Kramāditya.

The great Vāishnava the supreme ruler of great kings,
Skandagupta the Sun of Prowess.³

¹ Remains of the dam were discovered in 1890 by Khān Bahādūr Arleair Jamsetji Special Dvān of Junāgaḍh. The site is somewhat nearer Junāgaḍh than Dr. Bhagvānlal supposed. Details are given in Jour. B. R. A. S. XVIII. Number 48 page 47.

² The reading *deva* is to be preferred, but the *anand* is clear both on these coins and on the coins of his father. For these coins see J. B. A. S. (N. S.) XXI Pl. IV. 4.

³ J. B. A. S. (N. S.) XXI Pl. IV. 667.

The beginning of Skandagupta's reign has been placed about Gupta 133 or A.D. 453: his latest known date on a coin in General Cunningham's collection is Gupta 149 or A.D. 469.¹

With Skandagupta the regular Gupta succession ceases.² The next Gupta is Budhagupta who has a pillar inscription³ in a temple at Eran in the Sangor district dated 165 (A.D. 485) and silver coins dated Samvat 174 and 180 odd (A.D. 494-500 odd). Of Budhagupta's relation or connection with Skandagupta nothing is known. That he belonged to the Gupta dynasty appears from his name as well as from his silver coins which are dated in the Gupta era and are the same in style as the eastern coins of Skandagupta. On the obverse is the usual bust as in Skandagupta's coins with the date (174, 180 odd) near the face. On the reverse is the usual peacock and the legend is the same as Skandagupta's:

देवं जयति विजितावनिस्त्रिपति श्री बुधगुप्तो

Devāṁ jayati vijitāvanisṭripaṭi Śrī Budhagupta.

The king the illustrious Budhagupta who has conquered the earth conquers this Deva.⁴

Since the coins are dated Samvat 174 and 180 odd (A.D. 494 and 500 odd) and the inscription's date is 165 (A.D. 485) the inscription may be taken to belong to the early part of Budhagupta's reign the beginning of which may be allotted to about 160-162 (A.D. 480-482). As this is more than ten years later than the latest known date of Skandagupta (G. 149 A.D. 469) either a Gupta of whom no trace remains must have intervened or the twelve blank years must have been a time of political change and disturbance. The absence of any trace of a gold currency suggests that Budhagupta had less power than his predecessors. The correctness of this argument is placed beyond doubt by the pillar inscription opposite the shrine in the Eran temple where instead of his predecessor's title of monarch of the whole earth Budhagupta is styled protector of the land between the Jamna (Kālindī) and the Narbādā implying the loss of the whole territory to the east of the Jamna.⁵ In the west the failure of Gupta power seems still more complete. Neither in Gujārāt nor in Kāthiāwāda has an inscription or even a coin been found with a reference to Budhagupta or to any other Gupta ruler later than Skandagupta (G. 149 A.D. 469). The pillar inscription noted above which is of the year 165 (A.D. 485) and under the rule of Budhagupta states that the pillar was a gift to the temple by Dhanya Viṣṇu and his brother Mātri Viṣṇu who at the time of the gift seem to have been local Brāhman governors. A second inscription on the lower part of the neck of a huge Boar or Varāha image in a corner shrine of the same temple records that the image was completed on the tenth day of Phālguna in the first year of the reign of

¹ The known dates of Skandagupta are 136 and 137 on his Gīrnār inscription, 141 in his pillar inscription at Kāḥan in Gorakhpur, and 146 in his Indor-Khera copperplate. The coin dates given by General Cunningham are 144, 145, and 149.

² But see below page 73.

³ Dr. Bhagvānāl examined and copied the original of this inscription. It has since been published as Number 19 in Mr. Fleet's *Corp. Ins. Ind. III.*

⁴ J. R. A. S. (N. S.) XXI. 134.

⁵ It is now known that the main Gupta line continued to rule in Magadhā. See page 73 below.

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THE GUPTAS,
A.D. 410-470.
Budhagupta,
A.D. 485.

Chapter VII.

THE GUPTAS,
A.D. 419-470.
Bhūtagupta,
A.D. 453.

Toramāna the supreme ruler of great kings and was the gift of the same Dhanya Vishnu whose brother Mātri Vishnu is described as gone to heaven.¹ Since Mātri was alive in the Budhagupta and was dead in the Toramāna inscription it follows that Toramāna was later than Budhagupta. His name and his new era show that Toramāna was not a Gupta. A further proof that Toramāna wrested the kingdom from Budhagupta is that except the change of era and that the bust turns to the left instead of to the right, Toramāna's silver coins are directly adapted from Gupta coins of the eastern type.

Certain coin dates seem at variance with the view that Toramāna flourished after Budhagupta. On several coins the date 52 is clear. As Toramāna's coins are copies of the coins of Kumāragupta and Skandagupta and as most of these coins have a numeral for one hundred the suggestion may be offered that a one dropped out in striking Toramāna's die and that this date should read 152 not 52. Accepting this view Toramāna's date would be 152 (A.D. 472) that is immediately after the death of Skandagupta.

The Gwālior inscription² mentions prince Mihirakula as the son of Toramāna and a second inscription from a well in Mandasor³ dated Mālava Samvat 589 (A.D. 533) mentions a king named Yaśodharman who was ruler of Mālava when the well was built and who in a second Mandasor inscription⁴ is mentioned as having conquered Mihirakula. This would separate Mihirakula from his father Toramāna (A.D. 471) by more than sixty years. In explanation of this gap it may be suggested that the [1]52 (A.D. 472) coins were struck early in Toramāna's reign in honour of his conquest of the eastern Gupta territory. A reign of twenty years would bring Toramāna to 177 (A.D. 497). The Gwālior inscription of Mihirakula is in the fifteenth year of his reign that is on the basis of a succession date of 177 (A.D. 497) in Gupta 192 (A.D. 512). An interval of five years would bring Yaśodharman's conquest of Mihirakula to 197 (A.D. 517). This would place the making of the well in the twenty-first year of Mihirakula's reign.

After Budhagupta neither inscription nor coin shows any trace of Gupta supremacy in Mālava. An Eraṅ inscription⁵ found in 1869 on a *linga*-shaped stone, with the representation of a woman performing *sūti*, records the death in battle of a king Goparāja who is mentioned as the daughter's son of Sarabharāja and appears to have been the son of king Madhava. Much of the inscription is lost. What remains records the passing to heaven of the deceased king in the very destructive fight with the great warrior (*praxiro*) Bhānugupta brave as Pārtha. The inscription is dated the seventh of dark Bhādrapada Gupta 191 in words as well as in numerals that is in A.D. 511. This Bhānugupta would be the successor of Budhagupta ruling over a petty Mālava principality which lasted till nearly the time of the great Harshavardhana the beginning of the seventh century (A.D. 607-650), as a Devagupta of Mālava is one of Rājyavardhana's rivals in the Sriharshacharita. While Gupta power failed in Mālava

¹ Published by Mr. Fleet Corp. Ins. Ind. III. Ins. 36.

² Fleet Corp. Ins. Ind. III. Ins. 37.

³ Fleet Corp. Ins. Ind. III. Ins. 33.

⁴ Fleet Corp. Ins. Ind. III. Ins. 25.

⁵ Fleet Corp. Ins. Ind. III. Ins. 20.

Bhānugupta,
A.D. 511.

and disappeared from Western India a fresh branch of the Guptas rose in Magadha or Behār and under Naragupta Bālāditya, perhaps the founder of the eastern branch of the later Gupta dynasty, attained the dignity of a gold coinage.¹

[Though the history of their last years is known only in fragments, chiefly from inscriptions and coins, little doubt remains regarding the power which first seriously weakened the early Guptas. The Bhitari stone pillar of Skandagupta² speaks of his restoring the fortunes of his family and conquering the Pushyamitras and also of his joining in close conflict with the Hūnas.³ Unfortunately the Bhitari inscription is not dated. The Junāgaḍh inscription, which bears three dates covering the period between A.D. 455 and 458,⁴ mentions pride-broken enemies in the country of the Melechhas admitting Skandagupta's victory. That the Melechhas of this passage refers to the Huns is made probable by the fact that it does not appear that the Pushyamitras were Melechhas while they and the Huns are the only enemies whom Skandagupta boasts either of defeating or of meeting in close conflict. It may therefore be assumed that the Huns became known to Skandagupta before A.D. 455. As according to the Chinese historians⁵ the White Huns did not cross the Oxus into Baktria before A.D. 452, the founding of the Hun capital of Badeghis⁶ may be fixed between A.D. 452 and 455. As the above quoted inscriptions indicate that the Huns were repulsed in their first attempt to take part in Indian politics the disturbances during the last years of Kumāragupta's reign were probably due to some tribe other than the Huns. This tribe seems to have been the Pushyamitras whose head-quarters would seem to have been in Northern India. Some other enemy must have arisen in Mālwa

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THE GUPTAS,
A.D. 410-470.

The
Pushyamitras,
A.D. 455.

¹ On Naragupta see below page 77, and for his coins J. R. A. S. (N. S.) XXI. note PL. III. 11.

² Fleet's Corp. Ins. Ind. III. Ins. 13 lines 10 and 15.

³ The Pushyamitras seem to have been a long established tribe like the Yaudheyas (above page 37). During the reign of Kanishka (A.D. 78-93) Pushyamitras were settled in the neighbourhood of Bulandshahr and at that time had already given their name to a Jain sect.

The sense of the inscription is somewhat doubtful. Mr. Fleet (Corp. Ins. Ind. III. page 62) translates: 'Whose fame, moreover, even (his) enemies in the countries of the Melechhas . . . having their pride broken down to the very root announce with the words "Verily the victory has been achieved by him." Prof. Peterson understands the meaning to be that Skandagupta's Indian enemies were forced to retire beyond the borders of India among friendly Melechhas and in a foreign land admit that the renewal of their conflict with Skandagupta was beyond hope. The retreat of Skandagupta's Indian enemies to the Melechhas suggests the Melechhas are the Hūnas that is the White Huns who were already in power on the Indian border, whom the enemies had previously in vain brought as allies into India to help them against Skandagupta. This gives exactness to the expression used in Skandagupta's Bhitari inscription (Corp. Ins. Ind. III. Number 13 page 36) that he joined in close conflict with the Hūnas . . . among enemies, as if in this conflict the Hūnas were the allies of enemies rather than the enemies themselves. For the introduction into India of foreign allies, compare in A.D. 327 (McCrindle's Alexander in India, 412) the king of Taxila, 34 miles north-west of Rawalpindi, sending an embassy to Baktria to secure Alexander as an ally against Porus of the Gujarat country. And (Ditto, 409) a few years later (A.D. 310) the North Indian Malayaketu allying himself with Yavanas in his attack on Pataliputra or Patna.

⁴ Fleet's Corp. Ins. Ind. III. Ins. 14 line 4.

⁵ T'oungtzen quoted by Specht in Journal Asiatique for Oct. - Dec. 1883.

⁶ Badeghis is the modern Badkhyr the upper plateau between the Merv and the Herat rivers. The probable site of the capital of the White Huns is a little north of Herat. See Marco Polo's Itineraries No. I, Yule's Marco Polo, I. xxxii.

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THE GUPTAS,
A.D. 419-470.The
Pushyamitras,
A.D. 455.White Huns,
A.D. 460-520.

since the terms of Parnadatta's appointment to Surāshtra in A.D. 455-6 suggest that country had been lost to the Gupta empire and re-conquered by Skandagupta which would naturally be the case if a rival state had arisen in Mālwa and been overthrown by that king. So far as is known the Huns made no successful attack on the Gupta empire during the lifetime of Skandagupta whose latest date is A.D. 468-9. It is not certain who succeeded Skandagupta. His brother Pura(or Sthira-)gupta ruled in or near Magadha. But it is not certain whether he was the successor or the rival of Skandagupta.¹ That Skandagupta's inscriptions are found in the Patna district in the east² and in Kāthiāvāda in the west³ suggests that during his life the empire was not divided nor does any one of his inscriptions hint at a partition. The probability is that Skandagupta was succeeded by his brother Puragupta, who again was followed by his son Narasimhagupta and his grandson Kumāragupta II.⁴

Among the northerners who with or shortly after the Pushyamitras shared in the overthrow of Gupta power two names, a father and a son, Toramāna and Mihirakula are prominent. It is not certain that these kings were Hūnas by race. Their tribe were almost certainly his rivals' allies whom Skandagupta's Bhūtiari and Janāgadh inscriptions style the one Hūnas the other Mlechchhas.⁵ On one of Toramāna's coins Mr. Fleet reads⁶ the date 52 which he interprets as a regnal date. This though not impossible is somewhat unlikely. The date of Mihirakula's succession to his father is fixed somewhere about A.D. 515.⁷ In the neighbourhood of Gwālior he reigned at least fifteen years.⁸ The story of Mihirakula's interview with Balāditya's mother and his long subsequent history⁹ indicate that when he came to the throne he was a young man probably not more than 25. If his father reigned fifty-two years he must have been at least 70 when he died and not less than 45 when Mihirakula was born. As Mihirakula is known to have had at least one younger brother,¹⁰ it seems probable that Toramāna came to the throne a good deal later than A.D. 460 the date suggested by Mr. Fleet.¹¹ The date 52 on Toramāna's coins must therefore refer to some event other than his own accession. The suggestion may be offered that that event was the establishment of the White Huns in Baktria and the founding of their capital Badeghis,¹² which, as fixed above between A.D. 452 and 455, gives the very suitable date of A.D. 504 to 507 for the 52 of Toramāna's coin. If this suggestion is correct a further identification follows. The Chinese ambassador Sungyun (A.D. 520)¹³

¹ See the Ghazipur Seal. Smith & Hearn, J. A. S. Ben. LVIII. 84ff. and Fleet Ind. Ant. XIX. 224ff.

² Bihar Ins. Fleet's Corp. Ins. Ind. III. Ins. 12.

³ Janāgadh Inscrp. Fleet's Corp. Ins. Ind. III. Ins. 14. ⁴ See note 1 above.

⁵ See above notes 1 and 2.

⁶ Ind. Ant. XVIII. 225.

⁷ Fleet's Corp. Ins. Ind. III. Introdn. 12.

⁸ Fleet's Corp. Ins. Ind. Ins. 37 line 4.

⁹ Beal's Buddhist Records, I. 169-172 and Rajatarangini, I. 289-326 quoted by Fleet in Ind. Ant. XV. 247-249.

¹⁰ Beal's Hsuen Tsiang, I. 169-171. As Mr. Fleet suggests the younger brother is possibly the Chandra referred to in Corp. Ins. Ind. III. Ins. 32 line 5 and Introdn. 12 and 140 note 1.

¹¹ Ind. Ant. XIII. 290 and Corp. Ins. Ind. III. Introdn. 12.

¹² Specht in Journal Asiatique for Oct.-Dec. 1883. Histoire des Wei.

¹³ Beal's Buddhist Records, I. c. cii.

describes an interview with the king of Gandhāra whose family Sungyun notices was established in power by the Ye-tha, that is the Ephthalites or White Huns, two generations before his time.¹ Mihirakula is known to have ruled in Gandhāra² and Sungyun's description of the king's pride and activity agrees well with other records of Mihirakula's character. It seems therefore reasonable to suppose that the warlike sovereign who treated Sungyun and the name of his Imperial mistress with such scant courtesy was no other than the meteor Mihirakula. If Sungyun is correct in stating that Mihirakula was the third of his line the dynasty must have been established about A.D. 460. Beal is in doubt whether the name *Lae-lih* given by Sungyun³ is the family name or the name of the founder. As a recently deciphered inscription shows Toramāna's family name to have been *Jaūvā*⁴ it seems to follow that *Lae-lih*, or whatever is the correct transliteration of the Chinese characters, is the name of the father of Toramāna. Sungyun's reference to the establishment of this dynasty suggests they were not White Huns but leaders of some subject tribe.⁵ That this tribe was settled in Baktria perhaps as far south as Kabul before the arrival of the White Huns seems probable. The Hindu or Persian influence notable in the tribal name *Maitraka* and in the personal name *Mihirakula* seems unsuited to Hūnas newly come from the northern frontiers of China and proud of their recent successes.⁶ Chinese records show⁷ that the tribe who preceded the White Huns in Baktria and north-east Persia, and who about A.D. 350-400 destroyed the power of Kitolo the last of the Kushāns, were the Yuan-Yuan or Jouen-Jouen whom Sir H. Howorth identifies with the Avars.⁸ To this tribe it seems on the whole probable that

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THE GUPTAS,
A.D. 410-470.White Huns,
A.D. 450-520.¹ Beal's Buddhist Records, I. xcix. - c.² Beal's Buddhist Records, I. 171. Hsien Tsang's statement (Ditto) that Mihirakula conquered Gandhāra after his capture by Balāditya may refer to a reconquest from his brother, perhaps the Chandra referred to in note 10 on page 74.³ Beal's Buddhist Records (I. c.) suggests that *Lae-lih* is the founder's name; in his note 50 he seems to regard *Lae-lih* as the family name.⁴ Bühler, Ep. Ind. I. 238. Dr. Bühler hesitates to identify the Toramāna of this inscription with Mihirakula's father.⁵ Beal's Buddhist Records, I. xcix. - c. This is the kingdom which the Ye-tha destroyed and afterwards set up *Lae-lih* to be king over the country.⁶ *Maitraka* is a Sanskritised form of *Mihira* and this again is perhaps an adaptation of the widespread and well-known Western Indian tribal name *Mer* or *Med*. Compare Fleet's Corp. Ins. Ind. III. 320-327. It is to be remembered that the name of the emperor then (A.D. 450-500) ruling the White Huns was Khushnawiz, a Persian name, the Happy Christ. . . . The emperor's Persian name, Mihirakula's reported (Darmasteter JI. Asiatique, X. 70 n. 3) introduction of Magi into Kashmir, and the inaptness of *Mihirakula* as a personal name give weight to Mr. Fleet's suggestion (Ind. Ant. XV. 245-252) that *Mihirakula* is pure Persian. The true form may then be *Mihiragula*, that is *Sun Rose*, a name which the personal beauty of the prince may have gained him. 'I have heard of my son's wisdom and beauty and wish once to see his face' said the false-reading mother of king Balāditya (Beal's Buddhist Records, I. 169) when the captive *Mihirakula* was led before her his young head for very shame shrouded in his cloak.⁷ Specht in Jour. Asiatique 1883 II. 335 and 345.⁸ J. R. A. S. XXI. 721. According to other accounts (Ency. Brit. IX. Ed. Art. Turk. page 658) a portion of the Jouen-Jouen remained in Eastern Asia, where, till A.D. 552, they were the masters of the Tuhkiu or Turks, who then overthrew their masters and about ten years later (A.D. 560) crushed the power of the White Huns.

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THE GUPTAS,
A.D. 400-470.
White Huns,
A.D. 450-520.

Lae-lib the father of Toramāna belonged.¹ At the same time, though perhaps not themselves White Huns, the details regarding Toramāna and Mihirakula so nearly cover the fifty years (A.D. 470-530) of Hūna ascendancy in North India that, as was in keeping with their position in charge of his Indian outpost, the White Hun emperor Khushnāwaz, while himself engaged in Central Asia and in Persia (A.D. 460-500),² seems to have entrusted the conquest of India to Toramāna and his son Mihirakula. Of the progress of the mixed Yuan-Yuan and White Hun invaders in India few details are available. Their ascendancy in the north seems to have been too complete to allow of opposition, and Hūnas were probably closely associated with the Maitraka or Mahara conquest of Kāthiāwāda (A.D. 480-520). The southern fringe of the White Hun dominions, the present Saugor district of the Central Provinces, seems to have been the chief theatre of war, a debateable ground between the Guptas, Toramāna, and the Malwa chiefs. To the east of Saugor the Guptas succeeded in maintaining their power until at least A.D. 528-9.³ To the west of Saugor the Guptas held Eran in A.D. 484-5.⁴ About twenty years later (A.D. 505)⁵ Eran was in the hands of Toramāna, and in A.D. 510-11 Bhānugupta⁶ fought and apparently won a battle at Eran.

Mihirakula,
A.D. 512.

Mihirakula's accession to the throne may perhaps be fixed at A.D. 512. An inscription of Yaśodharman, the date of which cannot be many years on either side of A.D. 532-3, claims to have enforced the submission of the famous Mihirakula whose power had established itself on the tiaras of kings and who had hitherto bowed his neck to no one but Śiva.⁷ In spite of this defeat Mihirakula held Gwalior and the inaccessible fortress of the Himālayas.⁸ These dates give about A.D. 520 as the time of Mihirakula's greatest power, a result which suggests that the Gollas, whom, about A.D. 520, the Greek merchant Cosmas Indikopleustes heard of in the ports of Western India as the supreme ruler of Northern India was Kula or Mihirakula.⁹

Yaśodharman
of Malwa,
A.D. 533-4.

Regarding the history of the third destroyers of Gupta power in Malwa, inscriptions show that in A.D. 437-8, under Kumāragupta, Bandhuvvarman son of Vishnuvarman ruled as a local king.¹⁰

¹ The name Josen-Josen seems to agree with Toramāna's surname Jadya and with the Juvia whom Cosmas Indikopleustes (A.D. 520-535) places to the north-east of Persia. Priault's *Indian Travels*, 220.

² Rawlinson's *Seventh Monarchy*, 311-349.

³ Fleet's *Corp. Ins. Ind. III. Ins.* 25 line 1.

⁴ Fleet's *Corp. Ins. Ind. III. Ins.* 19 line 2.

⁵ Fleet's *Corp. Ins. Ind. III. Ins.* 36.

⁶ Fleet's *Corp. Ins. Ind. III. Ins.* 20.

⁷ Fleet's *Corp. Ins. Ind. III. Ins.* 33.

⁸ Fleet's *Corp. Ins. Ind. III. Ins.* and *Ind. Ant. XVIII.* 219.

⁹ Priault's *Indian Travels*, 222. Compare Yule's *Cathay*, I. clix.; Mignes' *Patr. Gr.* 88 page 450. For the use of Kula for Mihirakula, the second half for the whole, compare Fleet's *Corp. Ins. Ind. III. Ins.* 8 note. As regards the change from Kula to Gollas it is to be noted that certain of Mihirakula's own coins (*Ind. Ant. XV* 249) have the form Gula not Kula, and that this agrees with the suggestion (page 75 note 6) that the true form of the name is the Persian Mihiragula Rose of the Sun. Of this Gollas, who, like Mihirakula, was the type of conqueror round whom legends gather, Cosmas says (*Priault*, 223): Besides a great force of cavalry Gollas could bring into the field 2000 elephants. So large were his armies that once when besieging an inland town defended by a water-foss his men horses and elephants drank the water and marched in dry-shod.

¹⁰ Fleet's *Corp. Ins. Ind. III. Ins.* 18.

Possibly Bandhavarman afterwards threw off his allegiance to the Guptas and thereby caused the temporary loss of Surāshtra towards the end of Kumāragupta's reign. Nothing farther is recorded of the rulers of Mālwa until the reign of Yaśodharman in A.D. 533-4.¹ It has been supposed that one of Yaśodharman's inscriptions mentioned a king Vishnuvardhana but there can be little doubt that both names refer to the same person.² The name of Yaśodharman's tribe is unknown and his crest the *aulikara* has not been satisfactorily explained.³ Mandasor⁴ in Western Mālwa, where all his inscriptions have been found, must have been a centre of Yaśodharman's power. Yaśodharman boasts⁵ of conquering from the Brahmaputra to mount Mahendra and from the Himālayas to the Western Ocean. In the sixth century only one dynasty could claim such widespread power. That dynasty is the famous family of Ujjain to which belonged the well known Vikramāditya of the Nine Gems. It may be conjectured not only that Yaśodharman belonged to this family but that Yaśodharman was the great Vikramāditya himself.⁶

The difficult question remains by whom was the power of Mihirakula overthrown. Yaśodharman claims to have subdued Mihirakula, who, he distinctly says, had never before been defeated.⁷ On the other hand, Hiuen Tsiang ascribes Mihirakula's overthrow to a Balāditya of Magadha.⁸ Coins prove that Balāditya⁹ was one of the titles of Narasimhagupta grandson of Kumāragupta I. (A.D. 417-453) who probably ruled Magadha as his son's seal was found in the Ghazīpur district.¹⁰ If Hiuen Tsiang's story is accepted a slight chronological difficulty arises in the way of this identification. It is clear that Mihirakula's first defeat was at the hands of Yaśodharman about A.D. 530. His defeat and capture by Balāditya must have been later. As Skandagupta's reign ended about A.D. 470 a blank of sixty years has to be filled by the two reigns of his brother and his nephew.¹¹ This, though not impossible, suggests caution in identifying Balāditya. According to Hiuen Tsiang Balāditya was a feudatory of Mihirakula who rebelled against him when he began to persecute the Buddhists. Hiuen Tsiang notices that, at the intercession of his own mother, Balāditya spared Mihirakula's life and allowed him to retire to Kashmir. He further notices that Mihirakula and his brother were rivals and his statement suggests that from Kashmir Mihirakula defeated his brother and recovered Gandhāra. The ascendancy of the White Huns cannot have lasted long after Mihirakula. About A.D. 560 the power of the White Huns was crushed between the combined attacks of the Persians and Turks.¹²—(A. M. T. J.)]

Chapter VII.

THE GUPTAS,
A.D. 460-470.Yaśodharman
of Mālwa,
A.D. 533-4.¹ Fleet's Corp. Ins. Ind. III. Ins. 33-35.² Fleet's Corp. Ins. Ind. III. Ins. 35 line 5. ³ Fleet's Corp. Ins. Ind. III. 151 note 4.⁴ N. Lat. 24° 3'; E. Long. 75° 8'. ⁵ Fleet's Corp. Ins. Ind. III. Ins. 33 line 5.⁶ This has already been suggested by Genl. Cunningham, Num. Chron. (3rd Ser.), VIII. 41. Dr. Hoenle (J. B. A. S. LVIII. 100ff.) has identified Yaśodharman with Vikramāditya's son Śīlāditya Pratāpāṭi.⁷ Fleet's Corp. Ins. Ind. III. Ins. 33 line 6.⁸ Beal's Buddhist Records, I. 169. ⁹ Hoenle in J. B. A. S. LVIII. 97.¹⁰ See Smith and Hoenle J. B. A. S. LVIII. 84; and Fleet Ind. Ant. XIX. 224.¹¹ Hoenle makes light of this difficulty; J. B. A. S. LVIII. 97.¹² Rawlinson's Seventh Monarchy, 420, 422.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE VALABHIS

(A.D. 509-766.)

Chapter VIII.

THE VALABHIS,
A.D. 509-766.Valeh Town,
1893.

THE Valabhi dynasty, which succeeded the Guptas in Gujarāt and Kāthiāvāda, take their name from their capital in the east of Kāthiāvāda about twenty miles west of Bhāvnagar and about twenty-five miles north of the holy Jain hill of Satruñjaya. The modern name of Valabhi is Valeh. It is impossible to say whether the modern Valeh is a corruption of Valabhi the Prakrit form of the Sanskrit Valabhi or whether Valabhi is Sanskritised from a local original Valeh. The form Valabhi occurs in the writings of Jinaprabhasuri a learned Jain of the thirteenth century who describes Satruñjaya as in the Valāhaka province. A town in the chiefship of Valeh now occupies the site of old Valabhi,¹ whose ruins lie buried below thick layers of black earth and silt under the modern town and its neighbourhood. The only remains of old buildings are the large foundation bricks of which, except a few new houses, the whole of Valeh is built. The absence of stone supports the theory that the buildings of old Valabhi were of brick and wood. In 1872 when the site was examined the only stone remains were a few scattered Lingas and a well-polished life-size granite Nandi or bull lying near a modern Mahādeva temple. Diggers for old bricks have found copper pots and copperplates and small Buddhist relic shrines with earthen pots and clay seals of the seventh century.

The ruins of Valabhi show few signs of representing a large or important city. The want of sweet water apparently unfits the site for the capital of so large a kingdom as Valabhi. Its choice as capital was probably due to its being a harbour on the Bhāvnagar creek. Since

¹ Mr. Vajeshankar Gavrilshankar, Nāib Divān of Bhāvnagar, has made a collection of articles found in Valabhi. The collection includes clay seals of four varieties and of about the seventh century with the Buddhist formula *Ye Dharmas keva Pratibodh*; a small earthen top with the same formula imprinted on its base with a seal; beads and ring stones *mugs* of several varieties of *stibik* or carnelian and *sphatik* or coral some finished others half finished showing that as in modern Cambay the polishing of carnelians was a leading industry in early Valabhi. One circular figure of the size of a half rupee carved in black stone has engraved upon it the letters *ma ro* in characters of about the second century.* A royal seal found by Colonel Watson in Valeh bears on it an imperfect inscription of four lines in characters as old as Dharmasena I. (A.D. 520). This seal contains the names of three generations of kings, two of which the grandfather and grandson read Ahivarmman and Pashyapa all three being called *Mahārāja* or great king. The dynastic name is lost. The names on these moveable objects need not belong to Valabhi history. Still that seals of the second and fifth centuries have been discovered in Valabhi shows the place was in existence before the founding of the historical Valabhi kingdom. A further proof of the age of the city is the mention of it in the Kāthāsari-sigara a comparatively modern work but of very old materials. To this evidence of age, with much hesitation, may be added Balai Ptolemy's name for Gopnath point which suggests that as early as the second century Valeh or Balah (compare Alberuni's era of Balah) was known by its present name. Badly minted coins of the Gupta ruler Kumāragupta (A.D. 417-453) are so common as to suggest that they were the currency of Valabhi.

* The *ma* and *ro* are of the old style and the side and upper strokes, that is the *hims* and *water* of *ro* are horizontal.

the days of Valabhi's prime the silt which thickly covers the ruins has also filled and choked the channel which once united it with the Bhāvnagar creek when the small Ghelo was probably a fair sized river.

In spite of the disappearance of every sign of greatness Hiuen Tsiang's (A.D. 640) details show how rich and populous Valabhi was in the early part of the seventh century. The country was about 1000 miles (6000 *li*) and the capital about five miles (30 *li*) in circumference. The soil the climate and the manners of the people were like those of Malava. The population was dense; the religious establishments rich. Over a hundred merchants owned a hundred *lākhs*. The rare and valuable products of distant regions were stored in great quantities. In the country were several hundred monasteries or *saṅghārāmas* with about 6000 monks. Most of them studied the Little Vehicle according to the Sammatīya school. There were several hundred temples of Devas and sectaries of many sorts. When Tathāgata or Gautama Buddha (B.C. 560-480) lived he often travelled through this country. King Asoka (B.C. 240) had raised monuments or *stupas* in all places where Buddha had rested. Among these were spots where the three past Buddhas sat or walked or preached. At the time of Hiuen Tsiang's account (A.D. 640) the king was of the Kalmatriya caste, as all Indian rulers were. He was the nephew of S'īlāditya of Malava and the son-in-law of the son of S'īlāditya the reigning king of Kanyakubja. His name was Dhruvapati (Tu-lu-h'o-po-tu). He was of a lively and hasty disposition, shallow in wisdom and statecraft. He had only recently attached himself sincerely to the faith in the three precious ones. He yearly summoned a great assembly and during seven days gave away valuable gems and choice meats. On the monks he bestowed in charity the three garments and medicaments, or their equivalents in value, and precious articles made of the seven rare and costly gems. These he gave in charity and redeemed at twice their price. He esteemed the virtuous, honoured the good, and revered the wise. Learned priests from distant regions were specially honoured. Not far from the city was a great monastery built by the Arhat Achāra ('O-che-lo), where, during their travels, the Bodhisattvas Guṇamati and Sthiramati (Kien-hwni) settled and composed renowned treatises.¹

The only historical materials regarding the Valabhi dynasty are their copperplates of which a large number have been found. That such powerful rulers as the Valabhis should leave no records on stones and no remains of religious or other buildings is probably because, with one possible exception at Gopnāth,² up to the ninth century all temples and religious buildings in Kāthiāwāḍa and Gujarāt were of brick and wood.³

Chapter VIII.

THE VALABHIS,
A.D. 509-766.

Valabhi in
A.D. 630.

Valabhi
Copperplates.

¹ As suggested by Dr. Bühler (Ind. Ant. VI. 30), this is probably the Vihāra called Śrī Rāmapāṇḍityavīhāra which is described as having been constructed by Achārya Bhadanta Sthiramati who is mentioned as the grantee in a copperplate of Dharmasa II. bearing date Gupta 269 (A.D. 588). The Sthiramati mentioned with titles of religious veneration in the copperplate is probably the same as that referred to by Hiuen Tsiang. (Ditto).

² Burgess' Kāthiāwār and Kutch, 187.

³ Stories on record about two temples one at Satruṅjaya the other at Sonamāth support this view. As regards the Satruṅjaya temple the tradition is that while the minister of Kumārāpāla (A.D. 1143-1174) of Anahilavāḍa was on a visit to Satruṅjaya to worship and meditate in the temple of Adinātha, the wick of the lamp in the shrine was removed

Chapter VIII.

THE VALABHIS,
A.D. 509-766.Valabhi
Copperplates.

The Valabhi copperplates chiefly record grants to Brahmanical temples and Buddhist monasteries and sometimes to individuals. All are in one style two plates inscribed breadthwise on the inner side, the earliest plates being the smallest. The plates are held together by two rings passed through two holes in their horizontal upper margin. One of the rings bears on one side a seal with, as a badge of the religion of the dynasty, a well-proportioned seated Nandi or bull. Under the bull is the word Bhatārka the name of the founder of the dynasty. Except such differences as may be traced to the lapse of time, the characters are the same in all, and at the same time differ from the character then in use in the Valabhi territory which must have been that from which Devanāgarī is derived. The Valabhi plate character is adopted from that previously in use in South Gujarāt plates which was taken from the South Indian character. The use of this character suggests that either Bhatārka or the clerks and writers of the plates came from South Gujarāt.¹ The language of all the grants is Sanskrit prose. Each records the year of the grant, the name of the king making the grant, the name of the grantee, the name of the village or field granted, the name of the writer of the charter either the minister of peace and war *sandhivigrahādhiprīta* or the military head *balādhiprīta*, and sometimes the name of the *dūtaka* or gift-causer generally some officer of influence or a prince and in one case a princess. The grants begin by recording they were made either 'from Valabhi' the capital, or 'from the royal camp' '*Vijaya-skandhāvāra*.' Then follows the genealogy of the dynasty from Bhatārka the founder to the grantor king. Each king has in every grant a series of attributes which appear to have been fixed for him once for all. Except in rare instances the grants contain nothing historical. They are filled with verbose description and figures of speech in high flown Sanskrit. As enjoined in law-books or *dharmaśāstras* after the genealogy of the grantor comes the name of the composer usually the minister of peace and war and after him the boundaries of the land granted. The plates conclude with the date of the grant, expressed in numerals following the letter *saṃ* or the letters *saṃra* for *saṃvatsara* that is year. After the numerals are given the lunar month and day and the day of the week, with, at the extreme end, the sign manual *svaḥastō mama* followed by the name of the king in the genitive case that is Own hand of me so and so. The name of the era in which the date is reckoned is nowhere given.

Period
Covered.

So far as is known the dates extend for 240 years from 207 to 447. That the earliest known date is so late as 207 makes it pro-

by mice and set on fire and almost destroyed the temple which was wholly of wood. The minister seeing the danger of wooden buildings determined to erect a stone edifice (*Kumārāpalla Charita*). The story about Somanātha is given in an inscription of the time of Kumārāpalla in the temple of Bhadrakālī which shows that before the stone temple was built by Bhīmadēva I. (A.D. 1023-1073) the structure was of wood which was traditionally believed to be as old as the time of Kṛishṇa. Compare the Bhadrakālī inscription at Somanātha.

¹ The correctness of this inference seems open to question. The descent of the Valabhi plate character seems traceable from its natural local source the Shālagupta (A.D. 450) and the Rudradāman (A.D. 150) Gīrnār inscriptions.—(A. M. T. J.)

bable that the Valabhis adopted an era already in use in Kāthiāvāda. No other era seems to have been in use in Valabhi. Three inscriptions have their years dated expressly in the Valabhi Samvat. The earliest of these in Bhadrakālī's temple in Somnāth Pātan is of the time of Kumārāpāla (A.D. 1143-1174) the Solanki ruler of Anahilavāda. It bears date Valabhi Samvat 850. The second and third are in the temple of Harsata Devi at Verāval. The second which was first mentioned by Colonel Tod, is dated Hijra 662, Vikrama Samvat 1320, Valabhi Samvat 945, and Simha Samvat 151. The third inscription, in the same temple on the face of the pedestal of an image of Krishna represented as upholding the Govardhana hill, bears date Valabhi S. 927. These facts prove that an era known as the Valabhi era, which the inscriptions show began in A.D. 319, was in use for about a hundred years in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. This may be accepted as the era of the Valabhi plates which extended over two centuries. Further the great authority (A.D. 1030) Alberuni gives Saka 241 that is A.D. 319 as the starting point both of the 'era of Balah' and of what he calls the Gupta-kāla or the Gupta era. Beruni's accuracy is established by a comparison of the Mandasor inscription and the Nepal inscription of Amśuvarman which together prove the Gupta era started from A.D. 319. Though its use by the powerful Valabhi dynasty caused the era to be generally known by their name in Gujārat in certain localities the Gupta era continued in use under its original name as in the Morbi copperplate of Jāikadeva which bears date 588 "of the era of the Guptas."¹

The Valabhi grants supply information regarding the leading office bearers and the revenue police and village administrators whose names generally occur in the following order :

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THE VALABHIS,
A.D. 509-768.Period
Covered.Valabhi
Administration,
A.D. 509-768.

- (1) *Apuktaka*, } meaning appointed, apparently any superior
(2) *Viniyuktaka* } official.

(3) *Draṅgika*, apparently an officer in charge of a town, as *draṅga* means a town.

(4) *Mahattara* or Senior has the derivative meaning of high in rank. *Mhātāra* the Marāṭhi for an old man is the same word. In the Valabhi plates *mahattara* seems to be generally used to mean the accreted headman of a village, recognised as headman both by the people of the village and by the Government.

(5) *Chāṭabhāṭa* that is *bhāṭa* or sepoys for *chīṭa* or rogues, police mounted and on foot, represent the modern police *jamādāra* *havāldāra* and constables. The Kumārāpāla Charita mentions that *Chāṭabhāṭas* were sent by Siddharāja to apprehend the fugitive Kumārāpāla. One plate records the grant of a village 'unenterable by *chāṭabhāṭas*."²

(6) *Dhruva* fixed or permanent is the hereditary officer in charge of the records and accounts of a village, the Talāti and Kulkarni

¹ The era has been exhaustively discussed by Mr. Fleet in Corp. Ins. Ind. III. Introduction.

² Nepal Inscriptions. The phrase *achāṭa-bhāṭa* is not uncommon. Mr. Fleet (Corp. Ins. Ind. III. page 98 note 2) explains *achāṭa-bhāṭa-praveśa* as "not to be entered either by regular (*bhāṭa*) or by irregular (*achāṭa*) troops."

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THE VALABHIS,
A.D. 500-700.Valabhi
Administration,
A.D. 500-700.

of modern times. One of the chief duties of the Dhruva was to see that revenue farmers did not take more than the royal share.¹ The name is still in use in Cutch where village accountants are called *Dhru* and *Dhruva*. *Dhru* is also a common surname among Nāgar Brāhmins and Modh and other Vānias in Cutch Gujarāt and Kāthiāvāḍa.

(7) *Adhikaravika* means the chief judicial magistrate or judge of a place.

(8) *Dandapāśika* literally 'holding the fetters or noose of punishment,' is used both of the head police officer and of the hangman or executioner.

(9) *Chauroddharavika* the thief-catcher. Of the two Indian ways of catching thieves, one of setting a thief to catch a thief the other the *Pagi* or tracking system, the second answers well in sandy Gujarāt and Kāthiāvāḍa where the Tracker or *Pagi* is one of the *Bārābalute* or regular village servants.

(10) *Rājasthānīya*, the foreign secretary, the officer who had to do with other states and kingdoms *rājasthānus*. Some authorities take *rājasthānīya* to mean viceroy.

(11) *Amātya* minister and sometimes councillor is generally coupled with *kumdra* or prince.

(12) *Anutpannādānazamudgrāhaka* the arrears-gatherer.

(13) *Saulkāka* the superintendent of tolls or customs.

(14) *Bhogika* or *Bhogoddharavika* the collector of the *Bhoga* that is the state share of the land produce taken in kind, as a rule one-sixth. The term *bhoga* is still in use in Kāthiāvāḍa for the share, usually one-sixth, which landholders receive from their cultivating tenants.

(15) *Vartmapāḍa* the roadwatch were often mounted and stationed in *thānis* or small roadside sheds.²

(16) *Pratiharaka* patrols night-guards or watchmen of fields and villages.³

(17) *Vishayapati* division-lord probably corresponded to the present *sulāh*.

(18) *Rāshṭrapati* the head of a district.

(19) *Grāmakēṭa* the village headman.

Territorial
Divisions.

The plates show traces of four territorial divisions: (1) *Vishaya* the largest corresponding to the modern administrative Division: (2) *Āhāra* or *Āharanī* that is collectorate (from *āhāra* a collection) corresponding to the modern district or zillah: (3) *Pathaka*, of the road, a sub-division, the place named and its surroundings: (4) *Sṭhali* a petty division the place without surroundings.⁴

Land
Assessment.

The district of Kaira and the province of Kāthiāvāḍa to which the Valabhi grants chiefly refer appear to have had separate systems

¹ Bühler in Ind. Ant. V. 205.² Ind. Ant. VII. 68.³ Ind. Ant. VII. 68.

⁴ Of the different territorial divisions the following examples occur: Of *Vishaya* or main division Svabhāgapuravishaye and Sūryapuravishaye; of *Āhāra* or collectorate Khetaka-āhāra the Kaira district and Hastavapra-āhāra or Hastavaptharasi; the Bāthab district near Bhavnagar; of *Pathaka* or sub-division Nagar-panthaka Parbendar-panthaka (Pārās still talk of Navsāri panthaka); of *Sṭhali* or petty division Vajasthali, Lonapudrakasthali, and others.

of land assessment Kaira by yield Kāthiāvāda by area. Under the Kāthiāvāda system the measurement was by *pādāvarta* literally the space between one foot and the other that is the modern *kadam* or pace. The pace used in measuring land seems to have differed from the ordinary pace as most of the Kāthiāvāda grants mention the *bhūpādāvarta* or land pace. The Kaira system of assessment was by yield the unit being the *paṭaka* or basketful, the grants describing fields as capable of growing so many baskets of rice or barley (or as requiring so many baskets of seed). As the grants always specify the Kaira basket a similar system with a different sized basket seems to have been in use in other parts of the country. Another detail which the plates preserve is that each field had its name called after a guardian or from some tree or plant. Among field names are Kotilaka, Atimāya-kedāra, Khanda-kedāra, Gargara-kshetra, Bhīma-kshetra, Khagali-kedāra, Sami-kedāra.

The state religion of the Valabhi kings was Saivism. Every Valabhi copperplate hitherto found bears on its seal the figure of a bull with under it the name of Bhatārka the founder of the dynasty who was a Saiva. Except Dhruvasena I. (A.D. 526) who is called *Paramabhāgavata* or the great Vaishnava and his brother and successor Dharapatta who is styled *Paramādityabhakta* or the great devotee of the sun, and Guhasena, who in his grant of Sam. 248 calls himself *Paramopāsaka* or the great devotee of Buddha, all the Valabhi kings are called *Parama-māheśvara* the great Saiva.

The grants to Buddhist *vihāras* or monasteries of which there are several seem special gifts to institutions founded by female relatives of the granting kings. Most of the grants are to Brāhmins who though performing Vaidik ceremonies probably as at present honoured Saivism. This Saivism seems to have been of the old Pāśupata school of Nakulīśa or Lakulīśa as the chief shrine of Lakulīśa was at Kāravāna the modern Kārvān in the Gāikwār's territory fifteen miles south of Baroda and eight miles north-east of Mryāgām railway station a most holy place till the time of the Vāghela king Arjunadeva in the thirteenth century.¹ The special

Chapter VIII.

THE VALABHIS,
A.D. 500-766.Land
Assessment.

Religion.

¹ Kārvān seems to have suffered great desecration at the hands of the Musalmāns. All round the village chiefly under pipal trees, images and pieces of sculpture and large *lingas* lie scattered. To the north and east of the village on the banks of a large built pond called Kāṭkunda are numerous sculptures and *lingas*. Partly embedded in the ground a pillar in style of about the eleventh century has a writing over it of latter times. The inscription contains the name of the place Sanskritised as Kāyā-varohana, and mentions an ascetic named Virabhadraśāhī who remained mute for twelve years. Near the pillar, at the steps leading to the water, is a carved doorway of about the tenth or eleventh century with some well-proportioned figures. The left doorway has at the top a figure of Śiva, below the Śiva a figure of Śrīya, below the Śrīya a male and female, and under them attendants or *ganas* of Śiva. The right doorway has at the top a figure of Viṣṇu seated on Garuda, below the seated Viṣṇu a standing Viṣṇu with four hands, and below that two sitting male and female figures, the male with hands folded in worship the female holding a purse. These figures probably represent a married pair who paid for this gateway. Further below are figures of *ganas* of Śiva. In 1884 in repairing the south bank of the pond a number of carved stones were brought from the north of the town. About half a mile north-west of the town on the bank of a dry brook, is a temple of Chāmunda Devī of about the tenth century. It contains a mutilated life-size image of Chāmunda. Facing the temple lie mutilated figures of the seven Matrikās and of Bhairava, probably the remains of a separate altar

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THE VALABHIS,
A.D. 509-706.

Religion.

holiness attached to the Narbádā in Śaivism and to its pebbles as *līngas* is probably due to the neighbourhood of this shrine of Kāvān. The followers of the Nakulīśa-Pāśupata school were strict devotees of Śaivism, Nakulīśa the founder being regarded as an incarnation of Śīva. The date of the foundation of this school is not yet determined. It appears to have been between the second and the fifth century A.D. Nakulīśa had four disciples Kuśika, Gārgya, Kārusha, and Maitreya founders of four branches which spread through the length and breadth of India. Though no special representatives of this school remain, in spite of their nominal allegiance to Śaṅkarācārya the Daśanāmīs or Atītis are in fact Nakulīśas in their discipline doctrines and habits—applying ashes over the whole body, planting a *līnga* over the grave of a buried Atīt, and possessing proprietary rights over Śaiva temples. The Pāśupatas were ever ready to fight for their school and often helped and served in the armies of kings who became their disciples. Till a century ago these unpaid followers recruited the armies of India with celibates firm and strong in fighting. It was apparently to gain these recruits that so many of the old rulers of India became followers of the Pāśupata school. To secure their services the rulers had to pay them special respect. The leaders of these fighting monks were regarded as pontiffs like the Bappa-pāda or Pontiff of the later Valabhi and other kings. Thus among the later Valabhis Śīlāditya IV. is called *Bārapādānuḍhyāta* and all subsequent Śīlādityas *Bappapādānuḍhyāta* both titles meaning Worshipping at the feet of Bava or Bappa.

This Bava is the popular Prakrit form of the older Prakrit or *deśī* Bappa meaning Father or worshipful. Bappa is the original of the Hindustāni and Gujarāṭī Bāva father or elder; it is also a special term for a head Gosāvi or Atīt or indeed for any recluse. The epithet *Bappa-pādānuḍhyāta*, Bowing at the feet of Bappa, occurs in the attributes of several Nepal kings, and in the case of king Vasantaseṇa appears the full phrase:

Parama-dairata-bappa-bhaktiraka-mahārāja-Śrī-pādānuḍhyāta.

Falling at the illustrious feet of the great Mahārāja Lord Bappa.

These Nepal kings were Śaivas as they are called *parama-mahārāja* in the text of the inscription and like the Valabhi seals their seals bear a bull. It follows that the term *Bappa* was applied both by the Valabhis and the Nepal kings to some one, who can hardly be the same individual, unless he was their

facing the temple with the *matrī-maṅḍala* or Mother-Meeting upon it. The village has a large modern temple of Śiva called Nakleśvara, on the site of some old temple and mostly built of old carved temple stones. In the temple close by are a number of old images of the sun and the bear incarnation of Viṣṇu all of about the tenth or eleventh century. The name Nakleśvara would seem to have been derived from Nakulīśa the founder of the Pāśupata sect and the temple may originally have had an image of Nakulīśa himself or a *līnga* representing Nakulīśa. Close to the west of the village near a small dry reservoir called the Kuṇḍa of Rājārājseṇa lies a well-preserved black stone seated figure of Chandra one of the most respected of Śiva's attendants, without whose worship all worship of Śiva is imperfect, and to whom all that remains after making oblations to Śiva is offered. A number of other sculptures lie on the bank of the pond. About a mile to the south of Kāvān is a village called Līngthāl the place of *līngas*.

common overlord, which the distance between the two countries and still more the fact that his titles are the same as the titles of the Valabhi kings make almost impossible. In these circumstances the most probable explanation of the Bappa or Bāva of these inscriptions is that it was applied to Shaivite pontiffs or ecclesiastical dignitaries. The attribute *Parama-daitata* The Great Divine prefixed to Bappa in the inscription of Vasantasena confirms this view. That such royal titles as *Mahārājādhirāja*, *Paramabhāṭāraka*, and *Paramēśvara* are ascribed to Bappa is in agreement with the present use of *Mahārāja* for all priestly Brāhmins and recluses and of *Bhāṭāraka* for Digambara Jain priests. Though specially associated with Śaivas the title *bappa* is applied also to Vaiṣṇava dignitaries. That the term *bappa* was in similar use among the Buddhists appears from the title of a Valabhi *cibāra* Bappapādiyavihāra The monastery of the worshipful Bappa that is Of the great teacher Sthiramati by whom it was built.¹

The tribe or race of Bhatārka the founder of the Valabhi dynasty is doubtful. None of the numerous Valabhi copperplates mentions the race of the founder. The Chalukya and Rāshtrakūṭa copperplates are silent regarding the Valabhi dynasty. And it is worthy of note that the Gohlots and Gohils, who are descended from the Valabhis, take their name not from their race but from king Guha or Guhasena (A.D. 559-567) the fourth ruler and apparently the first great sovereign among the Valabhis. These considerations make it probable that Bhatārka belonged to some low or stranger tribe. Though the evidence falls short of proof the probability seems strong that Bhatārka belonged to the Gurjara tribe, and that it was the supremacy of him and his descendants which gave rise to the name Gurjara-rāṭra the country of the Gurjjaras, a name used at first by outsiders and afterwards adopted by the people of Gujarāt. Except Bhatārka and his powerful dynasty no kings occur of sufficient importance to have given their name to the great province of Gujarāt. Against their Gurjara origin it may be urged that the Chinese traveller Hsien Tsiang (A.D. 640) calls the king of Valabhi a Kshatriya. Still Hsien Tsiang's remark was made more than a century after the establishment of the dynasty when their rise to power and influence had made it possible for them to ennoble themselves by calling themselves Kshatriyas and tracing their lineage to Puranic heroes. That such ennobling was not only possible but common is beyond question. Many so-called Rājput families in Gujarāt and Kāthiavāḍa can be traced to low or stranger tribes. The early kings of Nāndipurī or Nāndod (A.D. 450) call themselves Gurjjaras and the later members of the same dynasty trace their lineage to the Mahābhārata hero Karna. Again two of the Nanded Gurjjaras Dadda II. and Jayabhata II. helped the Valabhis under circumstances which suggest that the bond of sympathy

Chapter VIII.

THE VALABHIS.
A.D. 502-760.

Religion.

Origin of
the Valabhis.

¹ Compare Real Buddhist Records, II. 268 note 76 and Ind. Ant. VI. 9. The meaning and reference of the title *Bappa* have been much discussed. The question is treated at length by Mr. Fleet (Corp. Ins. Ind. III. 186 note I) with the result that the title is applied not to a religious teacher but to the father and predecessor of the king who makes the grant. According to Mr. Fleet *bappa* would be used in reference to a father, *deva* in reference to an uncle.

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THE VALABHIS,
A.D. 509-766.
Origin of
the Valabhis.

may have been their common origin. The present chiefs of Nāndod derive their lineage from Karna and call themselves Gohils of the same stock as the Bhāvnagar Gohils who admittedly belong to the Valabhi stock. This supports the theory that the Gurjjaras and the Valabhis had a common origin, and that the Gurjjaras were a branch of and tributary to the Valabhis. This would explain how the Valabhis came to make grants in Broach at the time when the Gurjjaras ruled there. It would further explain that the Gurjjaras were called *sāmāntas* or feudatories because they were under the overlordship of the Valabhis.¹

History.

The preceding chapter shows that except Chandragupta (A.D. 410) Kumāragupta (A.D. 416) and Skandagupta (A.D. 456) none of the Guptas have left any trace of supremacy in Gujarāt and Kāthiāvāḍa. Of what happened in Gujarāt during the forty years after Gupta 150 (A.D. 469), when the reign of Skandagupta came to an end nothing is known or is likely to be discovered from Indian sources. The blank of forty years to the founder Bhaṭārka (A.D. 509) or more correctly of sixty years to Dhruvasena (A.D. 526) the first Valabhi king probably corresponds with the ascendancy of some foreign dynasty or tribe. All trace of this tribe has according to custom been blotted out of the Sanskrit and other Hindu records. At the same time it is remarkable that the fifty years ending about A.D. 525 correspond closely with the ascendancy in north and north-west India of the great tribe of Ephthalites or White Huns. As has been shown in the Gupta Chapter, by A.D. 470 or 480, the White Huns seem to have been powerful if not supreme in Upper India. In the beginning of the sixth century, perhaps about A.D. 520, Cosmas Indicopleustes describes the north of India and the west coast as far south as Kalliena that is Kalyān near Bombay as under the Huns whose king was Gollas.² Not many years later (A.D. 530) the Hun power in Central India suffered defeat and about the same time a new dynasty arose in south-east Kāthiāvāḍa.

First Valabhi
Grant,
A.D. 526.

The first trace of the new power, the earliest Valabhi grant, is that of Dhruvasena in the Valabhi or Gupta year 207 (A.D. 526). In this grant Dhruvasena is described as the third son of the Senāpati or general Bhaṭārka. Of Senāpati Bhaṭārka neither copperplate nor inscription has been found. Certain coins which General Cunningham Arch. Surv. Rept. IX, Pl. V. has ascribed to Bhaṭārka have on the obverse a bust, as on the western coins of

¹ Whether the Valabhis were or were not Gurjjaras the following facts favour the view that they entered Gujarat from Malwa. It has been shown (Fleet Ind. Ant. XX, 376) that while the Guptas used the so-called Northern year beginning with Chaitra, the Valabhi year began with Kārtika (see Ind. Ant. XX, 376). And further Kielhorn in his examination of questions connected with the Vikrama era (Ind. Ant. XIX and XX) has given reasons for believing that the original Vikrama year began with Kārtika and took its rise in Malwa. It seems therefore that when they settled in Gujarāt, while they adopted the Gupta era the Valabhis still adhered to the old arrangement of the year to which they had been accustomed in their home in Malwa. The arrangement of the year entered into every detail of their lives, and was therefore much more difficult to change than the starting point of their era, which was important only for official acts. — (A. M. T. J.)

² Montfaucon's Edition in Priault's Indian Travels, 222-223. It seems doubtful if Cosmas meant that Gollas' overlordship spread as far south as Kalyān. Compare Migne's Patrologia Graeca, lxxxviii. 466; Yule's Cathay, I. clix.

Kumāragupta, and on the reverse the Śaiva trident, and round the trident the somewhat doubtful legend in Gupta characters :

Rājā Mahāśakti Paramādityābhakta Śri Śarva-bhāṭṭāraka.

Of the king the great Kṣatri, great devotee of the sun, the illustrious Śarva-bhāṭṭāraka.

This Śarva seems to have been a Rāshtrakūṭa or Gurjara king. His coins were continued so long in use and were so often copied that in the end upright strokes took the place of letters. That these coins did not belong to the founder of the Valabhi dynasty appears not only from the difference of name between Bhāṭṭāraka and Bhatārka but because the coiner was a king and the founder of the Valabhis a general.

Of the kingdom which Senāpati Bhatārka overthrew the following details are given in one of his epithets in Valabhi copperplates: 'Who obtained glory by dealing hundreds of blows on the large and very mighty armies of the Maitrakas, who by force had subdued their enemies.' As regards these Maitrakas it is to be noted that the name Maitraka means Solar. The sound of the compound epithet *Maitraka-amitra* that is Maitraka-enemy used in the inscription makes it probable that the usual form Mihira or solar was rejected in favour of Maitraka which also means solar to secure the necessary assonance with *amitra* or enemy. The form Mihira solar seems a Hinduizing or meaning-making of the northern tribal name Meḍh or Mehr, the Mehirs being a tribe which at one time seem to have held sway over the whole of Kāthiāvāda and which are still found in strength near the Barda hills in the south-west of Kāthiāvāda.¹ The Jethvā chiefs of Porbandar who were formerly powerful rulers are almost certainly of the Mehr tribe. They are still called Mehr kings and the Mehirs of Kāthiāvāda regard them as their leaders and at the call of their Head are ready to fight for him. The chief of Mehr traditions describes the fights of their founder Makaradhivaja with one Mayāradhvaja. This tradition seems to embody the memory of an historical struggle. The *makara* or fish is the tribal badge of the Mehirs and is marked on a Morbi copperplate dated A.D. 904 (G. 585) and on the forged Dhiniki grant of the Mehr king Jāikadeva. On the other hand Mayāradhvaja or peacock-bannered would be the name of the Guptas beginning with Chandragupta who ruled in Gujarat (A.D. 396-416) and whose coins have a peacock on the reverse. The tradition would thus be a recollection of the struggle between the Mehirs and Guptas in which about A.D. 470 the Guptas were defeated. The Mehirs seem to have been a northern tribe, who, the evidence of place names seems to show, passed south through Western Rājputana, Jaalo, Ajo, Bad, and Koml leaders of this tribe giving their names to the settlements of Jesalmir, Ajmir, Badmer, and Komalmer. The resemblance of name and the nearness of dates suggest a connection between the Mehirs and the great Panjab conqueror of the Guptas Mihirakula (A.D. 512-540?). If not them-

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THE VALABHIS,
A.D. 509-766.

Senāpati Bhatārka,
A.D. 509-520?

The Maitrakas,
A.D. 470-502.

¹ The Mehirs seem to have remained in power also in north-east Kāthiāvāda till the thirteenth century. Mokherajī Gohil the famous chief of Pirana was the son of a daughter of Dhan Mehr or Mair of Dhanduka, Rās Mala, I. 3 (6).

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THE VALABHIS,

A.D. 509-786.

The Maitrakas,

A.D. 470-509.

selves Hūnas the Mehars may have joined the conquering armies of the Hūnas and passing south with the Hūnas may have won a settlement in Kāthiāvāda as the Kāthis and Jhādejas settled about 300 years later. After Senāpati Bhatārka's conquests in the south of the Peninsula the Mehars seem to have retired to the north of Kāthiāvāda.

The above account of the founder of the Valabhis accepts the received opinion that he was the Senāpati or General of the Guptas. The two chief points in support of this view are that the Valabhis adopted both the Gupta era and the Gupta currency. Still it is to be noted that this adoption of a previous era and currency by no means implies any connection with the former rulers.¹ Both the Gurjjaras (A.D. 580) and the Chālukyas (A.D. 642) adopted the existing era of the Traikōtakas (A.D. 248-9) while as regards currency the practice of continuing the existing type is by no means uncommon.² In those circumstances, and seeing that certain of the earlier Valabhi inscriptions refer to an overlord who can hardly have been a Gupta, the identification of the king to whom the original Senāpati owed allegiance must be admitted to be doubtful.

All known copperplates down to those of Dharasena (A.D. 579 the great grandson of Bhatārka) give a complete genealogy from Bhatārka to Dharasena. Later copperplates omit all mention of any descendants but those in the main line.

Senāpati Bhatārka had four sons, (1) Dharasena (2) Dronāsimha (3) Dhruvasena and (4) Dharapatta. Of Dharasena the first son no record has been traced. His name first appears in the copperplates of his brother Dhruvasena where like his father he is called Senāpati. Similarly of the second son Dronāsimha no record exists except in the copperplates of his brother Dhruvasena. In these copperplates unlike his father and elder brother Dhruvasena is called *Mahārāja* and is mentioned as 'invested with royal authority in person by the great lord, the lord of the wide extent of the whole world.' This great lord or *paramāsvami* could not have been his father Bhatārka. Probably he was the king to whom Bhatārka owed allegiance. It is not clear where Dronāsimha was installed king probably it was in Kāthiāvāda from the south-east of which his father and elder brother had driven back the Mehars or Maitrakas.³

¹ All the silver and copper coins found in Valabhi and in the neighbouring town of Sihar are poor imitations of Kumāragupta's (A.D. 417-453) and of Skandagupta's (A.D. 454-470) coins, smaller lighter and of bad almost rude workmanship. The only traces of an independent currency are two copper coins of Dharasena, apparently Dharasena IV., the most powerful of the dynasty who was called *Chakrasartin* or Emperor. The question of the Gupta-Valabhi coins is discussed in Jour. Royal As. Socy. for Jan. 1893 pages 133-143. Dr. Bühler (page 138) holds the view put forward in this note of Dr. Bhagvānlāl's namely that the coins are Valabhi copies of Gupta currency. Mr. Smith (Ibid., 142-143) thinks they should be considered the coins of the kings whose names they bear.

² The three types of coins still current at Ujjain, Bhillai, and Guālier in the territories of His Highness Sindhia are imitations of the previous local Mahumadan coinage.

³ As the date of Dronāsimha's investiture is about A.D. 520 it is necessary to consider what kings at this period claimed the title of supreme lord and could boast of ruling the whole earth. The rulers of this period whom we know of are Mihirakula,

The third son Dhruvasena is the first of several Valabhis of that name. Three copperplates of his remain: The Kukad grant dated Gupta 207 (A.D. 526),¹ an unpublished grant found in Junágadh dated Gupta 210 (A.D. 529), and the Vajeh grant dated Gupta 216 (A.D. 535).² One of Dhruvasena's attributes *Parama-bhattāraka-pādānudyāta*, Bowing at the feet of the great lord, apparently applies to the same paramount sovereign who installed his brother Dronasimha. The paramount lord can hardly be Dhruvasena's father as his father is either called *Bhattārka* without the *parama* or more commonly *Senāpati* that is general. Dhruvasena's other political attributes are *Mahārāja* Great King or *Mahāsāmantā* Great Chief, the usual titles of a petty feudatory king. In the A.D. 535 plates he has the further attributes of *Mahāpratihāra* the great doorkeeper or chamberlain, *Mahādandanāyaka*³ the great magistrate, and *Mahākārtakritika* (?) or great general, titles which seem to show he still served some overlord. It is not clear whether Dhruvasena succeeded his brother Dronasimha or was a separate contemporary ruler. The absence of 'falling at the feet of' or other successional phrase and the use of the epithet 'serving at the feet of' the great lord seem to show that his power was distinct from his brothers. In any case Dhruvasena is the first of the family who has a clear connection with Valabhi from which the grants of A.D. 526 and 529 are dated.

In these grants Dhruvasena's father Bhattārka and his elder brothers are described as 'great Māhesvaras' that is followers of Siva, while Dhruvasena himself is called *Paramabhāgavata* the great Vaishnava. It is worthy of note, as stated in the A.D. 535 grant, that his niece Duddā (or Lulā?) was a Buddhist and had dedicated a Buddhist monastery at Valabhi. The latest known date of Dhruvasena is A.D. 535 (G. 216). Whether Dharapatta or Dharpatta's son Guhasena succeeded is doubtful. That Dharapatta is styled *Mahārāja* and that a twenty-four years' gap occurs between the latest grant of Dhruvasena and A.D. 559 the earliest grant of

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THE VALABHIS.

A.D. 509-766.

Dhruvasena I.

A.D. 526-535.

Yasodharman Vishnupurandhara, the descendants of Īśānagupta's son Purugupta, and the Gupta chiefs of Eastern Māwa. Neither Toramāsa nor Mihirakula appears to have borne the paramount title of Paramesvara though the former is called *Mahārājādhirāja* in the Eray inscription and *Avanipati* or Lord of the Earth (= simply king) on his coins: in the Gwalior inscription Mihirakula is simply called Lord of the Earth. He was a powerful prince but he could hardly claim to be ruler of "the whole circumference of the earth." He therefore cannot be the installer of Dronasimha. Taking next the Guptas of Magadha we find on the Bhitari seal the title of *Mahārājādhirāja* given to each of them, but there is considerable reason to believe that their power had long since shrunk to Magadha and Eastern Māwa, and if Huen Tsang's Baladitya is Narendragupta, he must have been about A.D. 520 a feudatory of Mihirakula, and could not be spoken of as supreme lord, nor as ruler of the whole earth. The Guptas of Māwa have even less claim to these titles, as Bhānugupta was a mere *Mahārāja*, and all that is known of him is that he won a battle at Eray in Eastern Māwa in A.D. 510-11. Last of all comes Vishnupurandhara or Yasodharman of Mandasor. In one of the Mandasor inscriptions he has the title of *Rājādhirāja* and *Paramesvara* (A.D. 532-33); in another he boasts of having "led his conquests from the Lashitā (Brahmaputra) to the western ocean and from the Himālaya to mount Mahendra. It seems obvious that Yasodharman is the Paramesvami of the Valabhi plate, and that the reference to the western ocean relates to Bhattārka's successes against the Maitrakas.—(A.M.T.J.)

¹ Ind. Ant. V. 204.² Ind. Ant. IV. 104.³ In a commentary on the Kalpasūtra *Dandanāyaka* is described as meaning *Thaṭṭapāla* that is head of a district.

Chapter VIII.

THE VALABHIS,
A.D. 509-760.
Dharasena IV.,
A.D. 640-649.

Two of Dharasena IV.'s grants remain, one dated A.D. 645 (G. 326) the other A.D. 649 (G. 330). A grant of his father Dhruvasena dated A.D. 634 (G. 315) and an unpublished copperplate in the possession of the chief of Morbi belonging to his successor Dhruvasena III. dated A.D. 651 (G. 332) prove that Dharasena's reign did not last more than seventeen years. The well known Sanskrit poem Bhāṭṭikāvya seems to have been composed in the reign of this king as at the end of his work the author says it was written at Valabhi protected (governed) by the king the illustrious Dharasena.¹ The author's application to Dharasena of the title *Narendra* Lord of Men is a further proof of his great power.

Dhruvasena III.,
A.D. 650-656.

Dharasena IV. was not succeeded by his son but by Dhruvasena the son of Derabhata the son of Dharasena IV.'s paternal grand-uncle. Derabhata appears not to have been ruler of Valabhi itself but of some district in the south of the Valabhi territory. His epithets describe him as like the royal sage Agastya spreading to the south, and as the lord of the earth which has for its two breasts the Sahya and Vindhya hills. This description may apply to part of the province south of Kaira where the Sahyādri and Vindhya mountains may be said to unite. In the absence of a male heir in the direct line, Derabhata's son Dhruvasena appears to have succeeded to the throne of Valabhi. The only known copperplate of Dhruvasena III.'s, dated A.D. 651 (G. 332), records the grant of the village of Pedhapadra in Vanthali, the modern Vanthali in the Navānagar State of North Kāthiāvāda. A copperplate of his elder brother and successor Kharagraha dated A.D. 656 (G. 337) shows that Dhruvasena's reign cannot have lasted over six years.

Kharagraha,
A.D. 656-663.

The less than usually complimentary and respectful reference to Dhruvasena III. in the attributes of Kharagraha suggests that Kharagraha took the kingdom by force from his younger brother as the rightful successor of his father. At all events the succession of Kharagraha to Dhruvasena was not in the usual peaceful manner. Kharagraha's grant dated A.D. 656 (G. 337) is written by the Divirapati or Chief Secretary and minister of peace and war Anabhilla son of Skandabhata.² The *Dātaka* or causer of the gift was the *Pramātri* or survey officer Śrīnā.

Śilāditya III.,
A.D. 666-673.

Kharagraha was succeeded by Śilāditya III. son of Kharagraha's elder brother Śilāditya II. Śilāditya II. seems not to have ruled at Valabhi but like Derabhata to have been governor of Southern Valabhi, as he is mentioned out of the order of succession and with the title Lord of the Earth containing the Vindhya mountain. Three grants of Śilāditya III. remain, two dated A.D. 666 (G. 346)³ and the third dated A.D. 671 (G. 352).⁴ He is called *Parama-bhāṭṭāraka* Great Lord, *Mahārājādhirāja* Chief King among Great Kings, and *Paramēśvara* Great Ruler. These titles continue to be applied to all

¹ *Kavyamīdanam rachitam mayā Valabhyām, Śrī Dharasena-narendra pālītavyam.*

² Ind. Ant. VII. 76.

³ Journ. Beng. A. S. IV. and an unpublished grant in the museum of the B. R. R. A. Soc.

⁴ Ind. Ant. XI. 305.

subsequent Valabhi kings. Even the name Śilāditya is repeated though each king must have had some personal name.

Śilāditya III. was succeeded by his son Śilāditya IV. of whom one grant dated A.D. 691 (G. 372) remains.¹ The officer who prepared the grant is mentioned as the general Divirapati Śrī Haragana the son of Bappa Bhogika. The Dūtaka or gift-causer is the prince Kharagraha, which may perhaps be the personal name of the next king Śilāditya V.

Of Śilāditya V. the son and successor of Śilāditya IV. two grants dated A.D. 722 (G. 403) both from Gondal remain. Both record grants to the same person. The writer of both was general Gillaka son of Buddhahatta, and the gift-causer of both prince Śilāditya.

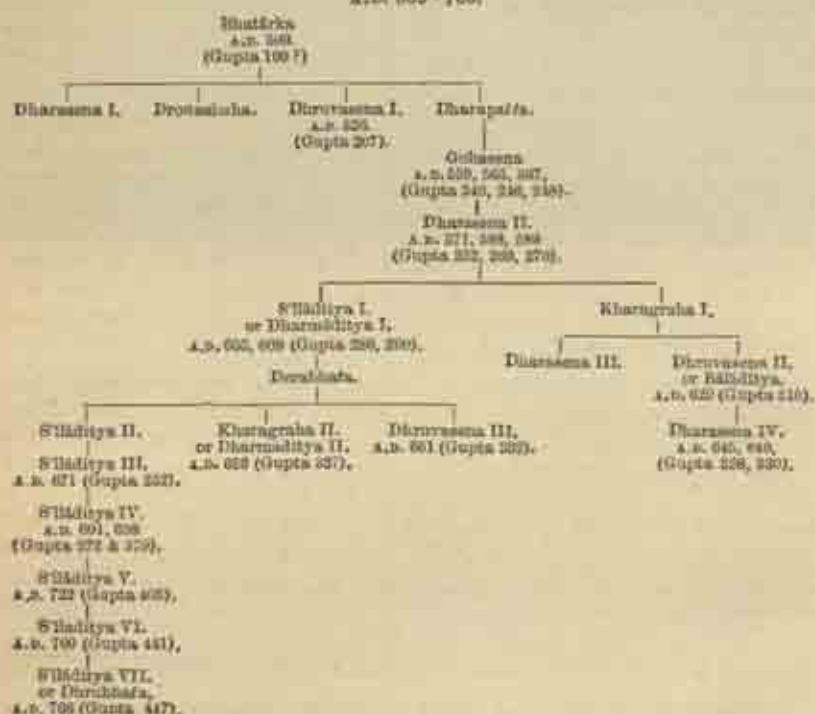
Of Śilāditya VI. the son and successor of the last, one grant dated A.D. 760 (G. 441) remains. The grantee is an Atharvavedi Brahman. The writer is Sasyagupta son of Emapatha and the gift-causer is Gānjasāti Śrī Jajjar (or Jajir).

Of Śilāditya VII. the son and successor of the last, who is also called Dhrūbhata (Sk. Dhruvabhata), one grant dated A.D. 766 (G. 447) remains.

The following is the genealogy of the Valabhi Dynasty:

VALABHI FAMILY TREE,

A.D. 509-766.



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THE VALABHIS,
A.D. 509-766.Śilāditya IV.
A.D. 691.Śilāditya V.
A.D. 722.Śilāditya VI.
A.D. 760.Śilāditya VII.
A.D. 766.Valabhi
Family Tree.¹ Ind. Ant. V. 208.

Chapter VIII.

THE VALABHI,
A.D. 609-700.The Fall of
Valabhi,
A.D. 750-770.

Of the overthrow of Valabhi many explanations have been offered.¹ The only explanation in agreement with the copperplate evidence that a Śīlāditya was ruling at Valabhi as late as A.D. 768 (Val. Sam. 447)² is the Hindu account preserved by Alberuni (A.D. 1030)³ that soon after the Sindh capital Mansūra was founded, say A.D. 750-770, Ranka a disaffected subject of the era-making Valabhi, with presents of money persuaded the Arab lord of Mansūra to send a naval expedition against the king of Valabhi. In a night attack king Valabha was killed and his people and town were destroyed. Alberuni adds: Men say that still in our time such traces are left in

¹ Since his authorities mention the destroyers of Valabhi under the vague term *mlechchhas* or barbarians and since the era in which they date the overthrow may be either the Vikrama A.D. 57, the Śaka A.D. 78, or the Valabhi A.D. 319, Tod is forced to offer many suggestions. His proposed dates are A.D. 244 Vik. Sam. 306 (Western India, 269), A.D. 424 Val. Sam. 105 (Ditto, 51 and 214), A.D. 524 Val. Sam. 207 (Annals of Rajasthan, I. 83 and 217-220), and A.D. 619 Val. Sam. 300 (Western India, 352). Tod identifies the barbarian destroyers of Valabhi either with the descendants of the second century Parthians, or with the White Huns Getae or Kathis, or with a mixture of those who in the beginning of the sixth century supplanted the Parthians (An. of Raj. I. 83 and 217-220; Western India, 214, 352). Elliot (History, I. 408) accepting Tod's date A.D. 524 refers the overthrow to Sogdian barbarians from Sindh. Elphinstone, also accepting A.D. 524 as an approximate date, suggested (History, 2nd Edition, 212) as the destroyer the Sassanian Naushirvan or Chosroes the Great (A.D. 531-579) citing in support of a Sassanian invasion Malcolm's Persia, I. 141 and Pottenger's Travels, 386. Forbes (Rās Mālā, I. 22) notes that the Jain accounts give the date of the overthrow Vik. Sam. 376 that is A.D. 319 apparently in confusion with the epoch of the Gupta era which the Valabhi kings adopted.* Forbes says (Ditto, 24): If the destroyers had not been called *mlechchhas* I might have supposed them to be the Dakṣiṇa-Chālukya. Genl. Cunningham (Anc. Geog. 318) holds that the date of the destruction was A.D. 638 and the destroyer the Rashtrakuta Rāja Govind who restored the ancient family of Śāstrakṣa. Thomas (Prinsep's Useful Tables, 158) fixes the destruction of Valabhi at A.D. 745 (S. 802). In the Kathiawar Gazetteer Col. Watson in one passage (page 671) says the destroyers may have been the early Muhammadans who retired so quickly as they came. In another passage (page 274), accepting Mr. Burgess' (Arch. Sur. Rep. IV. 78) Gupta era of A.D. 195 and an overthrow date of A.D. 642 and citing a Wadhwan couplet telling how Elhat Valabhi withstood the Iranians, Col. Watson suggests the destroyers may have been Iranians. If the Persians came in A.D. 642 they must have come not as raiders but as refugees. If they would they would not have destroyed Valabhi. If the Persians destroyed Valabhi where next did they flee to.

* Similarly S. 203 the date given by some of Col. Tod's authorities (An. of Raj. I. 22 and 217-220) represents A.D. 524 the practical establishment of the Valabhi dynasty. The mistake of ascribing an era to the overthrow not to the founding of a state centre (compare Sachau's Alberuni, II. 4) to the case both of the Vikrama era A.D. 57 and of the Śāstrakṣa era A.D. 78. In both these cases the error was intentional. It was devised with the aim of hiding the supremacy of foreigners in early Hindu history. So also, according to Alberuni's information (Sachau, II. 7) the Gupta date A.D. 319 marks the passing not the beginning of the wicked and powerful Guptas. This device is not confined to India. His Hsiao informant told Herodotus (I. v. 18) that the Persians' Herodotus, I. 107) that A.D. 708 was the founding of the Median monarchy. The date really marked the overthrow of the Medes by the Assyrian Sargon.

² Tod (An. of Raj. I. 231) notices what is perhaps a reminiscence of this date (A.D. 768). It is the story that Bappa, who according to Mewāī tradition is the founder of Gohlot power at Chitor, abandoned his country for Iran in A.D. 764 (S. 820). It seems probable that this Bappa or Salla is not the founder of Gohlot power at Chitor, but, according to the Valabhi use of Bappa, is the founder's father and that this retreat to Iran refers to his being carried captive to Mansura on the fall either of Valabhi or of Gandhar.

³ Reinand's Fragments, 143 note 1; Mémoire sur l'Inde, 105; Sachau's Alberuni, I. 193. The treachery of the magician Ranka is the same cause as that assigned by Forbes (Rās Mālā, I. 12-15) from Jain sources. The local legend (Ditto, 18) points the inevitable Tower of Siloam moral, a moral which (compare Rās Mālā, I. 18) is probably at the root of the antiquary tale of Lot and the Cities of the Plain, that men whose city was so completely destroyed must have been sinners beyond others. Dr. Nicholson (J. R. A. S. Ser. I. Vol. XIII. page 153) in 1851 thought the site of Valabhi bore many traces of destruction by water.

that country as are found in places wasted by an unexpected attack.¹ For this expedition against Valabhi Alberuni gives no date. But as Mansūra was not founded till A.D. 750² and as the latest Valabhi copperplate is A.D. 766 the expedition must have taken place between A.D. 750 and 770. In support of the Hindu tradition of an expedition from Mansūra against Valabhi between A.D. 750 and 770 it is to be noted that the Arab historians of Sindh record that in A.D. 758 (H. 140) the Khalif Mansūr sent Amrū bin Jamāl with a fleet of barke to the coast of Barada.³ Twenty years later A.D. 776 (H. 160) a second expedition succeeded in taking the town, but, as sickness broke out, they had to return. The question remains should the word, which in these extracts Elliot reads Barada, be read Balaba. The lax rules of Arab cursive writing would cause little difficulty in adopting the reading Balaba.⁴ Further it is hard to believe that Valabhi, though to some extent sheltered by its distance from the coast and probably a place of less importance than its chroniclers describe, should be unknown to the Arab raiders of the seventh and eighth centuries and after its fall be known to Alberuni in the eleventh century. At the same time, as during the eighth century there was, or at least as there may have been,⁵ a town Barada on the south-west coast of Kāthiavāda the iden-

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THE VALABHIS,
A.D. 500-766.The Fall of
Valabhi,
A.D. 750-770.

¹ Lassen (Ind. Alt. III, 533) puts aside Alberuni's Arab expedition from Mansūra as without historical support and inadmissible. Lassen held that Valabhi flourished long after its alleged destruction from Mansūra. Lassen's statement (see Ind. Alt. III, 533) is based on the mistaken idea that as the Valabhis were the Ballaras the Ballaras' capital Minkir must be Valabhi. So far as is known, except Alberuni himself (see below) none of the Arab geographers of the ninth tenth or eleventh centuries mentions Valabhi. It is true that according to Lassen (Ind. Alt. 536) Masudi A.D. 915, Istakhrī A.D. 951, and Ibn Haskal A.D. 970 all attest the existence of Valabhi up to their own time. This remark is due either to the mistake regarding Malkhet or to the identification of Balwi or Balā in Sindh (Elliot's History, I, 37-34) with Valabhi. The only known Muslim reference to Valabhi later than A.D. 750 is Alberuni's statement (Sachau, II, 7) that the Valabhi of the era is 30 *sojnas* or 200 miles south of Anahilavāda. That after its overthrow Valabhi remained, as it still continues, a local town has been shown in the text. Such an after-life is in no way inconsistent with its destruction as a leading capital in A.D. 767.

² According to Alberuni (Sachau, I, 21) Al Mansūra, which was close to Beihmanābād about 47 miles north-east of Haidarābād (Elliot's Muslim History, I, 372-374) was built by the great Muhammad Kāsim about A.D. 713. Apparently Alberuni wrote Muhammad Kāsim by mistake for his grandson Amrū Muhammad (Elliot, I, 372 note 1 and 442-3), who built the city a little before A.D. 750. Reinand (Fragments, 210) makes Amrū the son of Muhammad Kāsim. Masudi (A.D. 915) gives the same date (A.D. 700), but (Elliot, I, 24) makes the builder the Umayyad governor Mansūr bin Jamāl. Idrisī (A.D. 1137 Elliot, I, 78) says Mansūra was built and named in honour of the Khalif Abu Jāfar al-Mansūr. If so its building would be later than A.D. 754. On such a point Idrisī's authority carries little weight. ³ Elliot, I, 244.

⁴ That the word read Barada by Elliot is in the lax pointless *shikasta* writing is shown by the different proposed readings (Elliot, I, 444 note 1) Nārand, Barand, and Barid. So far as the original goes Balaba is probably as likely a rendering as Barada. Reinand (Fragments, 212) says he cannot restore the name.

Though, except as applied to the Porbandar range of hills, the name Barada is almost unknown, and though Ghunāl not Barada was the early (eighth-twelfth century) capital of Porbandar some place named Barada seems to have existed on the Porbandar coast. As early as the second century A.D., Ptolemy (McCrindle, 37) has a town Barada-xuma on the coast west of the village Koms (probably the root or *koms*) of Saurāstra; and St. Martin (Geographie Grecque et Latine de l'Inde, 203) identifies Ptolemy's (A.D. 77) Varotata with the Odombura or people of Kachh with the Varadas according to Hemachandra (A.D. 1150) a class of foreigners or *mlechchhas*. A somewhat tempting identification of Barada is with Beruni's Barwi (Sachau, I, 208) or Barasum (Reinand's Fragments, 121) 84 miles (14 *parasangs*) west of Somanātha. But an examination of Beruni's text shows that Barwi is not the name of a place but of a product of Kachh the *letra* or bear stone.

Chapter VIII.

THE VALABHIS,
A.D. 500-768.The Fall of
Valabhi,
A.D. 759-770.The Importance
of Valabhi.

tification of the raids against Barada with the traditional expedition against Balaha though perhaps probable cannot be considered certain. Further the statement of the Sindhi historians¹ that at the time the Sindhi Arabs also made a naval expedition against Kandahar seems in agreement with the traditional account in Tod that after the destruction of Valabhi the rulers retired to a fort near Cambay from which after a few years they were driven.² If this fort is the Kandahar of the Sindhi writers and Gandhar on the Broach coast about twenty miles south of Cambay, identifications which are in agreement with other passages, the Arab and Rajput accounts would fairly agree.³

The discovery of its lost site; the natural but mistaken identification of its rulers with the famous eighth and ninth century (A.D. 753-972) Balharas of Malkhet in the East Dakhan;⁴ the tracing to Valabhi of the Rana of Udepur in Mewar the head of the Somnath Gohila the most exalted of Hindu families⁵; and in later times the wealth of Valabhi copperplates have combined to make the Valabhis one of the best known of Gujarati dynasties. Except the complete chronology, covering the 250 years from the beginning of the sixth to the middle of the eighth century, little is known of Valabhi or its rulers. The

¹ Elliot, I. 445.² Compare Tod (Annals, I. 83 and 217). Gajni or Gayni another capital whence the last prince Siladitya was expelled by Parthian invaders in the sixth century.³ Compare Reinand (Fragments, 312 note 4) who identifies it with the Ain-i-Akbari Kandahar that is Gandhar in Broach. The identification is doubtful. Tod (Annals, I. 217) names the fort Gajni or Gayni and there was a fort Gajni close to Cambay. Elliot (I. 445) would identify the Arab Kandahar with Khandahar in north-west Kathiawar.

Even after A.D. 770 Valabhi seems to have been attacked by the Arabs. Dr. Bhagvanlal notices that two Jain dates for the destruction of the city 826 and 836 are in the Vira era and that this means not the Mahavira era of B.C. 526 but the Vikram era of B.C. 57. The corresponding dates are therefore A.D. 769 and 829. Evidence in support of the A.D. 769 and 770 date is given in the text. On behalf of Dr. Bhagvanlal's second date A.D. 829 it is remarkable that in or about A.D. 830 (Elliot, I. 447) Māsa the Arab governor of Sindh captured Bala the ruler of As Sharqi. As there seems no reason to identify this As Sharqi with the Sindh lake of As Sharqi mentioned in a raid in A.D. 750 (Elliot, I. 441; J. R. A. S. (1893) page 76) the phrase would mean Bala king of the east. The Arab record of the defeat of Bala would thus be in close agreement with the Jain date for the latest foreign attack on Valabhi.

⁴ The identification of the Balharas of the Arab writers with the Chalukyas (A.D. 500-753) and Rashtrakutas (A.D. 753-972) of Malkhet in the East Dakhan has been accepted. The vagueness of the early (A.D. 850-900) Arab geographers still more the inaccuracy of Idrial (A.D. 1137) in placing the Balharas capital in Gujarat (Elliot, I. 87) suggested a connection between Balhara and Valabhi. The suitability of this identification was increased by the use among Rajput writers of the title Balaharai for the Valabhi chief (Tod An. of Raj. I. 83) and the absence among either the Chalukyas (A.D. 500-753) or the Rashtrakutas (A.D. 753-972) of Malkhet of any title resembling Balhara. Prof. Bhandarkar's (Deccan History, 56-57) discovery that several of the early Chalukyas and Rashtrakutas had the personal name Vallabha Beloved settled the question and established the accuracy of all Masudi's (A.D. 915) statements (Elliot, I. 19-21) regarding the Balhara who ruled the Kanakara, that is Kanakara or Kanitak (Sachau's Beruni, I. 262; II. 318) and had their Kanarasa (Kiriya) capital at Mankir (Malkhet) 640 miles from the coast.

⁵ After their withdrawal from Valabhi to Mewar the Vālas took the name of Gohlot (see below page 95), then of Akarya from a temporary capital near Udepur (Tod's An. of Raj. I. 215), next of Sesodia in the west of Mewar (Tod's An. of Raj. I. 216; Western India, 57). Since 1568 the Rana's head-quarters have been at Udepur. Raj. Gaz. III. 18. After the establishment of their power in Chitor (A.D. 780), a branch of the Gohlot or Gohil family withdrew to Kheir in south-west Marwar. These driven south by the Rathods in the end of the twelfth century are the Gohila of Piram, Bhavnagar, and Rajpura in Kathiawar and Gujarat. Tod's Annals of Raj. I. 114, 228.

origin of the city and of its rulers, the extent of their sway, and the cause and date of their overthrow are all uncertain. The unfitness of the site, the want of reservoirs or other stone remains, the uncertainty when its rulers gained an independent position, the fact that only one of them claimed the title *Chakravarti* or All Ruler are hardly consistent with any far-reaching authority. Add to this the continuance of Maitraka or Mer power in North Kāthiāvāda, the separateness though perhaps dependence of Saurāshtra even in the time of Valabhi's greatest power,¹ the rare mention of Valabhi in contemporary Gujārat grants,² and the absence of trustworthy reference in the accounts of the Arab raids of the seventh or eighth centuries tend to raise a doubt whether, except perhaps during the ten years ending 650, Valabhi was ever of more than local importance.

In connection with the pride of the Sesodias or Gohils of Mewād in their Valabhi origin³ the question who were the Valabhis has a special interest. The text shows that Pandit Bhagvānlāl was of opinion the Valabhis were Gurjjaras. The text also notes that the Pandit believed they reached south-east Kāthiāvāda by sea from near Broach and that if they did not come to Broach from Mālwa at least the early rulers obtained (A.D. 520 and 526) investiture from the Mālwa kings. Apart from the doubtful evidence of an early second to fifth century Bāda or Valabhi three considerations weigh against the theory that the Valabhis entered Gujārat from Mālwa in the sixth century. First their acceptance of the Gupta era and of the Gupta currency raises the presumption that the Valabhis were in Kāthiāvāda during Gupta ascendancy (A.D. 440-480); Second that the Sesodias trace their pedigree through Valabhi to an earlier settlement at Dhānk in south-west Kāthiāvāda and that the Vālas of Dhānk still hold the place of heads of the Vālas of Kāthiāvāda; And Third that both Sesodias and Vālas trace their origin to Kanaksen a second century North Indian immigrant into Kāthiāvāda combine to raise the presumption that the Vālas were in Kāthiāvāda before the historical founding of Valabhi in A.D. 526⁴ and that the city took its name from its founders the Vālas or Bālās.

Whether or not the ancestors of the Gohils and Vālas were settled in Kāthiāvāda before the establishment of Valabhi about A.D. 526

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THE VALABHIS,
A.D. 509-706.The Importance
of Valabhi.
A.D. 750-770.Valabhi and
the Gohils.

¹ The somewhat doubtful Jātkadēra plates (above page 87 and Kāthiāvāda Gazetteer, 275) seem to show the continuance of Maitraka power in North Kāthiāvāda. This is supported by the expedition of the Arab chief of Sindhan in Kachch (A.D. 840) against the Medhas of Hind which ended in the capture of Mālā in North Kāthiāvāda. Elliot, I. 450. Huen Tsang (A.D. 630) (Best's Buddhist Records, II. 69) describes Saurāshtra as a separate state but at the same time notes its dependence on Valabhi. Its rulers seem to have been Melras. In A.D. 713 (Elliot, I. 123) Muhammad Kasim made peace with the men of Surasht, Medha, seafarers, and pirates.

² The only contemporary rulers in whose grants a reference to Valabhi has been traced are the Gurjjaras of Broach (A.D. 580-608) one of whom, Dadā II. (A.D. 633), is said (Ind. Ant. XIII. 79) to have gained renown by protecting the lord of Valabhi who had been defeated by the illustrious Sri Harshadeva (A.D. 608-649), and another Jayaditya in A.D. 706 (Ind. Ant. V. 115) claims to have quelled with the sword the impetuosity of the lord of Valabhi.

³ Tod An. of Raj. I. 217: Western India, 269.

⁴ Tod An. of Raj. I. 112 and Western India, 148: Bās Mālā, I. 21. It is not clear whether these passages prove that the Sesodias or only the Vālas claim an early settlement at Dhānk. In any case (see below page 101) both clans trace their origin to Kanaksen.

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THE VALABHIS,
A.D. 500-700.
Valabhi and
the Gehlots.

several considerations bear out the correctness of the Rājput traditions and the Jain records: that the Gohila or Sesodias of Mewād came from Bāla or Valabhi in Kāthiavāḍa. Such a withdrawal from the coast, the result of the terror of Arab raids, is in agreement with the fact that from about the middle of the eighth century the rulers of Gujarāt established an inland capital at Anahilavāḍa (A.D. 746).¹ It is further in agreement with the establishment by the Gohil refugees of a town Balli in Mewād; with the continuance as late as A.D. 968 (S. 1024) by the Sesodia chief of the Valabhi title Śilāditya or Sail²; and with the peculiar Valabhi blend of Sun and Siva worship still to be found in Udepur.³ The question remains how far can the half-poetic accounts of the Sesodias be reconciled with a date for the fall of Valabhi so late as A.D. 766. The mythical wanderings, the caveborn Guha, and his rule at Idar can be easily spared. The name Gehlot which the Sesodias trace to the caveborn Guha may as the Bhāvnagar Gehlots hold have its origin in Guhasena (A.D. 559-567) perhaps the first Valabhi chief of more than local distinction.⁴ Tod⁵ fixes the first historical date in the Sesodia family history at A.D. 720 or 728 the ousting of the Mori or Maurya of Chitor by Rappa or Sail. An inscription near Chitor shows the Mori in power in Chitor as late as A.D. 714 (S. 770).⁶ By counting back nine generations from Sakti Kumāra the tenth from Bappa whose date is A.D. 1058 Tod fixes A.D. 720-728 as the date when the Gohils succeeded the Moris. But

¹ Tod's Western India, 51.

² Tod's An. of Raj. I. 230.

³ The cherished title of the later Valabhis, Śilāditya Sun of Virtue, confirms the special sun worship at Valabhi, which the mention of Dharapatta (A.D. 530) as a devotee of the supreme sun supports, and which the legends of Valabhi's sun-horse and sun-fountain keep fresh (Ras Mālā, I. 14-15). So the great one-stone lingas, the most notable trace of Valabhi city (J. R. A. S. Ser. I. Vol. XIII. 149 and XVII. 271), bear out the Valabhi copperplate claim that its rulers were great worshippers of Siva. Similarly the Rāna of Udepur, while enjoying the title of Sun of the Himus, prospering under the sun banner, and specially worshipping the sun (Tod's Annals, I. 563) is at the same time the Minister of Siva the One Ling *Kalingakadanta* (Ditto 222, Raj. Gaz. III. 53). The blend is natural. The fierce noon-tide sun is Mahakāla the Destroyer. Like Siva the Sun is lord of the Moon. And marshalled by Somanātha the great Soul Home the souls of the dead pass heavenwards along the rays of the setting sun. [Compare Sachau's Alberuni, II. 168.] It is the common sun element in Śaivism and in Vaiṣṇavism that gives their holiness to the sunset shrines of Somanātha and Dwarka. For (Ditto, 169) the setting sun is the door whence men march forth into the world of existence Westwards, heavenwards.

⁴ This explanation is hardly satisfactory. The name Gehlot seems to be Gohila-putra from Gohila-putra an ancient Brāhman gotra, one of the not uncommon names of Rājputs with a Brāhman gotra. The Rājput use of a Brāhman gotra is generally considered a technical affiliation, a mark of respect for some Brāhman teacher. It seems doubtful whether the practice is not a reminiscence of an ancestral Brāhman strain. This view finds confirmation in the Aitpur inscription (Tod's Annals, I. 802) which states that Guhadit the founder of the Gohil tribe was of Brāhman race *Pipra-kula*. Compare the legend (Ras Mālā, I. 13) that makes the first Śilāditya of Valabhi (A.D. 590-609) the son of a Brāhman woman. Compare (Elliot, I. 411) the Brāhman Chāch (A.D. 630-670) marrying the widow of the Shāhi king of Aler in Simlā who is written of as a Rājput though like the later (A.D. 850-1060) Shāhiyas of Kabul (Alberuni, Sachau II. 13) the dynasty may possibly have been Brāhman.^{*} The following passage from Hodgson's Essays (J. A. Soc. B. II. 218) throws light on the subject: Among the Khās or Rājputs of Nepāl the sons of Brāhmans by Khās women take their fathers' gotras. Compare Robertson's Panjab Census 1951 page 236.

^{*} In support of a Brāhman origin is Prinsep's conjecture (J. A. S. B. LXXIV. (Feb. 1902) page 63) that Devāl the name of the first recorded king may be Devīa or Twinn-born. But Devāl for Devāditya, like Sail for Śilāditya, seems simpler and the cure with which the writer speaks of Chach as the Brāhman almost implies that his predecessors were not Brāhmans. According to Elliot (II. 426) the Khās of Kabul were Rājputs, perhaps Śhāttas.

⁵ Tod's Annals, I. 229-231.

⁶ Annals, I. 229.

the sufficient average allowance of twenty years for each reign would bring Bappa to A.D. 770 or 780 a date in agreement with a fall of Valabhi between A.D. 760 and 770, as well as with the statement of Abul Fazl, who, writing in A.D. 1590, says the Rāna's family had been in Mewād for about 800 years.¹

The Arab accounts of the surprise-attack and of the failure of the invaders to make a settlement agree with the local and Rājputāna traditions that a branch of the Valabhi family continued to rule at Vāḷeḥ until its conquest by Mūla Rāja Solankhi in A.D. 950.² Though their bards favour the explanation of Vāḷa from the Gujarātī *vāḷa* 'return' or the Persian *vāḷah*³ noble the family claim to be of the old Valabhi stock. They still have the tradition they were driven out by the Musalmāns, they still keep up the family name of Selait or Sīlāditya.⁴

The local tradition regarding the settlement of the Vāḷas in the Balakshetra south of Valabhi is that it took place after the capture of Valabhi by Mūla Rāja Solankhi (A.D. 950).⁵ If, as may perhaps be accepted, the present Vāḷas represent the rulers of Valabhi it seems to follow the Vāḷas were the overlords of Balakshetra at least from the time of the historical prosperity of Valabhi (A.D. 520-680). The traditions of the Bābriās who held the east of Sorath show that when they arrived (A.D. 1200-1250) the Vāḷa Rājputs were in possession and suggest that the lands of the Vāḷas originally stretched as far west as Diu.⁶ That the Vāḷas held central Kāthiāvāḍa is shown by their possession of the old capital Vantliālī nine miles south-west of Junāgaḍh and by (about A.D. 850) their transfer of that town to the Chudāsāmās.⁷ Dhānk, about twenty-five miles north-west of Junāgaḍh, was apparently held by the Vāḷas under the Jetwas when (A.D. 500-1200?) Ghumli or Bhumli was the capital of south-west Kāthiāvāḍa. According to Jetwa accounts the Vāḷas were newcomers whom the Jetwas allowed to settle at Dhānk.⁸ But as the Jetwas are not among the earliest settlers in Kāthiāvāḍa it seems more probable that, like the Chudāsāmās at Vantliālī, the Jetwas found the Vāḷas in possession. The close connection of the Vāḷas with the earlier waves of Kāthīs is admitted.⁹ Considering that the present

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A.D. 500-760.

The Vāḷas of
Kāthiāvāḍa.

¹ Gladwin's *Aln-i-Akbari*, II. 81; Tod's *Annals*, I. 235 and note². Tod's dates are confused. The Aitpur inscription (Ditto, page 230) gives Sakti Kumāra's date A.D. 988 (S. 1024) while the authorities which Tod accepts (Ditto, 231) give A.D. 1068 (S. 1125). That the Moris were not driven out of Chitor as early as A.D. 728 is proved by the Navsari inscription which mentions the Arabs defeating the Māyryas as late as A.D. 738-9 (Sarn. 490). See above page 56.

² Tod Western India 268 says Siddha Rāja (A.D. 1094-1133): Mūla Rāja (A.D. 942-997) seems correct. See *Kāṭh. Gaz.* I. 65.

³ The chronicles of Bhadrōd, fifty-one miles south-west of Bhāvnagar, have (Kāth. Gaz. 380) a Selait Vāḷa as late as A.D. 1554.

⁴ Kāthiāvār Gazetteer, 672. Another account places the movement south after the arrival of the Gohils A.D. 1250. According to local traditions the Vāḷas did not pass to Bhadrōd near Mahuva till A.D. 1554 (Kāth. Gaz. 380) and from Bhadrōd (Kāth. Gaz. 680) retired to Dholera.

⁵ Kāth. Gaz. 111 and 132. According to the *Aln-i-Akbari* (Gladwin, II. 63) the inhabitants of the ports of Mahua and Tuljā were of the Vāḷa tribe.

⁶ Kāth. Gaz. 680.

⁷ Kāth. Gaz. 114.

⁸ The Vāḷa connection with the Kāthīs complicates their history. Col. Watson (Kāth. Gaz. 130) seems to favour the view that the Vāḷas were the earliest wave of Kāthīs who came into Kāthiāvāḍa from Māḷva apparently with the Guptas (A.D. 450) (Ditto, 671). Col. Watson seems to have been led to this conclusion in consequence of the existence

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THE VALABHIS,
A.D. 500-700.The Vālas and
Kāthīs.

(1881) total of Kāthiāvāda Vāla Rājputs is about 900 against about 9000 Vāla Kāthīs, the Vālas,¹ since their loss of power, seem either to have passed into unnoticeable subdivisions of other Rājput tribes or to have fallen to the position of Kāthīs.

If from the first and not solely since the fall of Valabhi the Vālas have been associated with the Kāthīs it seems best to suppose they held to the Kāthīs a position like that of the Jetwas to their followers the Mers. According to Tod² both Vālas and Kāthīs claim the title *Tata Multāka Rai* Lords of Tata and Multān. The accounts of the different sackings of Valabhi are too confused and the traces of an earlier settlement too scanty and doubtful to justify any attempt to carry back Valabhi and the Vālas beyond the Maitraka overthrow of Gupta power in Kāthiāvāda (A.D. 470-480). The boast that Bhatārka, the reputed founder of the house of Valabhi (A.D. 509), had obtained glory by dealing hundreds of blows on the large and very mighty armies of the Maitrakas who by force had subdued their enemies, together with the fact that the Valabhis did and the Maitrakas did not adopt the Gupta era and currency seem to show the Vālas were settled in Kāthiāvāda at an earlier date than the Mers and Jetwas. That is, if the identification is correct, the Vālas and Kāthīs were in Kāthiāvāda before the first wave of the White Huns approached. It has been noticed above under Skandagupta that the enemies, or some of the enemies, with whom, in the early years of his reign A.D. 452-454, Skandagupta had so fierce a struggle were still in A.D. 456 a source of anxiety and required the control of a specially able viceroy at Junāgadh. Since no trace of the Kāthīs appears in Kāthiāvāda legends or traditions before the fifth century the suggestion may be offered that under Vāla or Bala leadership the Kāthīs were among the enemies who on the death of Kumāragupta (A.D. 454) seized the Gupta possessions in Kāthiāvāda. Both Vālas and Kāthīs would then be northerners driven south from Multān and South

of the petty state of Kātti in west Khāndesh. But the people of the Kātti state in west Khāndesh are Hūls or Kolis. Neither the people nor the position of the country seems to show connection with the Kāthīs of Kāthiāvāda. Col. Watson (Kath. Gaz. 130) inclines to hold that the Vālas are an example of the rising of a lower class to be Rājputs. That both Vālas and Kāthīs are northerners admitted into Hinduism may be accepted. Still it seems probable that on arrival in Kāthiāvāda the Vālas were the leaders of the Kāthīs and that it is mainly since the fall of Valabhi that a large branch of the Vālas have sunk to be Kāthīs. The Kāthi traditions admit the superiority of the Vālas. According to Tod (Western India, 270; Annals, I. 112-113) the Kāthīs claim to be a branch or descendants of the Vālas. In Kāthiāvāda the Vālas, the highest division of Kāthīs (Ras Malā, I. 296; Kath. Gaz. 122, 123, 131, 139), admit that their founder was a Vāla Rājput who lost caste by marrying a Kāthi woman. Another tradition (Ras Malā, I. 296; Kath. Gaz. 122 note 1) records that the Kāthīs flying from Sindh took refuge with the Vālas and became their followers. Col. Watson (Kath. Gaz. 130) considers the practice in Porbandar and Navrangpur of styling any lady of the Dhanak Vāla family who marries into their house Kāthiāmbai the Kāthi lady proves that the Vālas are Kāthīs. But as this name must be used with respect it may be a trace that the Vālas claim to be lords of the Kāthīs as the Jetwas claim to be lords of the Mers. That the position of the Vālas and Kāthīs as Rājputs is doubtful in Kāthiāvāda and is secured (Tod's Annals, I. 111) in Rājputāna is strange. The explanation may perhaps be that aloofness from Muhammadans is the practical test of honour among Rājputāna Hindus, and that in the troubled times between the thirteenth and the seventeenth centuries, like the Jhāns, the Vālas and Kāthīs may have refused Moghal alliances, and so won the approval of the Rānas of Mewār.

¹ Kath. Gaz. 110-129.² Western India, 207; Annals, I. 112-113.

Smith by the movements of tribes displaced by the advance of the Ephthalites or White Huns (A.D. 440-450) upon the earlier North Indian and border settlements of the Yuan-Yuan or Avars.¹

The Sesodia or Gohil tradition is that the founder of the Vālas was Kanaksen, who, in the second century after Christ, from North India established his power at Virāt or Dholka in North Gujarāt and at Dhānk in Kāthiāvāḍa.² This tradition, which according to Tod³ is supported by at least ten genealogical lists derived from distinct sources, seems a reminiscence of some connection between the early Vālas and the Kshatrapas of Junāgaḍh with the family of the great Kushān emperor Kanishka (A.D. 78-98). Whether this high ancestry belongs of right to the Vālas and Gohils or whether it has been won for them by their bards nothing in the records of Kāthiāvāḍa is likely to be able to prove. Besides by the Vālas Kanaksen is claimed as an ancestor by the Chāvāḍās of Okhāmāṇḍal as the founder of Kanakapurī and as reigning in Kriahna's throne in Dwārakā.⁴ In support of the form Kanaka for Kanishka is the doubtful Kanaka-Sakas or Kanishka-Sakas of Varāhamihira (A.D. 580).⁵ The form Kanik is also used by Alberuni⁶ for the famous Vihāra or monastery at Peshāwar of whose founder Kanak Alberuni retails many widespread legends. Tod⁷ says; 'If the traditional date (A.D. 114) of Kanaksen's arrival in Kāthiāvāḍa had been only a little earlier it would have fitted well with Wilson's Kanishka of the Raja Tarangini.' Information brought to light since Tod's time shows that hardly any date could fit better than A.D. 144 for some member of the Kushān family, possibly a grandson of the great Kanishka, to make a settlement in Gujarāt and Kāthiāvāḍa. The date agrees closely with the revolt against Vasudeva (A.D. 123-150), the second in succession from Kanishka, raised by the Panjab Yaudheyas, whom the great Gujarāt Kshatrapa Rudradāman (A.D. 143-158), the introducer of Kanishka's (A.D. 78) era into Gujarāt, humbled. The tradition calls Kanaksen Kosalaputra and brings him from Lohkot in North India.⁸ Kosala has been explained as Oudh and Lohkot as Lahore, but as Kanak came from the north not from the north-east an original Kushāna-putra or Son of the Kushān may be the true form. Similarly Lohkot cannot be Lahore. It may be Alberuni's Lauhavar or Lahur in the Kāshmir uplands one of the main centres of Kushān power.⁹

Chapter VIII.

THE VALABHIS,
A.D. 500-766.Descent from
Kanaksen,
A.D. 150.

¹ It is worthy of note that Bālas and Kāthiās are returned from neighbouring Panjab districts. Bālas from Dehra Ismail Khān (Panjab Census Report 1891 Part III. 316), Kāthiā Rajputs from Montgomery (Ditto 318), and Kāthiā Jāts from Jhang and Dehra Ismail Khān (Ditto 143). Compare Ibbetson's (1883) Panjab Census, I. 259, where the Kāthiās are identified with the Kāthiāi who fought Alexander the Great (B.C. 325) and also with the Kāthiās of Kāthiāvāḍa. According to this report (page 240) the Vālas are said to have come from Malwa and are returned in East Panjab.

² Tod's Annals, I. 83 and 215; Elliot, II. 410; Jour. B. Br. A. S. XXIII.

³ Annals, I. 215.

⁴ Kath. Gaz. 582.

⁵ Brillat-Samphit, XIV. 21. The usual explanation (compare Fleet Ind. Ant. XXII. 180) Gold-Sakas seems meaningless.

⁶ Sachau, II. 11. Among the legends are the much-applied tales of the foot-stamped cloth and the self-sacrificing minister.

⁷ Western India, 213.

⁸ Tod's Annals, I. 83, 215; Western India, 270-352.

⁹ Sachau, I. 208; II. 341. For the alleged descent of the Sesodias and Vālas from Rāms of the Sun race the explanation may be offered that the greatness of Kanishka, whose power was spread from the Ganges to the Oxus, in accordance with the Hindu

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THE VALABHIS,
A.D. 509-706.Mewād and
the Persians.

One further point requires notice, the traditional connection between Valabhi and the Rāns of Mewād with the Sassanian kings of Persia (A.D. 250-650). In support of the tradition Abul Fazl (A.D. 1590) says the Rāns of Mewād consider themselves descendants of the Sassanian Naushirvān (A.D. 531-579) and Tod quotes fuller details from the Persian history Maaser-al-Umra.¹ No evidence seems to support a direct connection with Naushirvān.² At the same time marriage between the Valabhi chief and Maha Banu the fugitive daughter of Yazdigerd the last Sassanian (A.D. 651) is not impossible.³ And the remaining suggestion that the link may be Naushirvān's son Naushizād who fled from his father in A.D. 570 receives support in the statement of Procopius⁴ that Naushizād found shelter at Belapatan in Khuzistān perhaps Balapatan in Gurjaristān. As these suggestions are unsupported by direct evidence, it seems best to look for the source of the legend in the fire symbols in use on Kāthiāvāda and Mewād coins. These fire symbols, though in the main Indo-Skythian, betray from about the sixth century a more direct Sassanian influence. The use of similar coins coupled with their common sun worship seems sufficient to explain how the Agnikulas and other Kāthiāvāda and Mewād Rājputs came to believe in some family connection between their chiefs and the fireworshipping kings of Persia.⁵

Vāla.

Can the Vāla traditions of previous northern settlements be supported either by early Hindu inscriptions or from living traces in the present population of Northern India? The convenient and elaborate tribe and surname lists in the Census Report of the Panjāb, and vaguer information from Rajputāna, show traces of Bālas and Vālas among the Musalmān as well as among the Hindu population of Northern India.⁶ Among the tribes mentioned in Varāha-Mihira's sixth century (A.D. 580)⁷ lists the Vāhlikas appear along with the dwellers on Sindhu's banks. An inscription of a king Chandra, probably Chandragupta and if so about A.D. 350-400,⁸ boasts of crossing the seven mouths of the Indus to attack the Vāhlikas. These references suggest that the Bālas or Vālas are the Vāhlikas and that the Balhikas of the Hari-vamśa (A.D. 350-500?) are not as Langlois supposed people then ruling

doctrine (compare Beal's Buddhist Records, I. 99 & 152; Rās Mālā, I. 320; Fryer's New Account, 190) that a conqueror's success is the fruit of transcendent merit in a former birth, led to Kanishka being considered an incarnation of Bāma. A connection between Kanishka and the race of the Sun would be made easy by the intentional confusing of the names Kalatrāpa and Kshatriya and by the fact that during part at least of his life fire and the sun were Kanishka's favourite deities.

¹ Gladwin's Ain-i-Akhbar, II. 81; Tod's Annals, I. 235.

² The invasion of Sindh formerly (Reinard's Fragments, 29) supposed to be by Naushirvan in person according to fuller accounts seems to have been a raid by the ruler of Seistan (Elliot, I. 407). Still Reinard (Mémoire Sur l'Inde, 127) holds that in sign of vassalage the Sindh king added a Persian type to his coins.

³ Compare Tod's Annals, I. 235-238 and Rawlinson's Seventh Monarchy, 576.

⁴ Rawlinson's Seventh Monarchy, 452 note 3.

⁵ Compare Tod's Annals, I. 63; Thomas' Prinsep, I. 413; Cunningham's Arch. Survey, VI. 201. According to their own accounts (Rās Mālā, I. 296) the Kātīs learned sun-worship from the Vāla of Dhānk by whom the famous temple of the sun at Than in Kāthiāvāda was built.

⁶ Vālas Musalmān Jāti in Lahor and Gurdaspur; Vāls in Gujarāt and Gujranwālā; Vāls in Mogaonagar and Dhersa Lemael Khan. Also Vālahs Hindus in Kāngra. Panjāb Census of 1891, III. 162.

⁷ Brihat Samhita, V. 80.

⁸ Corp. Ins. Ind. III. 140-141.

in Balkh but people then established in India.¹ Does it follow that the Vāhikas of the inscriptions and the Bāhikas of the Harivamśa are the Panjāb tribe referred to in the Mahābhārata as the Bāhikas or Bāhikas, a people held to scorn as keeping no Brāhman rites, their Brāhman degraded, their women abandoned?² Of the two Mahābhārata forms Bāhika and Bāhika recent scholars have preferred Bāhika with the sense of people of Balkh or Baktria.³ The name Bāhika might belong to more than one of the Central Asian invaders of Northern India during the centuries before and after Christ, whose manner of life might be expected to strike an Aryāvarta Brāhman with horror. The date of the settlement of these northern tribes (B.C. 180 - A.D. 300) does not conflict with the comparatively modern date (A.D. 150 - 250) now generally received for the final revision of the Mahābhārata.⁴ This explanation does not remove the difficulty caused by references to Bāhikas and Bāhikas in Pāṇini and other writers earlier than the first of the after-Alexander Skythian invasions. At the same time as shown in the footnote there seems reason to hold that the change from the Bāhtri of Darius (B.C. 510) and Alexander the Great (B.C. 330) to the modern Balkh did not take place before the first century after Christ. If this view is correct it follows that

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THE VALABHIS,
A.D. 500 - 700.

Valab.

¹ The references are: Langlois' Harivamśa, I. 388-420, II. 178. That in A.D. 247 Balkh or Baktria was free from Indian overlordship (McCrindle's Periplus, 121), and that no more distant tribe than the Gandharas finds a place in the Harivamśa lists combine to make it almost certain that, at the time the Harivamśa was written, whatever their origin may have been, the Bāhikas were settled not in Baktria but in India.

² The passage from the Karna Parva or Eighth Book of the Mahābhārata is quoted in Muir's Sanskrit Texts, II. 482, and in greater fullness in St. Martin's Geog. Greque et Latine de l'Inde, 402-410. The Bāhikas or Bāhikas are classed with the Madras, Gandharas, Arattas, and other Panjāb tribes. In their Brāhman families it is said the eldest son alone is a Brāhman. The younger brothers are without restraint Kshatriyas, Vaiśyas, Sudras, even Barbers. A Brāhman may sink to be a Barber and a barber may rise to be a Brāhman. The Bāhikas eat flesh even the flesh of the cow and drink liquor. Their women know no restraint. They dance in public places unclothed save with garlands. In the Harivamśa (Langlois, I. 403 and II. 178, 388, 420) the Bāhikas occur in lists of kings and peoples.

³ Kern in Muir's Sanskrit Texts, II. 446. St. Martin (Geog. Greque et Latine de l'Inde, 149) takes Bāhika to be a contraction of Bāhika. Reasons are given below for considering the Mahābhārata form Bāhika a confusion with the earlier tribes of that name rather than a contraction of Bāhika or Bāhika. The form Bāhika was also favoured by the writer in the Mahābhārata because it fitted with his punning derivation from their two dead ancestors Vāhi and Bāh. St. Martin, 408.

⁴ St. Martin Geog. Greque et Latine de l'Inde, 403, puts the probable date at B.C. 380 or about fifty years before Alexander. St. Martin held that the passage belonged to the final revision of the poem. Since St. Martin's time the tendency has been to lower the date of the final revision by at least 500 years. The fact noted by St. Martin (Ditto, page 404) that Jartika which the Mahābhārata writer gives as another name for Bāhika is a Sanskritised form of Jat further supports the later date. It is now generally accepted that the Jats are one of the leading tribes who about the beginning of the Christian era passed from Central Asia into India.

⁵ The name Valabhi, as we learn from the Jain historians, is a Sanskritised form of Valahi, which can be easily traced back to one of the many forms (Bāhika, Bāhika, Bāhika, Bāhika, Bāhika, Vāhika, Vāhika, Vāhika, Vāhika, Vāhika, Vāhika, Vāhika) of a tribal name which is of common occurrence in the Epics. This name is, no doubt rightly, traced back to the city of Balkh, and originally denoted merely the people of Baktria. There is, however, evidence that the name also denoted a tribe doubtless of Baktrian origin, but settled in India: the Emperor Chandragupta speaks of defeating the Vāhikas after crossing the seven mouths of the Indus; Varāha-Mihira speaks of the Vāhikas along with the people who dwell on Sindhu's banks (Br. Sats. V. 89); and, most decisive of all, the Kāśika Vṛtti on Pāṇ. VIII. iv. 9 (A.D. 650) gives Bāhika as the name of the people of the Sauvira country, which, as Alberuni tells us, corresponded to the

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A.D. 509-706.
Valāsa.

if the form Bahlika occurs in Pāṇini or other earlier writers it is a mistaken form due to some copyist's confusion with the later name Bahlika. As used by Pāṇini the name Bahlika applied to certain Panjab tribes seems a general term meaning Outsider a view which is supported by Brian Hodgson's identification of the Mahābhārata Bāhlikas with the Bahings one of the outcaste or broken tribes of Nepāl.¹ The use of Bahlika in the Mahābhārata would then be due either to the wish to identify new tribes with old or to the temptation to use a word which had a suitable meaning in Sanskrit. If then there is fair ground for holding that the correct form of the name in the Mahābhārata is Bāhlika and that Bāhlika means men of Balkh the question remains which of the different waves of Central Asian invaders in the centuries before and after Christ are most likely to have adopted or to have received the title of Baktrians. Between the second century before and the third century after Christ two sets of northerners might justly have claimed or have received the title of Baktrians. Those northerners are the Baktrian Greeks about B.C. 180 and the Yuechi between B.C. 20 and A.D. 300. Yavana is so favourite a name among Indian writers that it may be accepted that whatever other northern tribes the name Yavana includes no name but Yavana passed into use for the Baktrian Greeks. Their long peaceful and civilised rule (B.C. 180 - A.D. 300?) from their capital at Balkh entitles the Yuechi to the name Baktrians or Bāhlikas. That the Yuechi were known in India as Baktrians is proved by the writer of the *Periplus* (A.D. 247), who, when Baktria was still under Yuechi rule, speaks of the Baktrianoi as a most warlike race governed by their own sovereign.² It is known that in certain cases the Yuechi tribal names were of local origin. Kushān the name of the leading tribe is according to some authorities a place-name.³

modern Maltān, the very country to which the traditions of the modern Valāsa point.

If the usual derivation of the name Bāhlika be accepted,* it is possible to go a step further and fix a probable limit before which the tribe did not enter India. The name of Balkh in the sixth century B.C. was, as we learn from Darius' inscriptions, Bakhtri, and the Greeks also knew it as Baktra: the Avesta form is Bakhthi, which according to the laws of sound-change established by Prof. Darmstadter for the Arachosian language as represented by the modern Pushtu, would become Bahli (see *Chants Populaires des Afghans*, Introd. page xxvii). This reduction of the hard aspirates to spirants seems to have taken place about the first century A.D.: parallel cases are the change from Parthava to Pallava, and Mithra to Mihira. It would seem therefore that the Bāhlikas did not enter India before the first century A.D.: and if we may identify their subduer Chandra with Chandragupta I., we should have the fourth century A.D. as a lower limit for dating their invasion.

Unfortunately, however, these limits cannot at present be regarded as more than plausible: for the name Bāhlika or Valhika appears to occur in works that can hardly be as modern as the first century A.D. The *Atharvaveda-pariśiṣṭas* might be put aside, as they show strong traces of Greek influence and are therefore of late date: and the supposed occurrences in Pāṇini belong to the commentators and to the *Ganapāṭha* only and are of more or less uncertain age. But the name occurs, in the form Bāhlika, in one hymn of the *Atharvaveda* itself (Book V. 22) which there is no reason to suppose is of late date.

The lower limit is also uncertain as the identification of Chandra of the inscription with the Gupta king is purely conjectural. — (A. M. T. J.)

* There is a very close parallel in the modern Panjab, where the Census Report of 1881

the original name Bahli has become a tribal name in the same way as Bāhlika.

¹ Hodgson's *Essays on Indian Subjects*, I. 405 Note.

² *McCrindle's Periplus*, 121. Compare Rawlinson's *Seventh Monarchy*, 79. The absence of Indian references to the Yuechi supports the view that in India the Yuechi were known by some other name.

³ According to Renaud (*Mémoires Sur l'Inde*, 82 note 3) probably the modern

And it is established that the names of more than one of the tribes who about B.C. 50 joined under the head of the Kusháns were taken from the lands where they had settled. It is therefore in agreement both with the movements and with the practice of the Yuechi, that, on reaching India, a portion of them should be known as Báhlíkas or Bálhikas. Though the evidence falls short of proof there seems fair reason to suggest that the present Rajput and Káthi Válas or Bálas of Gujarát and Rajputána, through a Sanskritised Váhlíka, may be traced to some section of the Yuechi, who, as they passed south from Baktria, between the first century before and the fourth century after Christ, assumed or received the title of men of Balkh.

One collateral point seems to deserve notice. St. Martin¹ says: 'The Greek historians do not show the least trace of the name Báhlíka.' Accepting Báhlíka, with the general sense of Outsider, as the form used by Indian writers before the Christian era and remembering² Pálini's description of the Málavas and Kshudrakas as two Báhlíka tribes of the North-West the fact that Pálini lived very shortly before or after the time of Alexander and was specially acquainted with the Panjáb leaves little doubt that when (A.D. 326) Alexander conquered their country the Malloi and Oxydrakai, that is the Málavas and Kshudrakas, were known as Báhlíkas. Seeing that Alexander's writers were specially interested in and acquainted with the Malloi and Oxydrakai it is strange if St. Martin is correct in stating that Greek writings show no trace of the name Báhlíka. In explanation of this difficulty the following suggestion may be offered.³ As the Greeks sounded their *kā* (x) as a spirant, the Indian Báhlíka would strike them as almost the exact equivalent of their own word *Bacchus*. More than one of Alexander's writers has curious references to a Bacchic element in the Panjáb tribes. Arrian⁴ notices that, as Alexander's fleet passed down the Jhelum, the people lined the banks chanting songs taught them by Dionysus and the Bacchantes. According to Quintus Curtius⁵ the name of Father Bacchus was famous among the people to the south of the Malloi. These references are vague. But Strabo is definite.⁶ The Malloi and Oxydrakai are reported to be the descendants of Bacchus. This passage is the more important since Strabo's use of the writings of Aristobulus Alexander's historian and of Onesikritos Alexander's pilot and Bráhman-interviewer gives his details a special value.⁷ It may be said Strabo explains why the Malloi and Oxydrakai were called Bacchic and Strabo's explanation is not in agreement with the proposed Báhlíka origin. The answer is that Strabo's explanation can be proved to be in part, if not altogether, fictitious. Strabo⁸ gives two reasons why the Oxydrakai

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A.D. 300-700.

Válas.

Kochanya or Kashania sixty or seventy miles west of Samarband. This is Hsien Tsiang's (A.D. 629) K'ü-shwangi-ni-ki or Kushanika. See Beal's Buddhist Records, I. 24.

¹ Etude sur la Géographie Grecque et Latine de l'Inde, 147.

² McCrindle's Alexander in India, 350.

³ The suggestion is made by Mr. A. M. T. Jackson.

⁴ McCrindle's Alexander, 136.

⁵ McCrindle's Alexander, 252.

⁶ Compare Strabo, XV. I. 8. The Oxydrakai are the descendants of Dionysus. Again, XV. I. 24: The Malloi and the Oxydrakai who as we have already said are fabled to be related to Dionysus.

⁷ See McCrindle's Alexander, 157, 369, 378, 398. Compare St. Martin Geog. Grecque et Latine de l'Inde, 102.

⁸ Strabo, XV. I. 8 and 24, Hamilton's Translation, III. 76, 85.

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A.D. 509-766.

Vālas.

were called Bacchie. First because the vine grew among them and second because their kings marched forth *Bakkhikós* that is after the Bacchie manner. It is difficult to prove that in the time of Alexander the vine did not grow in the Panjáb. Still the fact that the vines of Nysa near Jalálábád and of the hill Meros are mentioned by several writers and that no vines are referred to in the Greek accounts of the Panjáb suggests that the vine theory is an after-thought.¹ Strabo's second explanation, the Bacchie pomp of their kings, can be more completely disproved. The evidence that neither the Malloi nor the Oxydrakai had a king is abundant.² That the Greeks knew the Malloi and Oxydrakai were called Bakkhikoi and that they did not know why they had received that name favours the view that the explanation lies in the Indian name Bāhika. One point remains. Does any trace of the original Bāhikas or Outsiders survive? In Cutch Kāthiāvāda and North Gujarāt are two tribes of half settled cattle-breeders and shepherds whose names Rahbāris as if Rahābāher and Bharvāds as if Bahervāda seem like Bāhika to mean Outsider. Though in other respects both classes appear to have adopted ordinary Hindu practices the conduct of the Bharvād women of Kāthiāvāda during their special marriage seasons bears a curiously close resemblance to certain of the details in the Mahābhārata account of the Bāhika women. Colonel Barton writes:³ 'The great marriage festival of the Kāthiāvāda Bharvāds which is held once in ten or twelve years is called the Milkdrinking, *Dudhpius*, from the lavish use of milk or clarified butter. Under the exciting influence of the butter the women become frantic singing obscene songs breaking down hedges and spoiling the surrounding crops.' Though the Bharvāds are so long settled in Kāthiāvāda as to be considered aboriginals their own tradition preserves the memory of a former settlement in Mārwar.⁴ This tradition is supported by the fact that the shrine of the family goddess of the Cutch Rahbāris is in Jodhpur,⁵ and by the claim of the Cutch Bharvāds that their home is in the North-West Provinces.⁶

¹ References to the vines of Nysa and Meros occur in Strabo, Pliny, Quintus Curtius, Philostratus, and Justin: McCrindle's *Alexander in India*, 193 note 1, 321, and 339. Strabo (Hamilton's Translation, 111, 86) refers to a vine in the country of Musikanus or Upper Sindh. At the same time (Ditto, 108) Strabo accepts Megasthenes' statement that in India the wild vine grows only in the hills.

The Kathaioi Malloi and Oxydrakai are (Arrian in McCrindle's *Alexander*, 115, 137, 140, 149) called independent in the sense of kingless: they (Ditto, 134) sent leading men not ambassadors: (compare also Diodorus Siculus and Plutarch, Ditto 287, 311): the Malloi had to choose a leader (Q. Curtius, Ditto 236).

² Kāthiāwār Gazetteer, 138.

⁴ Kāthiāwār Gazetteer, 137.

⁵ Cutch Gazetteer, 80.

⁶ Cutch Gazetteer, 81.

CHAPTER IX.

THE CHÁLUKYAS

(A.D. 634-740.)

THE Chálukyas conquered their Gujarát provinces from the south after subduing the Konkan Mauryas of Puri either Rájápurí that is Janjira or Elephanta in Bombay harbour. The fifth century Váda inscription of king Suketuvarman proves that this Maurya dynasty¹ ruled in the Konkan for at least a century before they came into collision with the Chálukyas under Kirtivarman.² They were finally defeated and their capital Puri taken by Chaudadanda an officer of Pulakesi II. (A.D. 610-640).³ The Chálukyas then pressed northwards, and an inscription at Aihole in South Bijápur records that as early as A.D. 634 the kings of Lata, Málava, and Gurjjara submitted to the prowess of Pulakesi II. (A.D. 610-640).

The regular establishment of Chálukya power in South Gujarát seems to have been the work of Dhármasraya Jayasimhavarmman son of Pulakesi II. and younger brother of Vikramáditya Satvaśraya (A.D. 670-680). A grant of Jayasimhavarmman's son Śiláditya found in Navsári describes Jayasimhavarmman as receiving the kingdom from his brother Vikramáditya. As Jayasimhavarmman is called *Paramabhāṭāraka* Great Lord, he probably was practically independent. He had five sons and enjoyed a long life, ruling apparently from Navsári. Of the five Gujarát Chálukya copperplates noted below, three are in an era marked Sam. which is clearly different from the Saka era (A.D. 78) used in the grants of the main Chálukyas. From the nature of the case the new era of the Gujarát Chálukyas may be accepted as of Gujarát origin. Grants remain of Jayasimhavarmman's sons dated S. 421, 443, and 490.⁴ This checked by Vikramáditya's known date (A.D. 670-680) gives an initial between A.D. 249 and 259. Of the two Gujarát eras, the Gupta-Valabhi (A.D. 319) and the Traikútaka (A.D. 248-9), the Gupta-Valabhi is clearly unsuitable. On the other hand the result is so closely in accord with A.D. 248-9, the Traikútaka epoch, as to place the correctness of the identification almost beyond question.

Jayasimhavarmman must have established his power in South Gujarát before A.D. 669-70 (T. 421), as in that year his son Sryáśraya made a grant as heir apparent. Another plate of Sryáśraya found in Surat shows that in A.D. 691-2 (T. 443) Jayasimhavarmman was still ruling with Sryáśraya as heir apparent. In view of these facts the establishment of Jayasimhavarmman's power in Gujarát must be taken at about A.D. 666. The copperplates of his sons and grandson do not say whom Jayasimhavarmman overthrew. Probably the defeated rulers were Gurjjaras, as about this time a Gurjjara dynasty held the Broach district with its capital at Nándipurí the modern Nándod in the Rájpipla State about thirty-five miles east of Broach. So far

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Jayasimhavarmman,
A.D. 666-693.

¹ Bom. Gaz. XIV. 372.

² Ind. Ant. VIII. 243.

³ Ind. Ant. VIII. 244.

⁴ J. B. B. R. A. S. XVI. 15f. : Proceedings VIIth Oriental Congress, 210ff.

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A.D. 666-693.

as is known the earliest of the Nándod Gurjjaras was Dadā who is estimated to have flourished about A.D. 580 (T. 331).¹ The latest is Jayabhata whose Navsāri copperplate bears date A.D. 734-5 (T. 486)² so that the Gurjjara and Chálukya kingdoms flourished almost at the same time. It is possible that the power of the earlier Gurjjara kings spread as far south as Balsār and even up to Konkan limits. It was apparently from them that, during the reign of his brother Vikramāditya, Jayasimhavarman took South Gujarāt, driving the Gurjjaras north of the Tāpti and eventually confining them to the Broach district, the Gurjjaras either acknowledging Chálukya sovereignty or withstanding the Chálukyas and retaining their small territory in the Broach district by the help of the Valabhis with whom they were in alliance.³ In either case the Chálukya power seems to have hemmed in the Broach Gurjjaras, as Jayasimhavarman had a son Buddhavarman ruling in Kaira. A copperplate of Buddhavarman's son Vijayarāja found in Kaira is granted from Vijayapura identified with Bijāpur near Pārantij, but probably some place further south, as the grant is made to Brāhmins of Jambusar. Five copperplates remain of this branch of the Chálukyas, the Navsāri grant of S'ryāsraya Śilāditya Yuvarāja dated A.D. 669-70 (T. 421); the Surat grant of the same Śilāditya dated A.D. 691-2 (T. 443); the Balsār grant of Vinayāditya Mangalarāja dated A.D. 731 (S'aka 653); the Navsāri grant of Pulakeśi Janāsraya dated A.D. 738-9 (T. 490); the Kaira grant of Vijayarāja dated Samvatsara 394; and the undated Nirpan grant of Nāgavarddhana Tribhuvanāsraya.

S'ryāsraya
Śilāditya
(Heir Apparent),
A.D. 669-691.

The first four grants mention Jayasimhavarman as the younger brother of Vikramāditya Satyāsraya the son of Pulakeśi Satyāsraya the conqueror of Harshavarddhana the lord of the North. Jayasimhavarman's eldest son was S'ryāsraya Śilāditya who made his Navsāri grant in A.D. 669-70 (T. 421); the village granted being said to be in the Navasārikā Vishaya. S'ryāsraya's other plate dated A.D. 691-2 (T. 443) grants a field in the village of Osumbhala in the Kārmānya Ahōra that is the district of Kāmlej on the Tāpti fifteen miles north-east of Surat. In both grants Śilāditya is called Yuvarāja, which shows that his father ruled with him from A.D. 669 to A.D. 691. Both copperplates show that these kings treated as their overlords the main dynasty of the southern Chálukyas as respectful mention is made in the first plate of Vikramāditya Satyāsraya and in the second of his son Vinayāditya Satyāsraya. Apparently S'ryāsraya died before his father as the two late grants of Balsār and Khedā give him no place in the list of rulers.

Mangalarāja,
A.D. 698-731.

Jayasimhavarman was succeeded by his second son Mangalarāja. A plate of his found at Balsār dated A.D. 731 (Saka 653) records a grant made from Mangalapuri, probably the same as Puri the doubtful Konkan capital of the Śilāhāras.⁴ As his elder brother was heir-apparent in A.D. 691-2 (T. 443), Mangalarāja must have succeeded some years later, say about A.D. 698-9 (T. 450). From this it may be inferred that the copperplate of A.D. 731 was issued towards the end of his reign.

¹ See Chap. X. below.

² Ind. Ant. XIII. 73.
⁴ B. B. R. A. 8, XVI. 5.

³ Ind. Ant. XIII. 70.

Mangalarāja was succeeded by his younger brother Pulakesi Janāśraya. This is the time of Khalif Hashām (H. 105-125, A.D. 721-743) whose Sindh governor Junaid is recorded to have sent expeditions against Marmād, Mandal, Dalmaḥ (Kāmleḥ?), Bārus, Uzain, Mālība, Baharimād (Mevad?), Al Bāilāimān (Bhīmāl?), and Juzr. Though several of these names seem to have been misread and perhaps misspelt on account of the confusion in the original Arabic, still Marmād, Mandal, Bārus, Uzain, Mālība, and Juzr can easily be identified with Mārvād, Mandal near Viramgām, Bhāruch, Ujjain, Mālwa, and Gurjjara. The defeat of one of these raids is described at length in Pulakesi's grant of A.D. 738-9 (T. 420) which states that the Arab army had afflicted the kingdoms of Sindhu, Kacchella, Saurāshtra, Chāvotaka, Maurya, and Gurjjara that is Sindh, Kacch, the Chāvādās, the Mauryas of Chitor,¹ and the Gurjjaras of Bhīmāl.²

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THE CHALUKYAS,
A.D. 634-740.Pulakesi
Janāśraya,
A.D. 735.

¹ For the Moris or Mauryas, described as a branch of Prāmāns, who held Chitor during the eighth century compare Tod. Jr. R. A. S. 211; Wilson's Works, XII. 132.

² The text of the copperplate runs:

शरशसीरमुद्रोद्धारिणि तरलतरतारतरवारिदा

- [24] रितोदितसैन्धवकच्छेहसौराष्ट्र चावोटक मौर्यगुर्जरादिरा [अथ] निःशेष-
दाक्षिणात्यक्षितिपतिजि
[25] गीषया दक्षिणापथप्रवेश.....प्रथममेव नवसारिकाविषयप्र-
साधनायागते त्वरित

PLATE II.

- [1] तुरगखरमुखरुखरोखातधरिणिभूलिधूसरितदिगन्तरे कुन्तप्रान्तानितान्तवि-
मर्चमानरभसाभिधाविनो
[2] इदस्थलेदरविवरविनिर्गतांत्रप्रधुतररुधिरचारंजितकवचभोषणवपुषि स्वा-
मिमहा
[3] सम्मानदानग्रहण कपीकृतस्वशिरोभिरभिमुखमापतितैप्रदंयदशनाग्रदष्टोष्ट-
पुटकैरने
[4] कसमराजिरविवरवरिकरिकटितदहयविघटनविशालितघनरुधिरपटलपाट-
लितपट्टक्रपाणपट्टैरपि महा
[5] योवैरलब्धपरभागैः विपक्षक्षपणाक्षेपक्षिप्रक्षिप्रतीक्षणसुरप्रप्रहारविलूनवैरि-
शिर कर्मलगलनलैरा
[6] हवरसरभसरोमांचकंपुकाच्छादिततनूभिरनेकैरपि नरेन्द्रब्रह्मदत्तदारकैरजित-
पुर्वैः व्यपगतमस्माक
[7] ग्रणमनेन स्वामिनः स्वशिरःप्रदानेनाद्यतावदेकजन्मायामित्येवमिषोपजातप-
रितोपानन्तरप्रहतपटुप
[8] दहरवप्रवृत्तकवन्धवद्भारासमण्डलीके समराशिरासि विजितेताजिकानिके शो-
व्यानुरागिणा श्रीवदत्रमनरै
[9] त्रेण प्रसादीकृतापरनामचतुष्टयस्तद्यथा दक्षिणापथसाधारणचलुकिकुलालं-
कारपृथ्वीवदत्रमानिवत्तकनिव
[10] र्त्तयित्रवनिजनाश्रयश्रीपुलकेशिराजस्सर्वांनेवात्मीयान्

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A.D. 634-740.

Palakēsi was at this time ruling at Navsāri. It is uncertain how much longer this Chálukya kingdom of Navsāri continued. It was probably overthrown about A.D. 750 by the Gujarāt branch of the Rāshtrakūṭas who were in possession in A.D. 757-8.¹

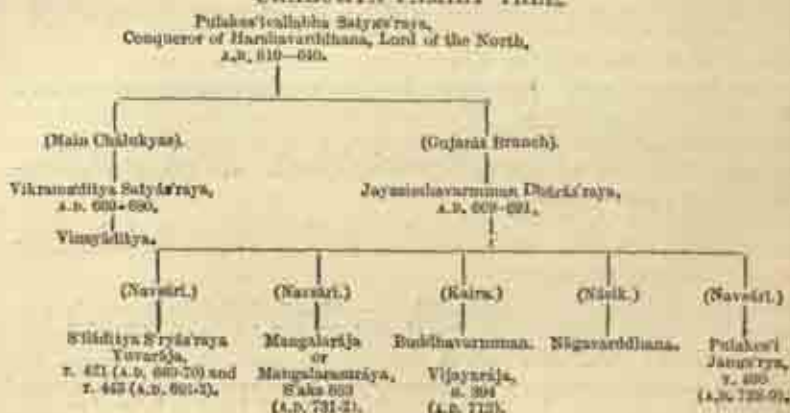
The Kaira grant dated 394 gives in hereditary succession the names Jayasimha, Buddhavarman, and Vijayarāja.² The grant is made from Vijayapura, which, as the late Colonel West suggested, may be Bijāpur near Parāntij though this is far to the north of the otherwise known Chálukya limits. The village granted is Pariyaya in the Kāsākula division. If taken as Traikūṭaka the date 394 corresponds to A.D. 642-3. This is out of the question, since Vijayarāja's grand-uncle Vikramāditya flourished between A.D. 670 and 680. Professor Bhandarkar considers the plate a forgery, but there seems no sufficient reason for doubting its genuineness. No fault can be found with the character. It is written in the usual style of Western Chálukya grants, and contains the names of a number of Brāhman grantees with minute details of the fields granted a feature most unusual in a forged grant. In the Gupta era, which equally with the Traikūṭaka era may be denoted by the word *Saṃ*, and which is more likely to be in use in North Gujarāt the 394 would represent the fairly probable A.D. 713. Jayasimha may have conquered part of North Gujarāt and sent his son Buddhavarman to rule over it.

Nāgavarddhana.

Jayasimha appears to have had a third son Nāgavarddhana ruling in West Nāsik which was connected with South Gujarāt through Balsār, Pārdi, and Penth. The Nirpan grant of Nāgavarddhana is undated,³ and, though it gives a wrong genealogy, its seal, the form of composition, the *biruda* or title of the king, and the alphabet all so closely agree with the style of the Gujarāt Chálukya plates that it cannot be considered a forgery.

Not long after A.D. 740 the Chálukyas seem to have been supplanted in South Gujarāt by the Rāshtrakūṭas.

CHÁLUKYA FAMILY TREE.

Chálukya
Tree.¹ Journal B. B. R. A. S. XVI. 105.² Ind. Ant. VII. 241.³ Ind. Ant. IX. 123.

Vijayarāja's grant of the year 394 (A.D. 642-3) is the earliest trace of Chalukya rule in Gujarat. Dr. Bhagvānlāl, who believed in its genuineness, supposes it to be dated in the Gupta era (n. 394 = A.D. 734) and infers from it the existence of Chalukya rule far to the north of Broach. But the most cursory comparison of it with the Kienji grants of Dadda II. (see Ind. Ant. XIII. 81ff.) which are dated (admittedly in the [so-called] Traikūṭaka era) 380 and 385 respectively, shows that a large number of Dadda's grantees reappear in the Chalukya grant. The date of the Chalukya plate must therefore be interpreted as a Traikūṭaka or Chedi date.

This being so, it is clearly impossible to suppose that Vijayarāja's grandfather Jayasimha is that younger son of Pulakēśi II. (A.D. 610-640) who founded the Gujarāt branch family. It has been usually supposed that the Jayasimha of our grant was a younger brother of Pulakēśi II.; but this also is chronologically impossible for Jayasimha can hardly have been more than ten years of age in A.D. 597-98, when his elder brother was set aside as too young to rule. His son Buddhavarman could hardly have been born before A.D. 610, so that Buddhavarman's son Vijayarāja must have made his grant at the age of twelve at latest. The true solution of the question seems to be that given by Dr. Bhandarkar in his *Early History of the Deccan* (page 42 note 7), namely that the grant is a forgery. To the reasons advanced by him may be added the fact pointed out by Mr. Fleet (Ind. Ant. VII. 251) that the grant is a palimpsest, the engraver having originally commenced it "Śrī Viṣṇu Viṣṇuśeṣa Na." It can hardly be doubted that Na is the first syllable of Nāndipurī the palace of the Gurjara kings. Many of the grantees were Brāhmanas of Jambūnagar and subjects of Dadda II. of Broach, whose grants to them are extant. It seems obvious that Vijayarāja's grant was forged in the interest of these persons by some one who had Gurjara grants before him as models, but knew very little of the forms used in the chancery of the Chalukyas.

Setting aside this grant, the first genuine trace of Chalukya rule in Gujarāt is to be found in the grant of the Soudraka chief Nikumbhallaśakti, which bears date Sam. 406 (A.D. 654-5) and relates to the gift to a Brāhman of the village of Ballas (Wanasa) in the Treyayya (Ten) district. Dr. Bühler has shown (Ind. Ant. XVIII. page 265ff.) that the Soudrakas were a Kānarese family, and that Nikumbhallaśakti must have come to Gujarāt as a Chalukya feudatory, though he names no overlord. He was doubtless subordinate to the Chalukya governor of Nāsik.

The next grant that requires notice is that of Nāgavarādhana, who describes himself distinctly as the son of Pulakēśi's brother Jayasimha, though Dr. Bhagvānlāl believed this Jayasimha to be Pulakēśi's son. Mr. Fleet points out other difficulties connected with this grant, but on the whole decides in favour of its genuineness (see Ind. Ant. IX. 123). The description of Pulakēśi II. in this grant refers to his victory over Harshavarādhana, but also describes him as having conquered the three kingdoms of Chera, Chola, and Pāṇḍya by means of his horse of the Chitrakūṭha breed, and as meditating on the feet of Śrī Nāgavarādhana. Now all of these epithets, except the reference to Harshavarādhana, belong properly, not to Pulakēśi II. but to his son Vikramāditya I. The conquest of the confederacy of Cholas, Cheras (or Keralas), and Pāṇḍyas is ascribed to Vikramāditya in the inscriptions of his son Vinayāditya (Fleet in Ind. Ant. X. 134); the Chitrakūṭha horse is named in Vikramāditya's own grants (Ind. Ant. VI. 75 &c.) while his meditation upon the feet of Nāgavarādhana recurs in the T. 421 grant of Śrīśaṅkara Śilāditya (B. B. R. A. S. XVI. 1ff.). This confusion of epithets between Pulakēśi II. and Vikramāditya makes it difficult to doubt that Nāgavarādhana's grant was composed either during or after Vikramāditya's reign, and under the influence of that king's grants. It may be argued that even in that case the grant may be genuine, its inconsistencies being due merely to carelessness. This supposition the following considerations seem to negative. Pulakēśi II. was alive at the time of Hsien Tsang's visit (A.D. 640), but is not likely to have reigned very much longer. And, as Vikramāditya's reign is supposed to have begun about A.D. 669-70, a gap remains of nearly thirty years. That part of this period was occupied by the war with the three kings

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A.D. 610-640.

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of the south we know from Vikramāditya's own grants: but the grant of Sryāstraya Śilāditya referred to above seems to show that Vikramāditya was the successor, not of his father, but of Nāgavarddhana upon whose feet he is described as meditating. It follows that Nāgavarddhana succeeded Pulakēśi and preceded Vikramāditya on the imperial throne of the Chalukyas whereas his grant could not have been composed until the reign of Vikramāditya.

Although the grant is not genuine, we have no reason to doubt that it gives a correct genealogy, and that Nāgavarddhana was the son of Pulakēśi's brother Jayasimha and therefore the first cousin of Vikramāditya. The grant is in the regular Chalukya style, and the writer, living near the Northern Chalukya capital, Nāsik, had better models than the composer of Vijayarāja's grant. Both grants may have been composed about the time when the Chalukya power succumbed to the attacks of the Rāshtrakūṭas (A.D. 743).—(A. M. T. J.)

CHAPTER X.

THE GURJJARAS

(A.D. 580-808)

DURING Valabhi and Chálukya ascendancy a small Gurjjara kingdom flourished in and about Broach. As has been noticed in the Valabhi chapter the Gurjjaras were a foreign tribe who came to Gujarát from Northern India. All the available information regarding the Broach Gurjjaras comes from nine copperplates,¹ three of them forged, all obtained from South Gujarát. These plates limit the regular Gurjjara territory to the Broach district between the Mahi and the Narbada, though at times their power extended north to Khedá and south to the Tápti. Like the grants of the contemporary Gujarát Chálukyas all the genuine copperplates are dated in the Traikāṭaka era which begins in A.D. 249-50.² The Gurjjara capital seems to have been Nándipuri or Nándor,³ the modern Nándod the capital of Rájpipla in Rewa Kántha about thirty-four miles east of Broach. Two of their grants issue *Nándipurítāḥ*⁴ that is 'from Nándipuri' like the *Valabhítāḥ* or 'from Valabhi' of the Valabhi copperplates, a phrase which in both cases seems to show the place named was the capital since in other Gurjjara grants the word *vāsuka* or camp occurs.⁵

Though the Gurjjaras held a considerable territory in South Gujarát their plates seem to show they were not independent rulers. The general titles are either *Samadhigata-punchamahāśabda* 'He who has attained the five great titles,' or *Sāmanta* Feudatory. In one instance Jayabhata III. who was probably a powerful ruler is called *Sāmāntādhipati*⁶ Lord of Feudatories. It is hard to say to what suzerain these Broach Gurjjaras acknowledged fealty. Latterly they seem to have accepted the Chálukyas on the south as their overlords. But during the greater part of their existence they may have been feudatories of the Valabhi dynasty, who, as

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Copperplates.

¹ Ind. Ant. V. 100ff.; Ind. Ant. VII. 61ff.; Jour. R. A. S. (N. S.), I. 274ff.; Ind. Ant. XIII. 81-91; Jour. R. R. A. Soc. X. 19ff.; Ind. Ant. XIII. 115-119. Ind. Ant. XVII. and Ep. Ind. II. 19ff. ² See above page 107.

³ That Nándor or Nándod was an old and important city is proved by the fact that Bráhmans and Vánias called Nándorás that is of Nándor are found throughout Gujarát. Mángrol and Chored on the South Káthiáwada coast have settlements of Velári betel-vine cultivators who call themselves Nándora Vánias and apparently brought the betel-vine from Nándod. Dr. Bühler, however, identifies the Nándipuri of the grants with an old fort of the same name about two miles north of the east gate of Broach. See Ind. Ant. VII. 62. ⁴ Ind. Ant. XIII. 81, 83. ⁵ Ind. Ant. XIII. 70.

⁶ The fact that the Umētá and Ilāo plates give their grantor Dadda II. the title of *Maharajadhiraja* Supreme Lord of Great Kings, is one of the grounds for believing them forgeries.

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Copperplates.

mentioned above were probably Gurjjaras who passed from Málwa to South Gujarát and thence by sea to Valabhi leaving a branch in South Gujarát.

The facts that in A.D. 649 (Valabhi 330) a Valabhi king had a 'camp of victory' at Broach where Ragagraha's plate¹ shows the Gurjjaras were then ruling and that the Gurjjara king Dadda II. gave shelter to a Valabhi king establish a close connection between Valabhi and the Nándod Gurjjaras.

Their copperplates and seals closely resemble the plates and seals of the Gujarát Chálukyas. The characters of all but the forged grants are like those of Gujarát Chálukya grants and belong to the Gujarát variety of the Southern India style. At the same time it is to be noted that the royal signature at the end of the plates is of the northern type, proving that the Gurjjaras were originally northerners. The language of most of the grants is Sanskrit prose as in Valabhi plates in a style curiously like the style of the contemporary author Bána in his great works the *Kádambari* and *Harshacharita*. From this it may be inferred that Bána's style was not peculiar to himself but was the style in general use in India at that time.

Gurjjara
Tree.

The following is the Gurjjara family tree :

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Dadda I. A.D. 580.
|
Jayabhata I. A.D. 605.
|
Dadda II. A.D. 633.
|
Jayabhata II. A.D. 655.
|
Dadda III. A.D. 683.
|
Jayabhata III. A.D. 706-734.

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A recently published grant² made by Nirihullaka, the chieftain of a jungle tribe in the lower valley of the Nerbádá, shows that towards the end of the sixth century A.D. that region was occupied by wild tribes who acknowledged the supremacy of the Chedi or Kalachuri kings: a fact which accounts for the use of the Chedi or Traikútaka era in South Gujarát. Nirihullaka names with respect a king Sañkaragana, whom Dr. Bühler would identify with Sañkaragana the father of the Kalachuri Buddhavarman who was defeated by Mangalísá the Chálukya about A.D. 600.³ Sañkaragana himself must have flourished about A.D. 580, and the Gurjjara conquest must be subsequent to this date. Another new grant,⁴ which is only a fragment and contains no king's name, but which on the ground of date (Sam. 346 = A.D. 594-5) and style may be safely attributed to the Gurjjara dynasty, shows that the Gurjjaras were established in the country within a few years of Sañkaragana's probable date.

A still nearer approximation to the date of the Gurjjara conquest is suggested by the change in the titles of Dharmasena I. of Valabhi, who

¹ Ep. Ind. II. 20.

² Ep. Ind. II. 21.

³ Ind. Ant. VII. 162.

⁴ Ep. Ind. II. 19.

in his grants of Samvat 252¹ (A.D. 571) calls himself Mahārāja, while in his grants of 269 and 270² (A.D. 588 and 589), he adds the title of Mahāsāmanta, which points to subjection by some foreign power between A.D. 571 and A.D. 588. It seems highly probable that this power was that of the Gurjjaras of Bhīnmāl; and that their successes therefore took place between A.D. 580 and 588 or about A.D. 585.

The above mentioned anonymous grant of the year 346 (A.D. 594-95) is ascribed with great probability to Dadda I. who is known from the two Khedā grants of his grandson Dadda II. (c. 620-650 A.D.)³ to have "uprooted the Nāga" who must be the same as the jungle tribes ruled by Nirihullaka and are now represented by the Nāikdās of the Panch Mahāls and the Talabdas or Locals of Broach. The northern limit of Dadda's kingdom seems to have been the Vindhya, as the grant of 380 (A.D. 628-29) says that the lands lying around the feet of the Vindhya were for his pleasure. At the same time it appears that part at least of Northern Gujarāt was ruled by the Mahāsāmanta Dharaśena of Valabhi, who in Val. 270 (A.D. 589-90) granted a village in the *dhāra* of Khetaka (Khedā).⁴ Dadda is always spoken of as the *Sāmanta*, which shows that while he lived his territory remained a part of the Gurjjara kingdom of Bhīnmāl. Subsequently North Gujarāt fell into the hands of the Mālava kings, to whom it belonged in Hiuen Tsiang's time (c. 640 A.D.).⁵ Dadda I. is mentioned in the two Khedā grants of his grandson as a worshipper of the sun: the fragmentary grant of 346 (A.D. 594-95) which is attributed to him gives no historical details.

Dadda I. was succeeded by his son Jayabhata I. who is mentioned in the Khedā grants as a victorious and virtuous ruler, and appears from his title of Vitarāga the Passionless to have been a religious prince.

Jayabhata I. was succeeded by his son Dadda II. who bore the title of Prāsāntarāga the Passion-calmed. Dadda was the donor of the two Khedā grants of 380 (A.D. 628-29) and 385 (A.D. 633-34), and a part of a grant made by his brother Ranagrāha in the year 391 (A.D. 639-40) has lately been published.⁶ Three forged grants purporting to have been issued by him are dated respectively Saka 400 (A.D. 478), Saka 415 (A.D. 493), and Saka 417 (A.D. 495).⁷ Both of the Khedā grants relate to the gift of the village of Sirishapadraka (Sisodra) in the Akṛūreśvara (Anklesvar) viśaya to certain Brahmins of Jambusar and Broach. In Ranagrāha's grant the name of the village is lost.

Dadda II.'s own grants describe him as having attained the five great titles, and praise him in general terms: and both he and his brother Ranagrāha sign their grants as devout worshippers of the sun. Dadda II. heads the genealogy in the later grant of 456 (A.D. 704-5),⁸ which states that he protected "the lord of Valabhi who had been defeated by the great lord the illustrious Harshadeva." The event referred to must have been some expedition of the great Harshavardhana of Kanauj

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A.D. 550-605.

Dadda I.
c. 585-605 A.D.

Jayabhata I.
Vitarāga,
c. 605-620 A.D.

Dadda II.
Prāsāntarāga,
c. 620-650 A.D.

¹ Ind. Ant. VII. 68, VIII. 302, XIII. 160, and XV. 187.

² Ind. Ant. VI. 9, VII. 70.

³ Ind. Ant. XIII. 81-88.

⁴ Ind. Ant. VII. 70.

⁵ Beal's Buddhist Records, II. 266, 268.

⁶ Ind. Ant. XIII. 81-88, Ep. Ind. II. 12.

⁷ On these forged grants see below page 117.

⁸ Ind. Ant. XIII. 70.

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A.D. 580-803.Dadda II.
Prasantarāga,
c. 620-650 A.D.

(A.D. 607-648), perhaps the campaign in which Harsha was defeated on the Nerbada by Pulakesi II. (which took place before A.D. 634). The protection given to the Valabhi king is perhaps referred to in the Kheda grants in the mention of "strangers and suppliants and people in distress." If this is the case the defeat of Valabhi took place before A.D. 628-29, the date of the earlier of the Kheda grants. On the other hand, the phrase quoted is by no means decisive, and the fact that in Hiuen Tsiang's time Dhruvasena of Valabhi was son-in-law of Harsha's son, makes it unlikely that Harsha should have been at war with him. It follows that the expedition referred to may have taken place in the reign of Dhruvasena IV. who may have been the son of Dhruvasena by another wife than Harsha's granddaughter.

To Dadda II.'s reign belongs Hiuen Tsiang's notice of the kingdom of Broach (c. 640 A.D.).¹ He says "all their profit is from the sea" and describes the country as salt and barren, which is still true of large tracts in the west and twelve hundred years ago was probably the condition of a much larger area than at present. Hiuen Tsiang does not say that Broach was subject to any other kingdom, but it is clear from the fact that Dadda bore the five great titles that he was a mere feudatory. At this period the valuable port of Broach, from which all their profit was made, was a prize fought for by all the neighbouring powers. With the surrounding country of Lāta, Broach submitted to Pulakesi II. (A.D. 610-640):² it may afterwards have fallen to the Mālava kings, to whom in Hiuen Tsiang's time (A.D. 640) both Kheda (K'ie-ch'a) and Anandapura (Vadnagar) belonged; later it was subject to Valabhi, as Dhruvasena IV. made a grant at Broach in V.S. 330 (A.D. 649-50).³

Knowledge of the later Gurjaras is derived exclusively from two grants of Jayabhata III. dated respectively 456 (A.D. 704-5) and 486 (A.D. 734-5).⁴ The later of these two grants is imperfect, only the last plate having been preserved. The earlier grant of 456 (A.D. 704-5) shows that during the half century following the reign of Dadda II. the dynasty had ceased to call themselves Gurjaras, and had adopted a Purānic pedigree traced from king Karna, a hero of the Bhārata war. It also shows that from Dadda III. onward the family were Saivas instead of sun-worshippers.

Jayabhata II.
c. 650-675 A.D.

The successor of Dadda II. was his son Jayabhata II. who is described as a warlike prince, but of whom no historical details are recorded.

Dadda III.
Bāhusahāya,
c. 675-700.

Jayabhata's son, Dadda III. Bāhusahāya, is described as waging wars with the great kings of the east and of the west (probably Mālava and Valabhi). He was the first Saiva of the family, studied Manu's works, and strictly enforced "the duties of the *varṇas* or castes and of the *āśramas* or Brāhman stages." It was probably to him that the Gurjaras owed their Purānic pedigree and their recognition as true Kshatriyas. Like his predecessors Dadda III.

¹ Beal's Buddhist Records, II. 259.² Ind. Ant. VIII. 237.³ Ind. Ant. XV. 335.⁴ Ind. Ant. V. 199, XIII. 70.

was not an independent ruler. He could claim only the five great titles, though no hint is given who was his suzerain. His immediate superior may have been Jayasimha the Chalukya, who received the province of Lāta from his brother Vikramāditya (c. 669-680 A.D.)¹

The son and successor of Dadda III. was Jayabhata III, whose two grants of 456 (A.D. 704-5) and 486 (A.D. 734-5)² must belong respectively to the beginning and the end of his reign. He attained the five great titles, and was therefore a feudatory, probably of the Chalukyas: but his title of Mahāsāmantādhipati implies that he was a chief of importance. He is praised in vague terms, but the only historical event mentioned in his grants is a defeat of a lord of Valabhi, noted in the grant of 486 (A.D. 734-5). The Valabhi king referred to must be either Śīlāditya IV. (A.D. 691) or Śīlāditya V. (A.D. 722). During the reign of Jayabhata III. took place the great Arab invasion which was repulsed by Pulakesi Janāśraya at Navsāri.³ Like the kingdoms named in the grant of Pulakesi, Broach must have suffered from this raid. It is not specially mentioned probably because it formed part of Pulakesi's territory.

After A.D. 734-5 no further mention occurs of the Gurjjaras of Broach. Whether the dynasty was destroyed by the Arabs or by the Gujarāt Rāshtrakūtas (A.D. 750) is not known. Later references to Gurjjaras in Rāshtrakūta times refer to the Gurjjaras of Bhīnmal not to the Gurjjaras of Broach, who, about the time of Dadda III. (c. 675-700 A.D.), ceased to call themselves Gurjjaras.

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A.D. 580-808.

Jayabhata III.
c. 704-734 A.D.

A few words must be said regarding the three grants from Ilāo, Umetā, and Bagumrā (Ind. Ant. XIII. 116, VII. 61, and XVII. 183) as their genuineness has been assumed by Dr. Bühler in his recent paper on the Mahābhārata, in spite of Mr. Fleet's proof (Ind. Ant. XVIII. 19) that their dates do not work out correctly.

Dr. Bhagvānlāl's (Ind. Ant. XIII. 70) chief grounds for holding that the Umetā and Ilāo grants (the Bagumrā grant was unknown to him) were forgeries were:

(1) Their close resemblance in palaeography to one another and to the forged grant of Dharaśena II. of Valabhi dated S'aka 400;

(2) That though they purport to belong to the fifth century they bear the same writer's name as the Kheḍā grants of the seventh century.

Further Mr. Fleet (Ind. Ant. XIII. 116) pointed out:

(3) That the description of Dadda I. in the Ilāo and Umetā grants agrees almost literally with that of Dadda II. in the Kheḍā grants, and that where it differs the Kheḍā grants have the better readings.

To these arguments Dr. Bühler has replied (Ind. Ant. XVII. 183):

(1) That though there is a resemblance between these grants and that of Dharaśena II., still it does not prove more than that the forger of Dharaśena's grant had one of the other grants before him;

(2) That, as the father's name of the writer is not given in the Kheḍā grants, it cannot be assumed that he was the same person as the writer of the Ilāo and Umetā grants; and

¹ B. B. R. A. S. JI. XVI. 1H.

² Ind. Ant. V. 100, XIII. 70. The earlier grant was made from Kāyāvatāra (Kārwān); the later one is mutilated.

³ Before A.D. 738-9. See Chap. IX. above.

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A.D. 580-808.

(3) That genuine grants sometimes show that a description written for one king is afterwards applied to another, and that good or bad readings are no test of the age of a grant.

It may be admitted that Dr. Bühler has made it probable that the suspected grants and the grant of Dharaśena were not all written by the same hand, and also that the coincidence in the writer's name is not of much importance in itself. But the palaeographical resemblance between Dharaśena's grant on the one hand and the doubtful Gurjjara grants on the other is so close that they must have been written at about the same time. As to the third point, the verbal agreement between the doubtful grants on the one hand and the Khedja grants on the other implies the existence of a continuous tradition in the record office of the dynasty from the end of the fifth till near the middle of the seventh century. But the Śaṅkheḍa grant of Niribullaka (Ep. Ind. II. 21) shows that towards the end of the sixth century the lower Narbada valley was occupied by jungle tribes who acknowledged the supremacy of the Kalachuris. Is it reasonable to suppose that after the first Gurjjara line was thus displaced, the restorers of the dynasty should have had any memory of the forms in which the first line drew up their grants? At any rate, if they had, they would also have retained their original seal, which, as the analogy of the Valabhi plates teaches us, would bear the founder's name. But we find that the seal of the Khedja plates bears the name "Simanta Dadda," who can be no other than the "Simanta Dadda" who ruled from c. 585-605 A.D. It follows that the Gurjjaras of the seventh century themselves traced back their history in Branch no further than A.D. 585. Again, it has been pointed out in the text that a passage in the description of Dadda II. (A.D. 620-650) in the Khedja grants seems to refer to his protection of the Valabhi king, so that the description must have been written for him and not for the fifth century Dadda as Dr. Bühler's theory requires.

These points coupled with Mr. Fleet's proof (Ind. Ant. XVIII. 91) that the Saka dates do not work out correctly, may perhaps be enough to show that none of these three grants can be relied upon as genuine.—(A. M. T. J.)

CHAPTER XI.

THE RĀSHṬRAKŪṬAS

(A.D. 743-974.)

THE Rāshtrakūṭa connection with Gujarāt lasted from Śaka 665 to 894 (A.D. 743-974) that is for 231 years. The connection includes three periods: A first of sixty-five years from Śaka 665 to 730 (A.D. 743-808) when the Gujarāt ruler was dependent on the main Dakhan Rāshtrakūṭa; a second of eighty years between Śaka 730 and 810 (A.D. 808-888) when the Gujarāt family was on the whole independent; and a third of eighty-six years Śaka 810 to 896 (A.D. 888-974) when the Dakhan Rāshtrakūṭas again exercised direct sway over Gujarāt.

Information regarding the origin of the Rāshtrakūṭas is imperfect. That the Gujarāt Rāshtrakūṭas came from the Dakhan in Śaka 665 (A.D. 743) is known. It is not known who the Dakhan Rāshtrakūṭas originally were or where or when they rose to prominence. Rāthod the dynastic name of certain Kanauj and Mārwar Rajputs represents a later form of the word Rāshtrakūṭa. Again certain of the later inscriptions call the Rāshtrakūṭas Rattas a word which, so far as form goes, is hardly a correct Prakrit contraction of Rāshtrakūṭa. The Sanskritisation of tribal names is not exact. If the name Ratta was strange it might be pronounced Ratta, Rathu, or Raddi. This last form almost coincides with the modern Kānarese caste name Reddi, which, so far as information goes, would place the Rāshtrakūṭas among the tribes of pre-Sanskrit southern origin.

If Ratta is the name of the dynasty *kūṭa* or *kūḍa* may be an attribute meaning prominent. The combination Rāshtrakūṭa would then mean the chiefs or leaders as opposed to the rank and file of the Rattas. The bardic accounts of the origin of the Rāthods of Kanauj and Marwar vary greatly. According to a Jain account the Rāthods, whose name is fancifully derived from the *rahi* or spine of Indra, are connected with the Yavans through an ancestor Yavanaśva prince of Pālipur. The Rāthod genealogies trace their origin to Kuśa son of Rāma of the Solar Race. The bards of the

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Solar Race hold them to be descendants of Hiranya Kaśipu by a demon or *daitya* mother. Like the other great Rājput families the Rāthods' accounts contain no date earlier than the fifth century A.D. when (A.D. 470, S. 526) Nāin Pāl is said to have conquered Kānauj slaying its monarch Ajipāl.¹ The Dakhan Rāshtrakūtas (whose earliest known date is also about A.D. 450) call themselves of the Lunar Race and of the Yadu dynasty. Such contradictions leave only one of two origins to the tribe. They were either foreigners or southerners Brāhmanised and included under the all-embracing term Rājput.

Early Dynasty,
A.D. 450-500.

Of the rise of the Rāshtrakūtas no trace remains. The earliest known Rāshtrakūta copperplate is of a king Abhimanyu. This plate is not dated. Still its letters, its style of writing, and its lion seal, older than the Garuḍa mark which the Rāshtrakūtas assumed along with the claim of Yādava descent, leave no doubt that this is the earliest of known Rāshtrakūta plates. Its probable date is about A.D. 450. The plate traces the descent of Abhimanyu through two generations from Mānāuka. The details are:

Mānāuka,
|
Devarāja-
|
Bhaviśhya.
|
Abhimanyu.

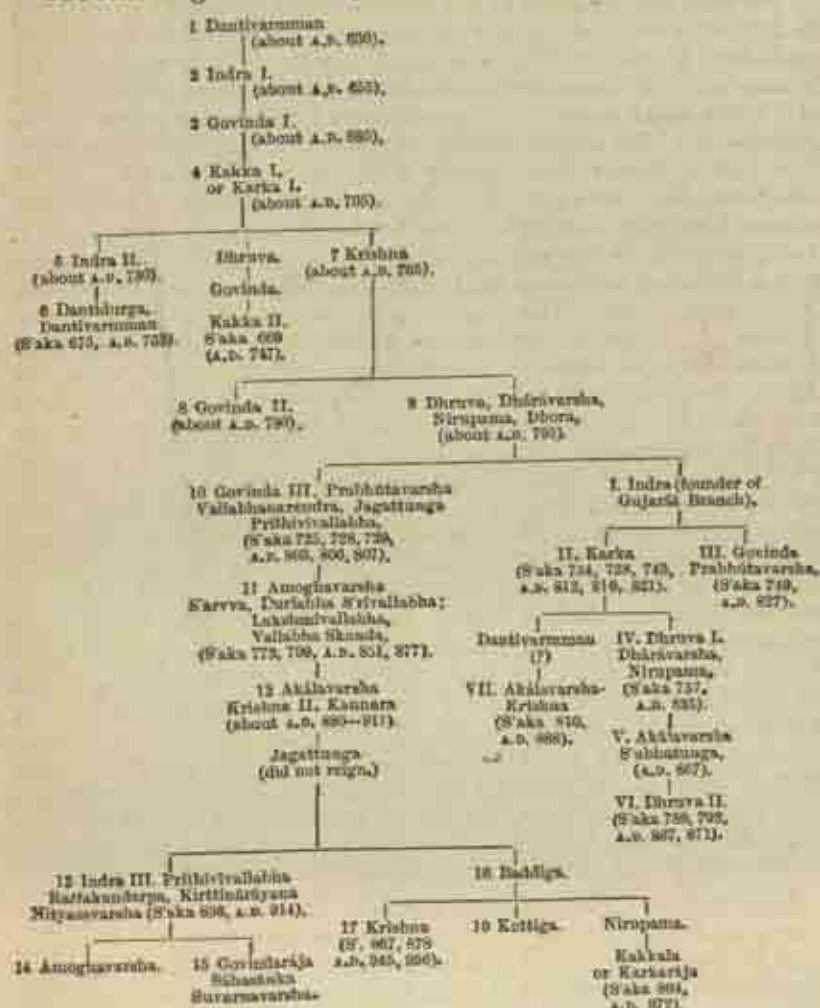
The grant is dated from Mānapura, perhaps Mānāuka's city, probably an older form of Mānyakheta the modern Mālkhed the capital of the later Rāshtrakūtas about sixty miles south-east of Sholāpur. These details give fair ground for holding the Mānāukas to be a family of Rāshtrakūta rulers earlier than that which appears in the usual genealogy of the later Rāshtrakūta dynasty (A.D. 500-972).

The
Main Dynasty,
A.D. 630-972.

The earliest information regarding the later Rāshtrakūtas is from a comparatively modern, and therefore not quite trustworthy, Chālukya copperplate of the eleventh century found by Mr. Wathen. This plate states that Jayasimha I. the earliest Chālukya defeated the Rāshtrakūta Indra son of Kṛishṇa the lord of 800 elephants. The date of this battle would be about A.D. 500. If historic the reference implies that the Rāshtrakūtas were then a well established dynasty. In most of their own plates the genealogy of the Rāshtrakūtas begins with Govinda about A.D. 680. But that Govinda was not the founder of the family is shown by Dantidurga's Elura Daśavatāra inscription (about A.D. 750) which gives two earlier names Dantivarman and Indra. The founding of Rāshtrakūta power is therefore of doubtful date. Of the date of its overthrow there is no question. The overthrow came from the hand of the Western Chālukya Tailappa in Śaka 894 (A.D. 972) during the reign of the last Rāshtrakūta Kakka III. or Kakkala.

¹ Tod's *Annals of Rājasthān*, I. 88; II. 2.

The following is the Rāshtrakūṭa family tree :



The earliest Gujarāt Rāshtrakūṭa grant, Kakka's of Saka 669 (A.D. 747), comes from Antroli-Chāroli in Surat. It is written on two plates in the Valabhi style of composition and form of letters, and, as in Valabhi grants, the date is at the end. Unlike Valabhi grants the era is the Saka era. The grant gives the following genealogy somewhat different from that of other known Rāshtrakūṭa grants :

Kakka.
|
Dhruva.
|
Govinda.
|
Kakka II.
(Saka 669, A.D. 747).

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Kakka II.
A.D. 747.

The plate notices that Kakka the grantor was the son of Govinda by his wife the daughter of the illustrious Nāgavarman. Kakka is further described by the feudatory title '*Samadhigatapanch-mahāśabdah*' Holder of the five great names. At the same time he is also called *Paramabhaṭṭāraka-Mahārāja* Great Lord Great King, attributes which seem to imply a claim to independent power. The grant is dated the bright seventh of Āśvayuja, Śaka 669 (A.D. 747). The date is almost contemporary with the year of Dantidurga in the Sāmangad plate (A.D. 753). As Dantidurga was a very powerful monarch we may identify the first Kakka of this plate with Kakka I. the grandfather of Dantidurga and thus trace from Dhruva Kakka's son a branch of feudatory Rāshtrakūṭas ruling in Mālwa or Gujarāt, whose leaders were Dhruva, his son Govinda, and Govinda's son Kakka II. Further Dantidurga's grant shows that he conquered Central Gujarāt between the Mahī and the Narbada¹ while his Elura Dasavatāra inscription (A.D. 750) shows that he held Lāṭa and Mālava². Dantidurga's conquest of Central Gujarāt seems to have been signalised by grants of land made by his mother in every village of the Mātri division which is apparently the Mātar tāluka of the Kaira district.³ It is possible that Dantidurga gave conquered Gujarāt to his paternal cousin's son and contemporary Kakka, the grantor of the Antroli plate (A.D. 747), as the representative of a family ruling somewhere under the overlordship of the main Dakhan Rāshtrakūṭas. Karka's Baroda grant⁴ (A.D. 812) supports this theory. Dantidurga died childless and was succeeded by his uncle Kṛishṇa. Of this Kṛishṇa the Baroda grant says that he assumed the government for the good of the family after having rooted out a member of the family who had taken to mischief-making. It seems probable that Kakka II. the grantor of the Antroli plate is the mischief-maker and that his mischief was, on the death of Dantidurga, the attempt to secure the succession to himself. Kṛishṇa frustrated Kakka's attempt and rooted him out so effectively that no trace of Kakka's family again appears.

From this it follows that, so far as is known, the Rāshtrakūṭa conquest of Gujarāt begins with Dantidurga's conquest of Lāṭa, that is South Gujarāt between the Mahī and the Narbada, from the Gurjara king Jayabhata whose latest known date is A.D. 736 or seventeen years before the known date of Dantidurga. The Gurjaras probably retired to the Rājpipla hills and further east on the confines of Mālwa where they may have held a lingering sway.⁵ No Gujarāt event of importance is recorded during the reign of Kṛishṇa (A.D. 765) or of his son Govinda II. (A.D. 780) who about

¹ Ind. Ant. XI. 112.

² Bombay Arch. Sur. Separate Number, 10, 94.

³ This verse which immediately follows the mention of Govinda's conquests on the banks of the Mahī and the Narbada punningly explains the name of the Mātar tāluka as meaning the Mother's tāluka.

⁴ Ind. Ant. XII. 150.

⁵ The Khāndesh Rive and Dore Gujar of Chopdā and Raver in the east, and also over most of the west, may be a remnant of these Gujar of Branch who at this time (A.D. 740), and perhaps again about sixty years later, may have been forced up the Narbada and Tapti into South Mālwa and West Khāndesh. This is doubtful as their migration is said to have taken place in the eleventh century and may have been due to pressure from the north the effect of Mahmūd Ghaznavi's invasions (A.D. 1000-1025).

Kṛishṇa and
Govinda II.
A.D. 765-795.

A.D. 795 was superseded by his powerful younger brother Dhruva.¹

Dhruva was a mighty monarch whose conquests spread from South India as far north as Allahābād. During Dhruva's lifetime his son Govinda probably ruled at Mayūrakhandi or Morkhanda in the Nāsik district and held the Ghāt country and the Gujarāt coast from Balsār northwards. Though according to a Kapadvanj grant Govinda had several brothers the Rādhanpur (A.D. 808) and Van-Dindori (A.D. 808) grants of his son Govinda III. state that his father, seeing Govinda's supernatural Kṛishṇa-like powers, offered him the sovereignty of the whole world. Govinda declined, saying, The Kanthikā or coast tract already given to me is enough. Seeing that Mayūrakhandi or Morkhanda in Nāsik was Govinda's capital, this Kanthikā appears to be the coast from Balsār northwards.

According to Gujarāt Govinda's (A.D. 827-833) Kāvī grant (A.D. 827), finding his power threatened by Stambha and other kings, Dhruva made the great Govinda independent during his own lifetime. This suggests that while Dhruva continued to hold the main Rashtrakūṭa sovereignty in the Dakhan, he probably invested Govinda with the sovereignty of Gujarāt. This fact the Kāvī grant (A.D. 827) being a Gujarāt grant would rightly mention while it would not find a place in the Rādhanpur (A.D. 808) and Van-Dindori (A.D. 808) grants of the main Rashtrakūṭas. Of the kings who opposed Govinda the chief was Stambha who may have some connection with Cambay, as, during the time of the Anahilavāda kings, Cambay came to be called Stambha-tīrtha instead of by its old name of Gambhūta. According to the grants the allied chiefs were no match for Govinda. The Gurjjara fled through fear, not returning even in dreams, and the Mālava king submitted. Who the Gurjjara was it is hard to say. He may have belonged to some Gurjjara dynasty that rose to importance after Dantidurga's conquest or the name may mean a ruler of the Gurjjara country. In either case some North Gujarāt ruler is meant whose conquest opened the route from Broach to Mālwa. From Mālwa Govinda marched to the Vindhya where the king apparently of East Mālwa named Māra Sarva submitted to Govinda paying tribute. From the Vindhya Govinda returned to Gujarāt passing the rains at S'ribhavana,² apparently Sarbhon in the Amod tāluka of Broach, a favourite locality which he had ruled during his father's lifetime. After the rains Govinda went south as far as the Tungabhadra. On starting for the south Govinda handed Gujarāt to his brother Indra with whom begins the Gujarāt branch of the Rashtrakūṭas. Several plates distinctly mention that Indra was given the kingdom of the lord of Lāta by (his brother) Govinda. Other Gujarāt grants, apparently with intent to show that Indra won Gujarāt and did not receive it in gift, after mentioning Sarvva Amoghavarsha as the successor of Govinda (A.D. 818), state that the king (apparently of Gujarāt) was Sarvva's uncle Indra.

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THE
RASHTRAKŪṬAS,
A.D. 743-974.

Dhruva I.
A.D. 795.

Govinda III.
A.D. 800-808.

¹ Ind. Ant. VI. 65; Jour. R. A. Soc. V. 350.

² Ind. Ant. VI. 65.

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RĀSHTRAKŪṬAS,
A.D. 743-974.

Indra,
A.D. 808-812.

Karka I.
A.D. 812-821.

As Govinda III. handed Gujarāt to his brother Indra about S'aka 730 (A.D. 808) and as the grant of Indra's son Karka is dated S'aka 734 (A.D. 812) Indra's reign must have been short. Indra is styled the ruler of the entire kingdom of Lāṭesvara,¹ the protector of the *mandala* of Lāṭa given to him by his lord. An important verse in an unpublished Baroda grant states that Indra chased the lord of Gurjjara who had prepared to fight, and that he honourably protected the multitude of Dakhan (Dakṣiṇāpatha) feudatories (*mahāsīmantas*) whose glory was shattered by Śrīvallabha (that is Ś'arvva or Amoghavarsha)² then heir-apparent of Govinda. That is, in attempting to establish himself in independent power, Indra aided certain of the Rāshtrakūṭa feudatories in an effort to shake off the overlordship of Amoghavarsha.

Indra was succeeded by his son Karka I. who is also called Suvarṇavarsha and Pāṭalamalla. Karka reversed his father's policy and loyally accepted the overlordship of the main Rāshtrakūṭas. Three grants of Karka's remain, the Baroda grant dated S'aka 734 (A.D. 812), and two unpublished grants from Navsāri and Surat dated respectively S'aka 738 (A.D. 816) and S'aka 743 (A.D. 821). Among Doctor Bhagvānlāl's collection of inscriptions bequeathed to the British Museum the Baroda grant says that Karka's *svāmi* or lord, apparently Govinda III., made use of Karka's arm to protect the king of Mālava against invasion by the king of Gurjjara who had become puffed up by conquering the lords of Gauda and Vanga that is modern Bengal. This powerful Gurjjara king who conquered countries so distant as Bengal has not been identified. He must have been ruling north of the Mahī and threatened an invasion of Mālwa by way of Dohad. He may have been either a Valabhi king or one of the Bhīmāl Gurjjaras, who, during the decline of the Valabhis, and with the help of their allies the Chāvaḍās of Anahilavāḍa whose leader at this time was Yog Rāja (A.D. 806-841), may have extended their dominion as far south as the Mahī. As the Baroda plate (A.D. 812) makes no mention of Amoghavarsha-Ś'arvva while the Navsāri plate (A.D. 816) mentions him as the next king after Govinda III. it follows that Govinda III. died and Amoghavarsha succeeded between A.D. 812 and 816 (S'. 734 and 738). This supports Mr. Fleet's conclusion, on the authority of Amoghavarsha's Sirur inscription, that he came to the throne in S'aka 736 (A.D. 814). At first Amoghavarsha was unable to make head against the opposition of some of his relations and feudatories, supported, as noted above, by Karka's father Indra. He seems to have owed his

¹ The kingdom is not called Lāṭa in the copperplate but Lāṭesvara-maṇḍala. An unpublished Baroda grant has शास्त्रा प्रतापयमितः पृथिव्या सर्वस्य उदितः (मण्डलस्य). The ruler famous by glory, of the whole kingdom of the king of Lāṭa. Other published grants record Govinda's gift of Gujarāt to Indra as सत्तल्लदेयमण्डलस्य. Of him (Indra) to whom the kingdom of the lord of Lāṭa had been given by him (Govinda). Ind. Ant. XII. 162.

² Ind. Ant. XII. 160; unpublished Baroda grant. Śrīvallabha appears to mean Amoghavarsha who is also called Lakṣmivallabha in an inscription at Sirur in Dhārwar (Ind. Ant. XII. 215).

subsequent success to his cousin Karka whom an unpublished Surat grant and two later grants (S. 757 and S. 789, A.D. 835 and 867), describe as establishing Amoghavarsha in his own place after conquering by the strength of his arm arrogant tributary Rāshtrakūṭas who becoming firmly allied to each other had occupied provinces according to their own will.

Karka's Baroda plates (S. 734, A.D. 812) record the grant of Baroda itself called Vāḍapadraka in the text. Baroda is easily identified by the mention of the surrounding villages of Jambuvāvikā the modern Jambuvāda on the east, of Ankottaka the modern Akotā on the west, and of Vagghācheliha perhaps the modern Vaghodia on the north. The writer of the grant is mentioned as the great minister of peace and war Nemaḍitya son of Durgabhatta, and the Dūtaka or grantor is said to be Rājaputra that is prince Dantivarman apparently a son of Karka. The grantee is a Brāhman originally of Valabhi.

Karka's Navsāri grant (S. 738, A.D. 816) is made from Khedā and records the gift of the village of Samipadraka in the country lying between the Mahi and the Nerbada. The grantee is a South Indian Brāhman from Bādāmi in Bijāpur, a man of learning popularly known as Paṇḍita Vallābharaḍja because he was proficient in the fourteen Vidyās. The Dūtaka of this grant is a South Indian *bhaṭṭa* or military officer named the illustrious Droṇamma.

Karka's Surat grant (S. 743, A.D. 821) is made from the royal camp on the bank of the Vankikā apparently the Vāṅki creek near Balsār. It records the grant of a field in Ambāpātaka village near Nāgasārika (Navsāri) to a Jain temple at Nāgarikā (Navsāri). The writer of the grant is the minister of war and peace Nārāyana son of Durgabhatta. As this is the first grant by a Gujarāt Rāshtrakūṭa of lands south of the Tāpti it may be inferred that in return for his support Amoghavarsha added to Karka's territory the portion of the North Konkan which now forms Gujarāt south of the Tāpti.

According to Karka's Baroda plate (S. 734, A.D. 812) Karka had a son named Dantivarman who is mentioned as the princely Dūtaka of the plate. The fact of being a Dūtaka implies that Dantivarman was then of age. That Dantivarman was a son of Karka is supported by Akalavarsha's Bagumrī plate (S. 810, A.D. 888), where, though the plate is badly composed and the grammar is faulty, certain useful details are given regarding Dantivarman who is clearly mentioned as the son of Karka. Karka had another son named Dhruva, who, according to three copperplates, succeeded to the throne. But as Dantivarman's son's grant is dated Śaka 810 or seventy-six years later than the Baroda plate some error seems to have crept into the genealogy of the plate. Neither Dantivarman nor Dhruva seems to have succeeded their father as according to Govinda's Kāvī grant (A.D. 827) their uncle Govinda succeeded his brother Karka. The explanation may be that Dantivarman died during his father's lifetime, and that some years later, after a great yearning for a son,¹ probably in Karka's old age, a second

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THE
RĀSHTRAKŪṬAS,
A.D. 743-974.

Karka I.
A.D. 812-821.

Dantivarman,
His Apparent.

¹ Several copperplates give Karka the epithet *Putrīyatustarṇa* Son-yearning.

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THE

RĀSHTRAKŪṬAS,
A.D. 743-974.Govinda,
A.D. 827-832.Dhruva I.
A.D. 835-867.Akālavarsha,
A.D. 867.Dhruva II.
A.D. 867.

son Dhruva was born, during whose minority, after Karka's death, Govinda appears to have temporarily occupied the throne.

This Govinda, the brother and successor of Karka, was also called Prabhūtavarsha. One plate of Govinda's Kāvī grant is dated Śaka 749 (A.D. 827). It gives no details regarding Govinda. The grant is made from Broach and records the gift of a village¹ to a temple of the Sun called Jayāditya in Kotipur near Kāpikā that is Kāvī thirty miles north of Broach. The writer of the grant is Yogeśvara son of Avalokita and the Dātaka or grantor was one Bhaṭṭa Kumuda. As it contains no reference to Govinda's succession the plate favours the view that Govinda remained in power only during the minority of his nephew Dhruva.

This Dhruva, who is also called Nirupama and Dhāravarsha, is mentioned as ruler in a Baroda grant dated Śaka 757 (A.D. 835).² He therefore probably came to the throne either on attaining his majority in the lifetime of his uncle and predecessor Govinda or after Govinda's death. Dhruva's Baroda grant (S. 757, A.D. 835) is made from a place called Sarvāmangalā near Khedā and records the gift of a village to a Brāhman named Yoga³ of Badarasidhi apparently Borsad. The writer of the grant is mentioned as the minister of peace and war, Nārāyaṇa son of Durgabhaṭṭa, and the Dātaka or grantor is the illustrious Devarāja. Dhruva seems to have abandoned his father's position of loyal feudatory to the main Rāshtrakūṭas. According to a copperplate dated Śaka 832 (A.D. 910) Vallabha that is Amoghavarsha, also called the illustrious great Skanda, sent an army and besieged and burned the Kanthikā that is the coast tract between Bombay and Cambay. In the course of this campaign, according to Dhruva II's Bagumrā grant (S. 789, A.D. 867),⁴ Dhruva died on the field of battle covered with wounds while routing the army of Vallabha or Amoghavarsha. This statement is supported by a Kanheri cave inscription which shows that Amoghavarsha was still alive in Śaka 799 (A.D. 877).

Dhruva was succeeded by his son Akālavarsha also called Subhatuṅga. A verse in Dhruva II's Bagumrā grant (S. 789, A.D. 867) says that Akālavarsha established himself in the territory of his father, which, after Dhruva's death in battle, had been overrun by the army of Vallabha and had been distracted by evil-minded followers and dependants.⁵

Akālavarsha was succeeded by his son Dhruva II, also called Dhāravarsha and Nirupama. Of Dhruva II. two copperplates remain the published Bagumrā grant dated Śaka 789⁶ (A.D. 867) and an

¹ All village and boundary details have been identified by Dr. Bühler. Ind. Ant. V. 148.

² Ind. Ant. XIV. 199.

³ This donee is said to have been given the name of Jyotishika by the illustrious Govindarāja apparently the uncle and predecessor of the granting king.

⁴ Ind. Ant. XII. 179.

⁵ Ind. Ant. XII. 184. The verse may be translated 'By whom before long was occupied the province handed down from his father which had been overrun by the forces of Vallabha and distracted by numbers of evil-minded followers.'

⁶ Ind. Ant. XII. 179.

unpublished Baroda grant dated Śaka 793 (A.D. 871).¹ Both plates record that Dhruva crushed certain intrigues among his relatives or *bandhuvarga*, and established himself firmly on the throne. Regarding the troubles at the beginning of his reign the Bagumrá plate states that on one side Vallabha the head of the Dakhan Rāshtrakútas was still against him; on another side Dhruva had to face an army of Gurjjaras instigated by a member of his own family²; thirdly he was opposed by certain of his relatives or *bāndhuvāḥ*; and lastly he had to contend against the intrigues of a younger brother or *anuja*. It further appears from Dhruva II's Bagumrá plate that he checked an inroad by a Mihira king with a powerful army. This Mihira king was probably a chief of the Kāthiāvāda Mehirs who on the downfall of the Valabhis spread their power across Gujārat. In all these troubles the Bagumrá grant notes that Dhruva was aided by a younger brother named Govindarāja. This Govindarāja is mentioned as appointed by Dhruva the Dūtaka of the grant.

Dhruva II's Bagumrá (A.D. 867) grant was made at Bhṛigu-Kachehla or Broach after bathing in the Narbada. It records the gift to a Brāhman of the village of Pārahanaka, probably the village of Palsāna³ twelve miles south-east of Bagumrá in the Balesar subdivision of the Gāikwār's territory of Surat and Navsāri. Dhruva's Baroda grant (A.D. 871) was also made at Broach. It is a grant to the god Kapāles'vara Mahādeva of the villages Konvalli and Nakkabhajja both mentioned as close to the south bank of the Mahi. The facts that the Bagumrá grant (A.D. 867) transfers a village so far south as Balesar near Navsāri and that four years later the Baroda grant (A.D. 871) mentions that Dhruva's territory lay between Broach and the Mahi seem to prove that between A.D. 867 and 871 the portion of Dhruva's kingdom south of Broach passed back into the hands of the main Rāshtrakútas.

The next and last known Gujārat Rāshtrakúta king is Akālavarsha-Krishna son of Dantivarman. A grant of this king has been found in Bagumrá dated Śaka 810 (A.D. 888).⁴ The composition of the grant is so bad and the genealogical verses after Karka are so confused that it seems unsafe to accept any of

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RASHTRAKÚTAS,
A.D. 743-974.

Dhruva II.
A.D. 867.

Akālavarsha-
Krishna,
A.D. 888.

¹ This plate was in Dr. Bhagvatlāl's possession. It is among the plates bequeathed to the British Museum. Dr. Bhandarkar (B. R. E. A. S. JI. XVIII. 255) mentions another unpublished grant of S. 789 (A.D. 867) made by Dhruva's brother Dantivarman.

² These may be either the Gurjjaras between Mālwa and Gujārat, or the Bhīmāl Gurjjaras north of the Mahi. It is also possible that they may be Chāvāḍas as in this passage the term Gurjjaras does not refer to the tribe but to the country. [There seems little reason to doubt the reference is to the Gurjjaras of Bhīmāl or Śrīmāl, probably acting through their underlords the Chāvāḍas of Anahilavāda whose king in A.D. 865 was the warlike Kāsem Rāja (A.D. 841-866). Census and other recent information establish almost with certainty that the Chāvāḍas or Chāvotakas are of the Gurjjar race.]

³ The identification is not satisfactory. Except the Brāhman settlement of Mottaka, apparently the well known Motala Brāhman settlement of Motā, which is mentioned as situated on the west though it is on the north-east, none of the boundary villages can be identified in the neighbourhood of Palsāna. In spite of this the name Palsāna and its close vicinity to Bagumrá where the grant was found make this identification probable.

⁴ Ind. Ant. XIII. 65.

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THE
RĀSHTRAKŪTAS,
A.D. 743-974.
Akālavarsha-
Krishna,
A.D. 888.

Main Line
Restored,
A.D. 888-974.

Krishna
Akālavarsha,
A.D. 888-914.

its details except its date which is clearly Śaka 810 (A.D. 888). It seems also improbable that the son of Dantivarman who flourished in Śaka 734 (A.D. 812) could be reigning in Śaka 810 (A.D. 888) seventy-six years later. Still the sixty-three years' reign of the contemporary Mānyakheta Rāshtrakūta Amoghavarsha (S. 736-799, A.D. 814-877) shows that this is not impossible.

The grant which is made from Anklesvar near Broach records the gift to two Brāhmanas of the village of Kavithasādhi the modern Kosād four miles north-east of Surat, described as situated in the Variāvi (the modern Variāv two miles north of Surat) sub-division of 116 villages in the province of Konkan. The grant is said to have been written by the peace and war minister the illustrious Jajjaka son of Kaluka, the Dūtaka being the head officer (*mahattama-sarvādhipāri*) the Brāhman Ollaiyaka.¹ This grant seems to imply the recovery by the local dynasty of some portion of the disputed area to the south of the Tāpti. This recovery must have been a passing success. After Śaka 810 (A.D. 888) nothing is known of the Gujarāt Rāshtrakūtas. And the re-establishment of the power of the Rāshtrakūtas of Mānyakheta of the main line in south Gujarāt in Śaka 836 (A.D. 914) is proved by two copperplates found in Navsāri which record the grant of villages near Navsāri, in what the text calls the Lāṭa country, by king Indra Nityamvarsha son of Jagattuṅga and grandson of Krishna Akālavarsha.²

That Amoghavarsha's long reign lasted till Śaka 799 (A.D. 877) is clear from the Kanheri cave inscription already referred to. His reign can hardly have lasted much longer; about Śaka 800 (A.D. 878) may be taken to be its end.

Amoghavarsha was succeeded by his son Krishna also called Akālavarsha, both his names being the same as those of the Gujarāt Rāshtrakūta king of the same time (A.D. 888).³ It has been noted above that, in consequence of the attempt of Karka's son Dhruva I. (A.D. 835-867) to establish his independence, Amoghavarsha's relations with the Gujarāt Rāshtrakūtas became extremely hostile and probably continued hostile till his death (A.D. 877). That Amoghavarsha's son Krishna kept up the hostilities is shown by Indra's two Navsāri plates of Śaka 836 (A.D. 914) which mention his grandfather Krishna fighting with the roaring Gurjjara.⁴ Regarding this fight the late Rāshtrakūta Kardā plate (S. 891, A.D. 973) further says that Krishna's enemies frightened by his exploits abandoned Khetaka, that is Khetā, with its Maṇḍala and its forepart that is the surrounding country. Probably this roaring Gurjjara or king of Gujarāt, was a northern ally called in by some Rāshtrakūta of the

¹ Ind. Ant. XIII. 65-69.

² These were among Dr. Bhagvánlāl's copperplates, and seem to be the same as the two grants published by Dr. Bhandarkar in B. B. R. A. S. JI. XVIII. 253.

³ See above page 127.

⁴ The text is: उद्यदीर्घीभितरलजालजटिलेव्याकृष्टमदम्भनुः। कुहेनोपरि वैरिवीरशिर-
सामेव विमुखाः शराः। भारसारिणी सेन्द्रनापवल्गे यस्येत्य मन्दगमे गज्जर्जर-
सेगरव्यतिकरं श्रीगोचनः संसति.

Gujarāt branch, perhaps by Krishna's namesake the donor of the A.D. 888 Bagumrā grant. The Dakhan Krishna seems to have triumphed over his Gujarāt namesake as henceforward South Gujarāt or Lāṭa was permanently included in the territory of the Dakhan Rāshtrakūtas.¹

At this time (A.D. 910) a grant from Kapadvanj dated S. 832 (A.D. 910) and published in Ep. Ind. I. 52ff. states that a *mahā-simanta* or noble of Krishna Akālavarsha's named Prachanda, with his *daṇḍanāyaka* Chandragupta, was in charge of a sub-division of 750 villages in the Khedā district at Harshapura apparently Harsol near Parantij. The grant gives the name of Prachanda's family as Brāhma-vaka (?) and states that the family gained its fortune or Lakshmi by the prowess of the feet of Akālavarsha, showing that the members of the family drew their authority from Akālavarsha. The grant mentions four of Prachanda's ancestors, all of whom have non-Gujarāt Kānarese-looking names. Though not independent rulers Prachanda's ancestors seem to have been high Rāshtrakūta officers. The first is called Suddha-kkumbadi, the second his son Degadi, the third Degadi's son Rājahamsa, the fourth Rājahamsa's son Dhavalappa the father of Prachanda and Akkuka. The plate describes Rājahamsa as bringing back to his house its flying fortune as if he had regained lost authority. The plate describes Dhavalappa as killing the enemy in a moment and then giving to his lord the Mandala or kingdom which the combined enemy, desirous of glory, had taken. This apparently refers to Akālavarsha's enemies abandoning Khetaka with its Mandala as mentioned in the late Rāshtrakūta Karda plate (A.D. 973). Dhavalappa is probably Akālavarsha's general who fought and defeated the roaring Gurjara, a success which may have led to Dhavalappa being placed in military charge of Gujarāt.² The Kapadvanj (A.D. 910) grant describes Dhavalappa's son Prachanda with the feudatory title 'Who has obtained the five great words.' Dr. Bhagvānlāl believed Prachanda to be a mere epithet of Akkuka, and took Chandragupta to be another name of the same person, but the published text gives the facts as above stated. The grantee is a Brāhman and the grant is of the village of Vyāghrāsa, perhaps Vāgrā in Broach.³ The plate describes Akkuka as gaining glory fighting in the battle field. A rather unintelligible verse follows implying that at this time the Sella-Vidyādhara, apparently the North Konkan S'ilāhāras (who traced their lineage from the Vidyādhara) also helped Akālavarsha against his enemies,⁴ probably by driving them from South Gujarāt. The S'ilāhāra king at this time would be Jhanjha (A.D. 916).

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A.D. 743-974.

Krishna
Akālavarsha,
A.D. 888-914.

¹ It will be noted that in S'aka 834 (A.D. 914) Krishna's grandson Indra re-grants 400 resumed villages many of which were perhaps resumed at this time by Krishna.

² It follows that none of Dhavalappa's three ancestors had any connection with Gujarāt.

³ Dr. Hultsch (Ep. Ind. I. 52) identifies Vyāghrāsa with Vaghāsa, north-east of Kapadvanj. Dr. Bhagvānlāl's account of the grant was based on an impression sent to him by the Māmlatdar of Kapadvanj.

⁴ The text is: सेह विवाहरेणपि सेह (हेलो) जालित तपानि पाणिना निहया सन्तु समरे [रे] यसाइत्यमर्कतु. Dr. Hultsch takes the Sella-Vidyādhara here named to be another brother of Prachanda and Akkuka. The verse is corrupt.

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THE
RĀSHTRAKŪṬAS,
A.D. 743-974.

Indra
Nityamvarsha,
A.D. 914.

Krishna or Akālavarsha had a son named Jagattuṅga who does not appear to have come to the throne. Other plates show that he went to Chedi the modern Bundelkhand and remained there during his father's lifetime. By Lakshmi the daughter of the king of Chedi, Jagattuṅga had a son named Indra also called Nityamvarsha Rattakandarpa. In both of Indra's Navsārī copperplates (A.D. 914) Indra is mentioned as *Pādānudhyāta*, Falling at the feet of, that is successor of, not his father but his grandfather Akālavarsha.¹ One historical attribute of Indra in both the plates is that "he uprooted in a moment the Mehr,"² apparently referring to some contemporary Mehr king of North Kāthiāvāda. Both the Navsārī plates of Saka 836 (A.D. 914) note that the grants were made under peculiar conditions. The plates say that the donor Indra Nityamvarsha, with his capital at Mānyakheta, had come to a place named Kurundaka for the *puṭṭabandha* or investiture festival. It is curious that though Mānyakheta is mentioned as the capital the king is described as having come to Kurundaka for the investiture. Kurundaka was apparently not a large town as the plates mention that it was given in grant.³ At his investiture Indra made great gifts. He weighed himself against gold or silver, and before leaving the scales he gave away Kurundaka and other places, twenty and a half lakhs of dramma coins, and 400 villages previously granted but taken back by intervening kings. These details have an air of exaggeration. At the same time gifts of coins by *lakhs* are not improbable by so mighty a king as Indra and as to the villages the bulk of them had already been alienated. The fact of lavish grants is supported by the finding of these two plates of the same date recording grants of two different villages made on the same occasion, the language being the same, and also by a verse in the late Rāshtrakūṭa Kardā plate (S. 894, A.D. 972) where Indra is described as making numerous grants on copperplates and building many temples of Śiva.⁴ The date of Indra's grants (S. 836, A.D. 914) is the date of his investiture and accession. This is probable as the latest known date of his grandfather Krishna is Saka 833⁵ (A.D. 911) and we know that Indra's father Jagattuṅga did not reign.⁶ Umvarā and Tenna, the villages granted in the two investiture plates, are described as situated near Kammanijja the modern Kāmlej in the Lāṭa province. They are probably the modern villages of Umra near Sāyan four miles west of Kāmlej, and of Tenna immediately to the west of Bārdoli, which last is mentioned under the form Vāradapallikā as the eastern boundary village. Dhruva II's Bagumra plate (S. 789, A.D. 867) mentions Tenna as granted

¹ The Kharepatan grant makes this clear by passing over Indra's father Jagattuṅga in the genealogy and entering Indra as the grandson and successor of Akālavarsha. Jour. B. B. R. A. Soc. I. 217.

² The text has *Helonmalitamerund* to chime with the poetical allusion and figure about Indra. By Meru no doubt Mera or Mehr is meant.

³ Kurundaka may be the village of Korund in the Thāna zilla seven miles north-east of Bhiwadi. It was a village given away in grant and cannot therefore be any large town. [Kurundā at the holy meeting of the Krishna and Pañchganga in the Southern Maratha Country close to Narsoba's Vādi seems a more likely place for an investiture.]

⁴ J. R. A. S. III. 94.

⁵ Ind. Ant. XI, 109.

⁶ See above.

by Dhruva I. to a Brāhman named Dhoddi the father of the Nennapa who is the grantee of Dhruva II's A.D. 867 Bagumrā grant, whose son Siddhabhatta is the grantee of Indra's A.D. 914 grant.¹ The re-granting of so many villages points to the re-establishment of the main Rāshtrakūṭa power and the disappearance of the Gujarāt branch of the Rāshtrakūṭas.²

Though no materials remain for fixing how long after A.D. 914 Gujarāt belonged to the Mānyakheta Rāshtrakūṭas, they probably continued to hold it till their destruction in Śaka 894 (A.D. 972) by the Western Chālukya king Tailappa. This is the more likely as inscriptions show that till then the neighbours of Gujarāt, the North Konkan Śilāhāras, acknowledged Rāshtrakūṭa supremacy.

It is therefore probable that Gujarāt passed to the conquering Tailappa as part of the Rāshtrakūṭa kingdom. Further, as noted below in Part II. Chapter II., it seems reasonable to suppose that about Śaka 900 (A.D. 978) Tailappa entrusted Gujarāt to his general Bārappa or Dvārappa, who fought with the Solanki Mālarāja of Anahilavāḍa (A.D. 961-997).

[The text does not carry the question of the origin of the Rāshtrakūṭas beyond the point that, about the middle of the fifth century A.D., two tribes bearing the closely associated names Rāthodj and Ratta, the leaders of both of which are known in Sanskrit as Rāshtrakūṭas, appeared the first in Upper India the second in the Bombay Karnāṭak, and that the traditions of both tribes seem to show they were either southerners or foreigners Brāhmanised and included under the all-embracing term Rajput. The Sanskrit form Rāshtrakūṭa may mean either leaders of the Rāshtra tribe or heads of the territorial division named *rāshtra*. The closely related forms Rāshtrapati and Grāmashūta occur (above page 82) in Valabhi inscriptions. And Mr. Fleet (*Kānarese Dynasties*, 32) notices that Rāshtrakūṭa is used in the inscriptions of many dynasties as a title equivalent to Rāshtrapati. Such a title might readily become a family name like that of the Sālī Jāta of the Panjāb or the Marāṭhī surnames Patel, Nadkarni, and Desai. It may be noted that one of the Mārwar traditions (*Rajputana Gazetteer*, III, 246) connects the word Rāthodj with Rāshtra country making the original form Rāshtravara or World-blessing and referring to an early tribal guardian Rāshtrasena or the World-falcon. It is therefore possible that the origin of both forms of the name, of Rāthodj as well as of Rāshtrakūṭa, is the title ruler of a district. At the same time in the case of the southern Rāshtrakūṭas the balance of evidence is in support of a tribal origin of the name. The Rattas of Saundatti in Belgaum, apparently with justice, claim descent from the former Rāshtrakūṭa rulers (*Belgaum Gazetteer*, 355). Further that the Rāshtrakūṭas considered themselves to belong to the Ratta tribe is shown by Indra Nityamvarsha (A.D. 914)

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Nityamvarsha,
A.D. 914.

¹ Though the name of the *gotra* Lakshmanasa and Lakshmanasa differs slightly in the two grants, the identity of the name Nennapa the son of Dhoddi and the father of Siddhabhatta the A.D. 914 grantee, suggests that the original grant of the village of Tenna by Dhruva I. (A.D. 795) had been cancelled in the interval and in A.D. 914 was renewed by king Indra Nityamvarsha. (Dr. Bhandarkar reads the name in Indra's Navesari grant (A.D. 914) as Veonapa.)

² That in A.D. 915 the Dakhan Rāshtrakūṭas held Gujarāt as far north as Cambay is supported by the Arab traveller Al Masudi who (*Prairies d'Or*, I. 253-254) speaks of Cambay, when he visited it, as a flourishing town ruled by Banā the deputy of the Bahārā lord of Mankir. The country along the gulf of Cambay was a succession of gardens villages fields and woods with date-palm and other groves alive with peacocks and parrots.

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calling himself Rāṣṭrakūṭa the Love of the Rāṣṭra. The result is thus in agreement with the view accepted in the text that Rāshtrakūṭa means leaders of the Rāṣṭra tribe, the form Rāshṭra being perhaps chosen because the leaders held the position of Rāshtrakūṭas or District Headmen. According to Dr. Bhandarkar (Decan History, 9) the tribal name Rāṣṭra or Rāshṭra enters into the still more famous Dakhan tribal name Maharāṣṭra or Mahāṛṣṭa. So far as present information goes both the Rāṣṭras and the Great Rāṣṭras are to be traced to the Rāṣṭikas mentioned in number five of Asoka's (B.C. 245) Girnar edicts among the Aparāntas or westerners along with the Pētēṇikas or people of Pāṭhan about forty miles north-east of Ahmadnagar (Kolhapur Gazetteer, 82). Whether the Rāṣṭika of the edicts is like Pētēṇika a purely local name and if so why a portion of the north Dakhan should be specially known as the country or Rāshṭra we points that must remain open.¹

The explanation that Kūṭa the second half of Rāshtrakūṭa, means chief, has been accepted in the text. This is probably correct. At the same time the rival theory deserves notice that the name Rāshtrakūṭa is formed from two tribal names Kūṭa representing the early widespread tribe allied to the Gonds known as Kōṭṭas and Kōṭas in the Central Provinces North Konkan and Delhi (Thana Gazetteer, XII, Part II, 414). In support of this view it may be noticed that Abhimanyu's fifth century Rāshtrakūṭa inscription (J. B. Br. E. As. XVI, 92) refers to the Kōṭṭas though as enemies not allies of the Rāshtrakūṭas. At the same time certain details in Abhimanyu's grant favour an early Rāshtrakūṭa settlement in the Central Provinces, the probable head-quarters of the Kōṭṭas. The grant is dated from Mānapura and is made to Dakṣiṇa Siva of Pethapāṅgaraka which may be the Great Siva shrine in the Mahādev hills in Hoshangabad, as this shrine is under the management of a petty chief of a place called Pagra, and as Mānapur in the Vindhya hills is not far off. Against the tribal origin of the word Kūṭa is to be set the fact that the northern Rāṣṭras are also called Rāshtrakūṭas though any connection between them and the Kōṭṭa tribe seems unlikely.

The question remains were the southern Rāṣṭras or Rāshtrakūṭas connected with the northern Rāṣṭras or Rāshtrakūṭas. If so what was the nature of the connection and to what date does it belong. The fact that, while the later southern Rāshtrakūṭas

¹ It seems doubtful whether the Kāṇarese Rāṣṭras the Belgūṇi Rāṣṭas and the Telugu Rāṣṭas could have been Rāṣṭikas or heads in the north Dakhan. The widespread Rāṣṭras trace their origin (Balfour's Encyclopaedia of India, III, 239) to Rājaseṇḍri about thirty miles from the mouth of the Godavari. A tradition of a northern origin remains among some of the Rāṣṭras. The Yāṇṭvelly Rāṣṭras (Madras J. Lit. and Science, 1887-88, page 133 note 94) call themselves Aṇṭ Rāṣṭras and assert that Oḍḍi is the native country of their tribe. The late Sir George Campbell (J. B. As. Soc. XXXV, Part II, 129) has recorded the notable fact that the Rāṣṭras of the north of the Kāṇara country are like the Jāṭas. With this personal resemblance may be compared the Rāṣṭras' ancient form of polyandry (Balfour's Encyclopaedia, III, 239) in accordance with which the wife of the child-husband bears children to the adult males of the family, a practice which recent of theories compare Mr. Kirtpatrick in Indian Ant. VII, 80 and Dr. Muir in Ditto VI, 313 would associate with the northern or Skythian conquerors of Upper India during the early centuries of the Christian era. In support of a northern Rāṣṭra element later than Asoka's Rāṣṭikas the following points may be noted. That the Khaharūṭas or Khaharūṭa tribe to which the great northern conqueror Nabhapa (A.D. 160) belonged should disappear from the Dakhan seems unlikely. Karahātaka the Mahāśāhaka name (A. B. S. XV, 47, quoted in Wilson's Works VI, 179 for Karāḍ on the Krishna suggests that Nabhapa's conquest included Sāṭara and that the name of the holy place on the Krishna was altered to give it a resemblance to the name of the conqueror's tribe. That, perhaps after their overthrow by Guṭtāṃpura-Vāḥarai (A.D. 140), the Khaharūṭas may have established a local centre at Kurundwad at the meeting of the Krishna and the Pāṇḍharaṃ may be the explanation why in A.D. 914, centuries after Mānyakhata or Mākhata had become their capital, the Rāshtrakūṭa Indra should proceed for investiture to Kurundwad, which, though this is doubtful, may be Kurundwad. The parallel case of the Khaharūṭas' associates the Pāṇḍaras, who passed across the southern Dakhan and by intermarriage gave to the Pāṇḍas the characteristic of a southern tribe, give a probability to the existence of a northern Khaharūṭa or Rāṣṭra element in the southern Rāshtrakūṭas and Rāṣṭras which the facts at present available would not otherwise justify.

call themselves Yādavas of the Lunar race, the northerners claim descent either from Kufa the son of Rāma or from Hiranyakaśipu would seem to prove no connection did not Abhimanyu's fifth century grant show that in his time the southern Rāshtrakūtas had not begun to claim Yādava descent. That the Mārwar Rathodas trace their name to the *raṭh* or spine of Indra (Tod's Annals, II. 2), and in a closely similar fashion the Rāth or Ratta Jāta of the Śūtlej (Hibbert's 1881 Census, page 236) explain their name as strongbanded, and the Rattas of Bijapur (Bijapur Stat. Account, 145) trace their name to the Kānarese *voffa* right arm, may imply no closer connection than the common attempt to find a meaning for the name Ratta in a suitable word of similar sound. A legend preserved in the Rajputana Gazetteer (III. 346), but not noted by Tod, tells how Sevji, after (A.D. 1139) the Muslims drove his father Jaichand out of Kanauj (Tod's Annals, I. 88) took Khergad from the Geklots and went to the Karnatak where the Rathodas had ruled before they came to Kanauj. From the Karnatak Sevji brought the image of the Rāshtrikūtesvara which is now in the temple of Nāgāna in Merid. The account quoted in the text from Tod (Annals, I. 88) that the Rathodas who rose to power in Mārwar in the thirteenth century belonged to a royal family who had held Kanauj since the fifth century has not stood the test of recent inquiry. It is now known that about A.D. 470 Kanauj was in the hands of the Guptas. That about A.D. 600, according to the contemporary Śrīharsacharita it was ruled by the Maukharī Grahavarman who was put to death by a Mālava chief and was succeeded by Harsa. About A.D. 750, according to the Rājatarangini, Kanauj was held by Yaśovarman, and, in the next century, as inscriptions prove by the family of Bhoja. It was not till about A.D. 1030 that Kanauj was occupied by the Gihardavla or Giharwala family from whom the Rathodas of Mārwar claim descent.¹ If the legendary connection of the Mārwar Rathodas with Kanauj must be dismissed can the Mārwar Rathodas be a branch of the southern Rāshtrakūtas who like the Marathas some 800 years later spread conquering northwards? Such a northern settlement of the southern Rāshtrakūtas might be a consequence of the victories of the great Rāshtrakūta Dhruva who according to received opinions about A.D. 780 conquered as far north as Allahābad. It is beyond question that southerners or Karpātas were settled in North India between the seventh and the eleventh centuries. Still the latest information makes it improbable that Dhruva's conquests extended further north than Gujarāt. Nor has any special connection been traced between the southern Rāshtrakūtas and the middle-age settlements of southerners or Karpātas in North India.² Must therefore the North Indian tribe of Rathodas be admitted to have its origin

¹ The eleventh century Kanauj Gihardavlas are now represented by the Bundelas who about A.D. 1200 overthrow the Chandelas in Bundelkhand. These Giharwals or Bundelas trace their origin to Benares or Kāsi and may, as Hornle suggests, have been related to the Pālas of that city who several times intermarried with the Dakṣiṇ Rāshtrakūtas. The Giharwals seem to have nothing to do with the district of Garhwal (Gārdvāḥ) in the Himālayas.—(A. M. T. 2.)

² The Vatacarja defeated by Dhruva who has hitherto been identified with the Yāda King of Kosambi is more likely to prove to be a Rāshtrakūta of the Gurjars of Bhinmal or Sironi in north Gujarat. Among references to southern settlements in North India between A.D. 600 and 1000 may be noted the tradition (Wilson's Indian Castes, II. 145) of a Dravidian strain in the Kashmir Bichmons and in the eleventh century also in Kashmir (Rājatarangini, VI. 237) the presence of a Vatacarja dynasty bearing the same name as the early Vatacarjans of Palihar near Ahmednagar. Other instances which might seem more directly associated with the southern Rāshtrakūtas (A.D. 300-470) are the six Kānāṭaka rulers of Nepal beginning with A.D. 839 (Ind. Ant. VII. 81) and the natives of Kānāṭka in Mahmūd Ghaznavi's army (A.D. 1000-1025) who (Gibbon's Albernū, I. 172; II. 147) used the Kānāṭka alphabet. The presence of Kānāṭka rulers in Nepal in the ninth and tenth centuries remains a puzzle. But the use of the term Kānāṭka for Chālukyas of Kalyāṇ in A.D. 1000 (Ep. Ind. I. 210) suggests that the Nepal chiefs were Chālukyas rather than Rāshtrakūtas; while Mahmūd Ghaznavi's Kānāṭkas may naturally be traced to the necessary remains of Bhojappa's army of Kalyāṇ Chālukyas whose general Bhappa was slain (Raj. Marh. I. 61) and his followers dispersed in north Gujarat by Mālika Raja Balaḥḥa at the close of the tenth century. The only recorded connection of the southern Rāshtrakūtas with Northern India during the middle ages (A.D. 750-1150) are their intermarriages

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RĀSTRAKŪṬAS,
A.D. 743-974.

as late as the twelfth century, and further is the North Indian name Rāthor] not tribal but derived from the title head of a district. Several considerations make both of these solutions unlikely if not impossible. First there is the remarkably widespread existence of the name Rāthor, Ratha, or Ratti, and endless variations of these names, in almost all parts of the Panjāb, among all castes from the Brāhman to the Baluch, among all religions Musalman, Sikh, Jain, and Brāhmanic.¹ No doubt the practice of a waning tribe adopting the name of a waning tribe has always been common. No doubt also the fame of the name during the last 600 years must have tempted other classes to style themselves Rāthor]. Still it is to be noted: first that (Ibbetson, page 240) the Rāthods of the Panjāb though widespread are not numerous; and second that the list of sub-caste names has this merit that with a few exceptions the holders of the sub name are not known by it but by some general or craft name. The evidence of these sub-caste or tribal names seems therefore to support the view that some very large section of the Panjāb population represent an important tribe or nation of whom the least mixed remnant are perhaps the Rāthia or lower class Rājputs of Kangra and Chamla (Ibbetson, pages 219 and 221) and from some connection with whom the Māwāz Rāthods of the thirteenth century may have taken their name. Among other traces of northern Rāshtras in the middle ages may be mentioned the twelfth and thirteenth century Rāshtrakūṭas of Badaun in the North-West Provinces (Kielhorn in *Epigraphia Indica*, I. 61 and 63) and (A.D. 1150) in the Kumārapāla-Charitra (Tod's *Western India*, 182) the mention of Rāshtra-dēva near the Sawalak hills. Among earlier and more doubtful references are the Aratrioi whom probably correctly (since at that time A.D. 247 one main Roman trade route to Central Asia passed up the Indus) the author of the *Periplus* (McCrindle, 120) places between Abhiria or lower Sindh and Arachosia or south-east Afghanistan that is in north Sindh or south Panjāb. Another earlier and still more doubtful reference is Pliny's (A.D. 77) *Oratoras* (*Hist. Nat.* VI. 23) whom Vivien de St. Martin (*Geog. Grecque et Latine de l'Inde*, 293) identifies with the Rāthods. The fact that while claiming descent from Rama the Māwāz Rāthods (Tod's *Annals*, II. 2 and 5) preserved the legend that their founder was Yavanaśwa from the northern city of Paralipar supports the view that the tribe to which they belonged was of non-Indian or Central Asian origin, and that this is the tribe of whom traces remain in the Rāthi Rājputs of the Kangra hill country and less purely in the widely spread Rāta, Rattas, and Rātis of the Panjāb plains. The examples among Panjāb caste names Rora for Arora (Ibbetson's 1881 Census, page 297), Her for Ahir (Ditto, 230-275), and Heri for Aheri (Ditto, 310) suggest that the Panjāb Rāthors or Rattas may be the ancient Arattas whom the Mahābhārata (Chap. VII Verse 44, J. Bl. Soc. VI. Pt. I. 337 and Vivien de St. Martin *Geog. Grecque et Latine de l'Inde*, 149) ranks with Prasthalas, Madras, and Gandhāras, Panjāb and frontier tribes, whose identification with the Bāhikas (Karnaparvan, 2063ff.) raises the probability of a common Central Asian origin. Remembering that the evidence (Kshatrapa Chapter, pages 22 and 33) favours the view that the Kshatrapa family who ruled the Panjāb between B.C. 70 and A.D. 78 were of the same tribe as Nahāpana, and also that Shāhi is so favourite a prefix in Samudra Gupta's (A.D. 380) list of Kushān tribes, the suggestion may be offered that Kshaharāta is the earlier form of Sūsharatta and is the tribe of foreigners afterwards known in the Panjāb as Arattas and of which traces survive in the present widespread tribal names Rāta, Ratta, Rātia, and Rāthor.]

with the Patas of Benares (A.D. 850-1000) mentioned above (Page 132 Note I), and, between A.D. 800 and 860, with the Kalachuris of Tripura near Jalalpur (Cunningham's *Arch. Survey Report for 1891*, IX. 80).

¹ The details compiled from the excellent index and tables in the Panjāb Census yield the following leading groups: 37 sub-castes named Rāthor, Rattor, and other close variants; 53 Rāth and Rā this and 2 Rattas; 50 Ratas, Rāta, or other close variants. Compare Rāthi the name of the people of Mount Abu (Rajputana Gazetteer, III, 128) and the Raht tract in the north-west of Alwar (Ditto, 197).

CHAPTER XII.

THE MIHIRAS OR MERS.

A.D. 470-900.

THAT the Guptas held sway in Kāthiāváda till the time of Skandagupta (A.D. 451-470) is proved by the fact that his Sorath Viceroy is mentioned in Skandagupta's inscription on the Girnár rock. After Skandagupta under the next known Gupta king Budhagupta (Gupta 165-180, A.D. 484-499) no trace remains of Gupta sovereignty in Sorath. It is known that Budhagupta was a weak king and that the Gupta kingdom had already entered on its decline and lost its outlying provinces. Who held Suráshtra and Gujarát during the period of Gupta decline until the arrival and settlement of Bhutkárka in A.D. 514 (Gupta 195) is not determined. Still there is reason to believe that during or shortly after the time of Budhagupta some other race or dynasty overthrew the Gupta Viceroy of these provinces and took them from the Guptas. These powerful conquerors seem to be the tribe of Maitrakas mentioned in Valabhi copperplates as people who had settled in Kāthiāváda and established a *mandala* or kingdom. Though these Maitrakas are mentioned in no other records from Suráshtra there seems reason to identify the Maitrakas with the Mihiras the well-known tribe of Mhers or Mers. In Sanskrit both *mitra* and *mihira* are names of the sun, and it would be quite in agreement with the practise of Sanskrit writers to use derivatives of the one for those of the other. These Mhers or Mers are still found in Kāthiāváda settled round the Barda hills while the Porbandar chiefs who are known as Jethvá are recognized as the head of the tribe. The name Jethvá is not a tribal but a family name, being taken from the proper or personal name of the ancestor of the modern chiefs. As the Porbandar chiefs are called the kings of the Mhers they probably belong to the same tribe, though, being chiefs, they try, like other ruling families, to rank higher than their tribe tracing their origin from Hanúmán. Though the Jethvá appear to have been long ashamed to acknowledge themselves to belong to the Mher tribe the founders of minor Mher kingdoms called themselves Mher kings. The Porbandar chiefs have a tradition tracing their dynasty to Makaradhvaia son of Hanúmán, and there are some Puránik legends attached to the tradition. The historical kernel of the tradition appears to be that the Mhers or Jethvá had a *makara* or fish as their flag or symbol. One of the mythical stories of Makaradhvaia is that he fought with Mayúradhvaia. Whatever coating of fable may have overlaid the story, it contains a grain of history. Mayúradhvaia stands for the Guptas whose chief symbol was a peacock *mayúra*, and with them Makaradhvaia that is the people with the fish-symbol that is

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the Mhera had a fight. This fight is probably the historical contest in which the Mhera fought with and overthrew the Gupta Viceroy of Kāthiāvāda.

The Kāthiāvāda Mhera are a peculiar tribe whose language dress and appearance mark them as foreign settlers from Upper India. Like the Mālavas, Jāts, Gurjaras, and Pahlavas, the Mhera seem to have passed through the Panjāb Sindh and North Gujarāt into Kāthiāvāda leaving settlements at Ajmīr, Bādnor, Jesalmīr, Kokalmīr, and Mhervāda. How and when the Mhera made these settlements and entered Kāthiāvāda is not known. It may be surmised that they came with Toramāṇa (A.D. 470-512) who overthrew the Guptas, and advanced far to the south and west in the train of some general of Toramāṇa's who may perhaps have entered Surāshtra. This is probable as the date of Toramāṇa who overthrew Budhagupta is almost the same as that of the Maitrakas mentioned as the opponents and enemies of Bhatārka. In the time of Bhatārka (A.D. 509-520?) the Mhera were firmly established in the peninsula, otherwise they would not be mentioned in the Valabhi grants as enemies of Bhatārka, a tribe or *maṇḍala* wielding incomparable power. As stated above in Chapter VIII. some time after the Mher settlement and consolidation of power, Bhatārka seems to have come as general of the fallen Guptas through Mālwa and Broach by sea to East Kāthiāvāda. He established himself at Valabhi and then gradually dislodged the Mhera from Sorath until they retired slightly to the north settling eventually at Morbi, which the Jethvās still recognize as the earliest seat of their ancestors. At Morbi they appear to have ruled contemporarily with the Valabhis. In support of this it is to be noted that no known Valabhi plate records any grant of lands or villages in Hālār, Machhukāntha, or Okhāmāṇḍal in North Kāthiāvāda. As the north-most place mentioned in Valabhi plates is Venuthali known as Wania's Vanthali in Hālār it may be inferred that not the Valabhis but the Mhera ruled the north coast of Kāthiāvāda, probably as feudatories or subordinates of the Valabhis. On the overthrow of Valabhi about A.D. 770 the Mhera appear to have seized the kingdom and ruled the whole of Kāthiāvāda dividing it into separate chiefships grouped under the two main divisions of Bardāi and Gohelvādia. About A.D. 860 the Mhera made incursions into Central Gujarāt. A copperplate dated Saka 780 (A.D. 847) of the Gujarāt Rāshtrakūta king Dhruva describes him as attacked by a powerful Mihira king whom he defeated.¹ At the height of their power the Mhera seem to have established their capital at the fort of Bhumli or Ghumli in the Bardā hills in the centre of Kāthiāvāda. The traditions about Ghumli rest mainly on modern Jethvā legends of no historical interest. The only known epigraphical record is a copperplate of a king named Jāchikadeva found in the Morbi district.² Unfortunately only the second plate remains. Still the fish mark on the plate, the locality where it was found, and its date

¹ Ind. Ant. XII, 179.² Ind. Ant. II, 237.

leave little doubt that the plate belongs to the Makaradhvaja or Jethva kings. The date of the grant is 585 Gupta era the 5th Phalgun Sudi that is A.D. 904, about 130 years after the destruction of Valabhi, a date with which the form of the letters agrees.

A similar copperplate in which the king's name appears in the slightly different form Jāikadeva has been found at Dhinli in the same neighbourhood as the first and like it bearing the fish mark.¹ This copperplate describes the king as ruling at Bhūmlikā or Bhūmli in Sorath and gives him the high titles of Paramabhāṭṭāraka-Mahārājādhirāja-Parameśvara, that is Great Lord Great King of Kings Great King, titles which imply wide extent and independence of rule. This grant purports to be made on the occasion of a solar eclipse on Sunday Vikrama Samvat 794 Jyeshtha constellation, the no-moon of the second half of Kārtika. This would be A.D. 738 or 166 years before the Jāchika of the Morbi plate. Against this it is to be noted that the letters of this plate, instead of appearing as old as eighth century letters, look later than the letters of the tenth century Morbi plate. As neither the day of the week, the constellation, nor the eclipse work out correctly Dr. Bhagvanlāl believed the plate to be a forgery of the eleventh century, executed by some one who had seen a fish-marked copperplate of Jāchika dated in the Saka era. It should however be noted that the names of ministers and officers which the plate contains give it an air of genuineness. Whether the plate is or is not genuine, it is probably true that Jāikadev was a great independent sovereign ruling at Bhūmli. Though the names of the other kings of the dynasty, the duration of the Bhūmli kingdom, and the details of its history are unknown it may be noted that the dynasty is still represented by the Porbandar chiefs. Though at present Bhūmli is deserted several ruined temples of about the eleventh century stand on its site. It is true no old inscriptions have been found; it is not less true that no careful search has been made about Bhūmli.

Early in the tenth century a wave of invasion from Sindh seems to have spread over Kacch and Kāthiāvāda. Among the invading tribes were the Jādejās of Kacch and the Chūdāsamās of Sorath, who like the Bhattia of Jesalmir call themselves of the Yaduvamśa stock. Doctor Bhagvanlāl held that the Chūdāsamās were originally of the Abhīra tribe, as their traditions attest connexion with the Abhīras and as the description of Graharipu one of their kings by Hemachandra in his Dvyaśraya points to his being of some local tribe and not of any ancient Rājput lineage. Further in their bardic traditions as well as in popular stories the Chūdāsamās are still commonly called Ahira-rānās. The position of Aberia in Ptolemy (A.D. 150) seems to show that in the second century the Ahirs were settled between Sindh and the Panjāb. Similarly it may be suggested that Jādejā is a corruption of Jaudhejā which

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¹ Ind. Ant. XII. 151.

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in turn comes from Yaudheya (the change of *y* to *j* being very common) who in Kshatrapa Inscriptions appear as close neighbours of the Ahirs. After the fall of the Valabhis (A.D. 775) the Yaudheyas seem to have established themselves in Kacch and the Ahirs settled and made conquests in Kāthiāvāda. On the decline of local rule brought about by these incursions and by the establishment of an Ahir or Chūdāsamā kingdom at Junāgadh, the Jethvās seem to have abandoned Bhūmli which is close to Junāgadh and gone to Srinagar or Kāntelun near Porbandar which is considered to have been the seat of Jethvā power before Porbandar.

A copperplate found at Haddālā on the road from Dholka to Dhandhuka dated A.D. 917 (Śaka 839) shows that there reigned at Vadhvān a king named Dharanivarāha of the Chāpa dynasty,¹ who granted a village to one Mahesvarāchārya, an apostle of the Amardāka Śākhā of Saivism. Dharanivarāha and his ancestors are described as feudatory kings, ruling by the grace of the feet of the great king of kings the great lord the illustrious Mahipāladeva. This Mahipāla would seem to be some great king of Kāthiāvāda reigning in A.D. 917 over the greater part of the province. Dr. Bhagvānlāl had two coins of this king of about that time, one a copper coin the other a silver coin. The coins were found near Junāgadh. The copper coin, about ten grains in weight, has one side obliterated but the other side shows clearly the words Rānā Śrī Mahipāla Deva. The silver coin, about fourteen grains in weight, has on the obverse a well-executed elephant and on the reverse the legend Rānā Śrī Mahipāla Deva. From the locality where the name Mahipāla appears both in coins and inscriptions, and from the fact that the more reliable Chūdāsamā lists contain similar names, it may be assumed as probable that Mahipāla was a powerful Chūdāsamā ruler of Kāthiāvāda in the early part of the tenth century.

After the fall of Valabhi no other reliable record remains of any dynasty ruling over the greater part of Gujarāt. The most trustworthy and historical information is in connection with the Chāvādās of Anahilapara. Even for the Chāvādās nothing is available but scant references recorded by Jain authors in their histories of the Solankis and Vaghelās.

[The modern traditions of the Chūdāsamā clan trace their origin to the Yādava race and more immediately to the Samma tribe of Nagar Thatha in Sindh.² The name of the family is said to have been derived from Chūdāchandra the first ruler of Vanthali

¹ The inscription calls Chāpa the founder of the dynasty. The name is old. A king Vyāghrarāja of the Chāpa Vamca is mentioned by the astronomer Brahmagupta as reigning in Śaka 550 (A.D. 623) when he wrote his book called *Brahma-Gupta Siddhanta*. The entry runs "In the reign of Śrī Vyāghramukha of the Śrī Chāpa dynasty, five hundred and fifty years after the Śaka king having elapsed." *Journ. B. R. S. A. Soc.* VIII. 27. For Dharanivara's grant see *Ind. Ant.* XII. 190ff.

² Elliot's History, I. 266.

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(Kāthiāwār Gazetteer, 489). Traces of a different tradition are to be found in the *Tuhfat-ul-Kirām* (Elliot, I. 337) which gives a list of Chūdāsammā's ancestors from Nuh (Noah), including not only Krishna the Yādava but also Rāma of the solar line. In this pedigree the Musalmān element is later than the others: but the attempt to combine the solar and lunar lines is a sure sign that the Samma clan was not of Hindu origin, and that it came under Hindu influence fairly late though before Sindh became a Musalmān province. This being admitted it follows that the Sammas were one of the numerous tribes that entered India during the existence of the Turkish empire in Transoxiana (A.D. 560 - c. 750). In this connection it is noteworthy that some of the Jāms bore such Turkish names as Tamāchi, Tughlik, and Sanjār.

The migration of the Sammas to Kacch is ascribed by the *Tarikh-i-Tahiri* (A.D. 1621) to the tyranny of the Sūmra chiefs. The Sammas found Kacch in the possession of the Chāwara, who treated them kindly, and whom they requited by seizing the fort of Gūntrī by a stratagem similar to that which brought about the fall of Gīrnār.

The date of the Chūdāsammā settlement at Vanthāl is usually fixed on traditional evidence, at about A.D. 875, but there is reason to think that this date is rather too early. In the first place it is worthy of notice that Chūdāchandra, the traditional eponym of the family, is in the *Tuhfat-ul-Kirām* made a son of Jādam (Yādava) and only a great-grandson of Krishna himself, a fact which suggests that, if not entirely mythical, he was at all events a very distant ancestor of Mūlārāja's opponent Grahāri, and was not an actual ruler of Vanthāl. As regards Grahāri's father Viśvavarāha and his grandfather Mūlārāja, there is no reason to doubt that they were real persons, although it is very questionable whether the Chūdāsammās were settled in Kāthiāvāda in their time. In the first place, the Morbi grant of Jāikadava shows that the Jethvās had not been driven southwards before A.D. 907. Secondly Dharanivarāha's Vadhvān grant proves that the Chāpa family of Bhīnmāl were still supreme in Kāthiāvāda in A.D. 914: whereas the *Tarikh-i-Tahiri*'s account of the Chūdāsammā conquest of Kacch implies that the Chāwara, who must be identified with the Chāpas of Bhīnmāl, were losing their power when the Chūdāsammās captured Gūntrī, an event which must have preceded the settlement at Vanthāl in Kāthiāvāda. Beyond the fact that Mūlārāja Solānki transferred the capital to Anahilavāda in A.D. 942, we know nothing of the events which led to the break-up of the Bhīnmāl empire. But it is reasonable to suppose that between A.D. 920 and 940 the Chāpas gradually lost ground and the Chūdāsammās were able first to conquer Sindh and then to settle in Kāthiāvāda. — A. M. T. J.]

[Kāthiāvāda contains three peculiar and associated classes of Hindus, the Mers, the Jethvās, and the Jhālās. The Mers and the Jethvās stand to each other in the relation of vassal and lord. The Jhālās are connected with the Jethvās by origin history and alliance. The bond

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of union between the three classes is not only that they seem to be of foreign that is of non-Hindu origin, but whether or not they belong to the same swarm of northern invaders, that they all apparently entered Káthiávāda either by land or sea through Sindh and Kacch. So far as record or tradition remains the Mers and Jethvās reached Káthiávāda in the latter half of the fifth century after Christ, and the Jhálās, and perhaps a second detachment of Mers and Jethvās, some three hundred years later.¹ The three tribes differ widely in numbers and in distribution. The ruling Jethvās are a small group found solely in south-west Káthiávāda.² The Jhálās, who are also known as Makvānas, are a much larger clan. They not only fill north-east Káthiávāda, but from Káthiávāda, about A.D. 1500, spread to Rajputāna and have there established a second Jhálāvāda,³ where, in reward for their devotion to the Sesodia Rāja of Mewād in his struggles with the Emperor Akbar (A.D. 1580-1600), the chief was given a daughter of the Udepur family and raised to a high position among Rājputs.⁴ The Mers are a numerous and widespread race. They seem to be the sixth to tenth century Medhs, Meds, Mandi, or Mins of Baluchistan, South-Sindh, Kacch, and Káthiávāda.⁵ Further they seem to be the Mers of Mewāda or Medapattā in Rajputāna⁶ and of Mairvāda in Málava,⁷ and also to be the Musalmān Meos and Minas of Northern India.⁸ In Gujarāt

¹ According to the Káthiawār Gazetteer pages 110 and 278, the first wave reached about A.D. 650 and the second about 250 years later. Dr. Bhagvānī's identification of the Mers with the Maitrakas would take back their arrival in Káthiávāda from about A.D. 650 to about A.D. 450. The Mers were again formidable in Gujarāt in the late ninth and early tenth centuries. In A.D. 867 (see above Pages 127 and 130) the Rashtrakūṭa Dhruva II. checked an invader of a Mihira king with a powerful army. Again in A.D. 914 the Rashtrakūṭa Indra in a moment uprooted the Mēr (Ditto).

² The Ain-i-Akbari (Gladwin, II. 69) notices that the sixth division of Saurashtra, which was almost impervious by reason of mountain rivers and woods, was (A.D. 1580) inhabited by the tribe Chetore that is Jethvā.

³ Of the Jhálās or Chhalās the Ain-i-Akbari (Gladwin, II. 64) has: Chhalwārah (in north-east Káthiávāda) formerly independent and inhabited by the tribe of Chhalā.

⁴ Tod's Annals of Rajasthan, II. 113.

⁵ Elliot and Dowson, I. 114 and 519-531. It is noted in the text that to the Arab invaders of the eighth and ninth centuries the Medhs of Hind were the chief people of Káthiávāda both in Sorāth in the south and in Mālā in the north. They were as famous by sea as by land. According to Belāduri (A.D. 950) (Reinaud's Mémoires Sur l'Inde, 234-235) the Moys of Saurashtra and Kacch were sailors who lived on the sea and sent fleets to a distance. The Khurādān (A.D. 912) and Idriat (A.D. 1100), probably from the excellent Aldjayhāni (Reinaud's Abulfeda, ixiii, and Elliot, I. 79), have the form Mand. Elliot, I. 14. The form Mand survives in a musical name popular in Rajputāna, which is also called Rajewāri. The Mand is like the Central Asian Mustamad (K. S. Fazlullah Lutfallah.)

⁶ Indian Antiquary, VI. 191.

⁷ Rajputāna Gazetteer, I. 11.

⁸ Rajputāna Gazetteer, I. 66; North-West Province Gazetteer, III. 265; Bhattacharya's Panjab Census page 261. Some of these identifications are doubtful. Dr. Bhagvānī in the text (21 Note 6 and 33) distinguishes between the Mevas or Medas whom he identifies as northern immigrants of about the first century A.C. and the Mers. This view is in agreement with the remark in the Rajputāna Gazetteer, I. 66, that the Mers have been supposed to be a relic of the Indo-Skythian Mōs. Again Tod (Annals of Rajasthan, I. 9) derives Mewāda from *medhava* (Sk.) middle, and the Mer of Mewāda from *meru* a hill. In support of Tod's view it is to be noted that the forts Balmer Jaisalmer Kotalmer and Ajmer, which Pandit Bhagvānī would derive from the personal names of Mer leaders, are all either hill forts or rocks (Annals, I. 11, and Note 7). It is, on the other hand, to be noted that no hill forts out of this particular tract of country are called Mers, and that the similar names Kōli and Mālava, which with equal probability as Meds might be derived from Kōli and Mālā hill, seem to be tribal not geographical names.

their strength is much greater than the 30,000 or 40,000 returned as Mers. One branch of the tribe is hidden under the name Koli; another has disappeared below the covering of Islām.¹

Formerly except the vague contention that the Medhās, Jhetvās, and Jhala-Makvāns were northerners of somewhat recent arrival little evidence was available either to fix the date of their appearance in Kāthiāvāḍa or to determine to which of the many swarms of non-Hindu Northerners they belonged.² This point Dr. Bhagvānlāl's remarks in the text go far to clear. The chief step is the identification of the Mers with the Maitrakas, the ruling power in Kāthiāvāḍa between the decline of the Guptas about A.D. 470 and the establishment of Valabhi rule about sixty years later. And further that they fought at the same time against the same Hindu rulers and that both are described as foreigners and northerners favours the identification of the

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The Mers.

¹ The tales cited in the Ras Mālā (I. 103) prove that most of the Kolis between Gujerāt and Kāthiāvāḍa are Mairs. That till the middle of the tenth century the south-east of Kāthiāvāḍa was held by Medhas (Kath. Gazetteer, 672) supports the view that the Kolis, whom about A.D. 1180 (Tod's Western India, I. 265) the Gōlīs drove out of the island of Piram, were Medhas, and this is in agreement with Isāriā (A.N. I. 30 Elliot, I. 83) who calls both Piram and the Medhas by the name Maud. Similarly some of the Koli clans of Kacch (Gazetteer, 70) seem to be descended from the Medhas. And according to Mr. Dalpatram Khakhar three subdivisions of Brahmo-Bahātrās, of which the best known are the Manvira Mers and the Pipali Mers, maintain the surname Mair or Mer. (Cutch Gazetteer, 32 note 2.) Mera or Mehra is a common surname among Sindhi Baluchis. Many of the best Mussalman captains and pilots from Kāthiāvāḍa, Kacch, and the Makran coast still have Mer as a surname. Mer is also a favourite name among both Khojās and Memāns, the two special classes of Kāthiāvāḍa converts to Islām. The Khojās explain the name as meaning Meher All the friend of All; the Memāns also explain Mer as Meher or friend. But as among Memāns Mer is a common name for women as well as for men the word can hardly mean friend. The phrase Merāl or Lady Mer applied to Memān mothers seems to have its origin in the Rajput practice of calling the wife by the name of her caste or tribe as Kāthiānīhāl, Merānīhāl. In the case both of the Khojās and the Memāns the name Mer seems to be the old tribal name continued because it yielded itself to the uses of Islām. Meher, Mihr, and Mahur are also used as titles of respect. The Khāt Kolis of Girār, apparently a mixture of the Maitrakas of the text and of a local hill tribe, still (Kāthiāvāḍa Gazetteer, 142) honour their leaders with the name Mer explaining the title by the Gujarātī word the main bead in a rosary. Similarly in Mālvā a Gurjjarā title is Mihr (Rajputāna Gazetteer, I. 80) and in the Panjāb Mahar (Gazetteer of Panjāb, Gujerāt, 50-51). And in Kacch the headman among the Bharwāds, who according to some accounts are Gurjjarā, is called Mir (Cutch Gazetteer, 81). Similarly among the Bahārīs of Kacch the name of the holy she-camel is Māta Meri. (Idem, 50.) All these terms of respect are probably connected with Mihrā, Sun.

² Compare Tod (Western India, 420): Though enrolled among the thirty-six royal races we may assert the Jethvās have become Hindu only from locality and circumstance. Of the Jhālās Tod says (Rajasthan, I. 113): As the Jhālās are neither Sōlar Lunne nor Agnikūls they must be strangers. Again (Western India, 414): The Jhālā Makvāns are a branch of Hōmas. Of the name Makvāns (Kāthiāvāḍa Gazetteer, 111; Ras Mālā, I. 297) two explanations may be offered, either that the word comes from Māk the dowry tracts in Central Kacch (Cutch Gazetteer, 75 note 2) where (Kāthiāvāḍa Gazetteer, 420) the Jhālās stopped when the Mers and Jethvās passed south, or that Makvāns represents Mauna a Puranic name for the Hōmas (Wilson's Works, IV. 207). Tod's and Wilford's (Asiatic Researches, IX. 287) suggestion that Makvāns is Mahāhūma is perhaps not phonetically possible. At the same time that the Makvāns are a comparatively recent tribe of northerners is supported by the ascendancy in the fourteenth century in the Himalāyas of Makvāns (Hodgson's Essays, I. 397; Government of India Selections XLVII. 54 and 119) who used the Indo-Skythian title Sāk (Idem). With the Nepal Makvāns may be compared the Makpons or army-men the caste of the chief of Kāliśān or Little Tibet. Vigne's Kashmir, II. 258, 432.

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White Hūgas.

power of the Maitrakas with the North Indian empire of the Epthalites, Yethas, or White Hūgas.¹

Though the sameness in name between the Mihiras and Mihirakula (A.D. 508-530), the great Indian champion of the White Hūgas, may not imply sameness of tribe it points to a common sun-worship.²

That the Multān sun-worship was introduced under Sassanian influence is supported by the fact (Wilson's *Ariana Antiqua*, 357) that the figure of the sun on the fifth century Hindu sun coins is in the dress of a Persian king: that the priests who performed the Multān sun-worship were called Magas; and by the details of the dress and ritual in the account of the introduction of sun-worship given in the Bhavishya Purāna.³ That the Meyds or Mandas had some share in its introduction is supported by the fact that the Purāna names the third or Sudra class of the sun-worshippers Mandagas.⁴ That the Meyds were associated with the Magas is shown by the mention of the Magas as Mihiragas.⁵ The third class whom the Bhavishya Purāna associates with the introduction of sun-worship are the Mānas who

¹ The evidence in support of the statement that the Maitrakas and Hūgas fought at the same time against the same Hindu rulers is given in the text. One of the most important passages is in the grant of Dhruvasena III. (Epig. Ind. I. 82 (A.D. 653-4)) the reference to Bhastarka the founder of Valabhi (A.D. 509-520) meeting in battle the matchless armies of the Maitrakas.

² Mr. Fleet (Epigraphia Indica, III. 327 and note 12) would identify Mihirakula's tribe with the Maitrakas. More recent evidence shows that his and his father Toromana's tribe was the Jāuvlas. That the White Hūgas or other associated tribes were sun-worshippers appears from a reference in one of Mihirakula's inscriptions (Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, III. 161) to the building of a specially fine temple of the sun; and from the fact that in Kashmir Mihirakula founded a city Mihirapura and a temple to Mihirashwar. (Darmstadter in Journal Asiatique, X. 70; Fleet in Indian Antiquary, XV. 242-252.) Mihirakula's (A.D. 508-530) sun-worship may have been the continuance of the Kushan (A.D. 50-150) worship of Mithra or Helios (Wilson's *Ariana Antiqua*, 357). At the same time the fact that Mihirakula uses the more modern form Mihir makes it probable (Compare Rawlinson's *Seventh Monarchy*, 284) that Mihirakula's sun-worship was more directly the result of the spread of sun-worship in Central Asia under the fiercely propagandist Sassanians Varnhan V. or Behram Gur (A.D. 420-440), and his successors Indigird II. (A.D. 440-467), and Perozes (A.D. 457-483). The extent to which Zoroastrian influence pervaded the White Hūgas is shown by the Persian names not only of Mihirakula but of Kushnawaz (A.D. 470-490) the great emperor of the White Hūgas the overthrower of Perozes. That this Indian sun-worship, which, at latest, from the seventh to the tenth century made Multān so famous was not of local origin is shown by the absence of reference to sun-worship in Multān in the accounts of Alexander the Great. Its foreign origin is further shown by the fact that in the time of Bernot (A.D. 1020) Eschen's Edition, I. 119) the priests were called Maghas and the image of the sun was clad in a northern dress falling to the ankles. It is remarkable as illustrating the Hindu readiness to adopt priests of conquering tribes into the ranks of Brahmins that the surname Magha survives (Cutch Gazetteer, 52 note 2) among Shrinālī Brahmins. These Maghas are said to have married Bhoja or Rajput girls and to have become the Brahman Bhojaks of Dwarka. Even the Mandas who had Saka wives, whose descendants were named Mandagas, obtained a share in the temple ceremonies. Reinand's *Mémoires Sur l'Inde*, 393.

³ Wilson's *Vishnu Purāna* Preface xxxix. in Reinand's *Mémoires Sur l'Inde*, 391. Details are given in Wilson's Works, X. 381-385.

⁴ Reinand's *Mémoires Sur l'Inde*, 393; Wilson's Works, X. 382.

⁵ The name Mihiraga is explained in the Bhavishya Purāna as derived from their ancestress a daughter of the sage Rigu or Rishabhva of the race named Mihira (Reinand's *Mémoires Sur l'Inde*, 393; Wilson's Works, X. 382). The name Mihiraga suggests that the spread of sun-worship in the Panjāb and Sindh, of which the sun-worship in Multān Sindh Kathiāwāda and Mewād and the fire-worshipping Rajput and Sindh coins of the fifth and sixth centuries are evidence, was helped by the spread of Sassanian influence.

are given a place between the Magas and the Maads. The association of the Mānas with the Mihiras or Maitrakas suggests that Māna is Mauna a Purāṇik name for the White Hūnas.¹ That the Multān sun idol of the sixth and seventh centuries was a Hūna idol and Multān the capital of a Hūna dynasty seems in agreement with the paramount position of the Rāis of Alor or Rori in the sixth century. Though their defeat by Yeodharman of Mālwa about A.D. 540 at the battle of Karur, sixty miles east of Multān, may have ended Hūna supremacy in north and north-west India it does not follow that authority at once forsook the Hūnas. Their widespread and unchallenged dominion in North India, the absence of record of any reverse later than the Karur defeat, the hopelessness of any attempt to pass out of India in the face of the combined Turk and Sassanian forces make it probable that the Hūnas and their associated tribes, adopting Hinduism and abandoning their claim to supremacy, settled in west and north-west India. This view finds support in the leading place which the Hūnas and Hāra-Hūnas, the Maitrakas or Mers, and the Gurjjaras hold in the centuries that follow the overthrow of the White Hūna empire. According to one rendering of Cosmas² (A.D. 525) the chief of Orrhotha or Sorath in common with several other coast rulers owed allegiance to Gollas, apparently, as is suggested at page 75 of the text, to Gulla or Mihirgulla the Indian Emperor of the White Hūnas. These details support the view that the Maitrakas, Mihiras, or Mers who in Cosmas' time were in power in Kāthi-vāda, and to whose ascendancy during the seventh and eighth centuries both the Chinese pilgrim Hsien Tsiang (A.D. 612-640) and the Arab historians of Sindh bear witness, were a portion of the great White Hūna invasion (A.D. 480-530).³ In the many recorded swarmings south from

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into Baluchistan, Kaech-Gandevi and other parts of western Sindh, through Sakastene the modern western Seistan near the lake Helmund. This Sakastene or land of the Sakas received its name from the settlement in it of one of the earlier waves of the Yuchhi in the second or first century before Christ. The name explains the statement in the Bhavishya Purāṇa that sun-worship was introduced by Magas into Multān from Sakastene the land of the Sakas. In this connection it is interesting to note that Darmatoter (Zend Avesta, xxiv.) holds that the Zend Avesta was probably completed during the reign of Shāhpār II. (A.D. 309-379); that (lxxxix.) Zend was a language of eastern Persia an earlier form of Pashtu; and that (lxxxiv.) western Seistan and the Helmund river was the holy land of the Avesta the birth-place of Zoroaster and the scene of King Vishtasp's triumphs. A memory of the spread of this western or Sassanian influence remains in the reference in the Mujmalat-T-Tawārīkh in Elliot, I. 107-109, to the five temples established in Kandahar (Gandevi) and Buddha (Nasarna) by Mahra a general of Bahman that is of Varahran V. (A.D. 420-440). It seems probable that Mahra is Mehr the family name or the title (Rawlinson's Sassanian Monarchy, 224 note 4 and 312) of the great Mihran family of Persian nobles. The general in question may be the Mehr-Narseh the minister of Varahran's son and successor Isdigerd II. (A.D. 440-457), who enforced Zoroastrianism in Armenia (Rawlinson, Ditto 305-308). Mehr's success may be the origin of the Indian stories of Varahran's visit to Mālwa. It may further be the explanation of the traces of fire temples and towers of silence noted by Pottinger (1810) in Baluchistan (Travels, 126-127) about sixty miles west of Khelat.

¹ Wilson's Works, IX. 207.

² Compare Prinsip's Embassies, 222.

³ The White Hūnas overran Bakhtria and the country of the Yuchhi between A.D. 450 and 460. About a hundred years later they were crushed between the advancing Turks and the Sassanian Chosroes I. or Naushirvan (A.D. 537-590). Rawlinson's Sassanian Monarchy, 420; Specht in Journal Asiatique (1883) Tom II. 349-350. The Hūna supremacy in North India did not last beyond A.D. 530 or 540. The overthrow of their

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Central Asia into Persia and India no feature is commoner than the leading of the conquered by certain families of the conquering tribe. Chinese authorities place it beyond doubt that when, towards the middle of the fifth century A.D., the White Hūnas crossed the Oxus they found in power a cognate tribe of northerners whose date of settlement on the Indian frontier was less than a century old. This preceding swarm was the Yuān-Yuān, Var-Var, or Avār, who, about the close of the fourth century (A.D. 380), had driven from Balkh southwards into the Kabul valley Kitolo the last ruler of the long established Yuetchi (B.C. 50-A.D. 380).¹ It is known that in retreating before the Yuān-Yuān a division of the Baktrian Yuetchi, under the leadership of Kitolo's son, under the name of the Kidāras or Little Yuetchi, established their power in Gandhāra and Peshāwar.² This Kidāra invasion must have driven a certain share of the people of the Kabul valley to the east of the Indus. The invasion of the White Hūnas a century later, who were welcomed as allies by some of the Panjāb chiefs,³ would cause fresh movements among the frontier tribes. The welcome given to the Hūnas, and the show and dash which marked their century of ascendancy in India and Persia, make it probable that as leaders they conducted south as far as Kāthiavāḍa and Malava large bodies of the earlier northern settlers. To which of the waves of earlier northerners the Medhs belonged is doubtful.⁴ The view held by Pandit Bhagvānlāl that one branch of the Medhs entered India in the first century before Christ among the tribes of which the great Yuetchi were the chief is on the whole in agreement with General Cunningham's argument that Medus Hydraspes, Virgil's phrase for the Jhalum, proves that the Medhs were then (B.C. 40) already settled on its banks.⁵

supremacy perhaps dates from A.D. 540 the battle of Karur about sixty miles east of Māltān, their conqueror being Yaśodharman of Māhwa the second of the three great Vikramādityas of Māhwa. Of the Hūnas' position among Hindu castes Colonel Tod says: The Hūnas are one of the Skyths who have got a place among the thirty-six races of India. They probably came along with the Kāthi, Bala, and Malvāna of Saurāṣṭra. Tod's *Annals of Rajasthan*, I. 110.

¹ Specht in *Journal Asiatique* (1883), II. 348.

² Specht in *Journal Asiatique* (1883), II. 349.

³ Compare above Chapter VII, page 73 note 3.

⁴ Dr. Bhagvānlāl (Text, 23) traces one set of Medhs to the Mevas the tribe of Yaśmodita the father of the Kshatras Chasitana (A.D. 130). He holds these Mevas entered India (21) with the Malayas, Palhavas, and Abhiras about B.C. 150 (?) At the same time he seems to have considered these early Mevas different from the fifth and sixth century Mihiras and from the seventh and eighth century Malha.

⁵ Arch. Report for 1883-84, II. 62. In support of this Cunningham cites Ptolemy's (A.D. 150) Euthymedia that is Sagala, sixty miles north-west of Lahor, and the Media of Ptolemy's Tables (A.D. 400). This Euthymedia is a corruption of the original Euthymedia the name given to Sagala by Demetrius (B.C. 190) the great Greco-Baktrian in honour of his father Euthymenos (Compare Text page 16 and McCrindle's Ptolemy, 124). Of the cause of this change of name, which may be only a clerical error, two different explanations have been offered. Tod (*An. of Rajn.* I. 223) would make the new form Yuthi-media the Middle Yuthi. Cunningham (*Arch. Surv. Rep.* II. 53) would attribute it to the southward migration towards Sindh about A.D. 50 of the Kushān-pressed horde which under Moas or Megha came from Little Tibet and entered the Panjāb either by way of Kashmir or down the Swāt valley. According to General Cunningham (*Ibid.* 53) the followers of this Moas were Mandrueni called after the Mandrus river south of the Oxus. The two forms Medh and Mand are due to the cerebral which explains the Minnagarsa of Ptolemy and the Periplus; Masudi's (A.D. 915) Mind and Ibn Khurad-

Dr. Bhagvánlal's view that the Jethvās are Medhs ennobled by long overlordship is somewhat doubtfully shared by Colonel Watson¹ and is not inconsistent with Tod's opinions.² Still though the Hindu ruler-worship, which, as in the case of the Marátha Sívājī, explains the raising to the twice-born of leaders of successful early and foreign tribes makes it possible that the Jethvās were originally Mers, it seems on the whole probable that the Jethvās' claim to an origin distinct from the Mers is well founded. The evidence recorded by Colonel Tod and the name Jethva led the late Dr. John Wilson to trace the Jethvās to the Jāts or Jits.³ According to the bards the name of the Kāthiāwāda tribe Jethva is derived from Jetha No. 85 or No. 95 of the Porbandar list, who was probably so called because he was born under the Jyeshtha constellation.⁴ The common practice of explaining a tribal name by inventing some name-giving chief deprives this derivation of most of its probability.⁵ In the present case it may further be noticed that the name Jethi is borne by two of the chiefs earlier than the Jetha referred to.⁶ In the absence of any satisfactory explanation the name Jethva suggests an origin in Yetha the shortened Chinese form of Yo-ta-i-li-to or Ephthalite the name of the ruling class of the White Hūnas.⁷ It is true that so good an authority as Specht⁸ holds that the shortened form Yetha is peculiar to the Chinese and was never in use. But the form Tetel or Haital, adopted by

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bha's (died A.D. 912) and Istia's (perhaps from Aldjahan) Mand (Elliot, I. 14 and 79, Reinud's Abulfeda, lxiii.); the present associated Mers and Mins in Rajputāna (Ditto, 59); and perhaps the Musalman Mees and Minas of the Panjab (Ibbotson's Census, 261).

¹ The Jethvās are closely allied to the Medhs (Kāth. Gaz. 138); they entered Kāthiāwāda along with the Medhs (Ditto, 278).

² The passages are somewhat contradictory. Tod (Western India, 413) says: Jethvās marry with Kāthiās, Ahirs, and Mers. In the Kāthiāwār Gazetteer (page 110) Colonel Barton seems to admit the Jethvās' claim to be of distinct origin from the Mers. In another passage he says (page 188): The Mers claim to be Jethvās; this the Jethvās deny. So also Colonel Watson in one passage (page 621) seems to favour a distinct origin while in another (page 279) he says: It seems probable the Jethvās are merely the ruling family Rājula of the Mers and that they are all of one tribe. Two points seem clear. The Jethvās are admitted to rank among Kāthiāwāda Rājputs and they formerly married with the Mers. The further question whether the Jethvās were originally of a distinct and higher tribe remains undetermined.

³ Bombay Administration Report for 1873. Colonel Tod made the same suggestion: Western India, 256. Compare Pottinger's (Travels in Baluchistan, 81) identification of the Jeths of Kacch-Gandevi north of Khelat with Jāts or Jits.

⁴ Tod's Western India, 413.

⁵ Compare Bühler in Epigraphia Indica, I. 204. Like the Chalukyas and other tribes the Jethvās trace the name Jethva to a name-giving chief. Of the Jethvās Tod says (Annals of Rajasthan, I. 114): The Jethvās have all the appearance of Skythian descent. As they make no pretension to belong to any of the old Indian races they may be a branch of Skythians. In his Western India (page 412), though confused by his identification of Śākha-dwāra with Sakotra instead of with Bet-Dwārka (compare Kāth. Gaz. 619), Tod still holds to a northern origin of the Jethvās.

⁶ Nos. 6 and 82 of Colonel Watson's List, Kāthiāwār Gazetteer, 621. The Pandit's evidence in the text ascribes to the somewhat doubtful Jālkadeva a date of A.D. 738 (Vikram 794); to Jāchikadeva a date of about A.D. 904 (Gupta 585); and to the Gāuli ruins a probable eleventh century. Tod (Western India, 417) traces the Jethvās further back putting the founding of Ghūmli or Bhūmli at about A.D. 692 (S. 749) the date of a settlement between the Thārs of Dehi and the Jethvās (Ditto, 411). Col. Watson (Kāth. Gaz. 278) gives either A.D. 650 or A.D. 900.

⁷ The form Yetha is used by the Chinese pilgrim Sung-yun A.D. 519. Beal's Buddhist Records, I. 30.

⁸ Journal Asiatique (1883), II. 519.

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White Hūnas.

Jhāla.

Armenian Musalman and Byzantine historians,¹ makes probable an Indian Yethāl or Jethāl if not a Yetha or Jetha. Nor does there seem any reason why Yetha the Chinese form of the word should not be more likely to be adopted in India than the western and otherwise less correct form Tetāl or Haithal. In any case the irregular change from a correct Yethāl to an incorrect Yetha cannot be considered of much importance, if, as seems likely, the change was made in order to give the word an Indian meaning.² The *r* in Jethva would come to be added when the origin from a chief named Jetha was accepted.

Another name for the White Hūnas, or for a section of the White Hūna swarm, is preserved by Cosmas³ in the form Juvia. This form, if it is not a misreading for Ounia or Hūna, suggests Jāuvla the recently identified name of the tribe ennobled in India by the great Toramāṇa (A.D. 450-500) and his son Mihirakula (A.D. 500-540), and of which a trace seems to remain in the Jāwla and Jhāwla divisions of Panjāb Gujjars.⁴ This Jāuvla, under such a fire baptism as would admit the holders of the name among Hindus, might be turned into Jvāla flaming and Jvāla be shortened to Jhāla. That Jhāla was formerly punningly connected with flame is shewn by a line from the bard Chand, 'The lord of the Ranās the powerful Jhāla like a flaming fire.'⁵ That the Kāthiāvāda bards were either puzzled by the name Jhāla or were unwilling to admit its foreign origin is shewn by the story preserved in the Rās Mālā,⁶ that the tribe got the name because the children of Hirpāl Makvāna, about to be crushed by an elephant, were snatched away *jhāla* by their witch-mother. It has been noticed in the text that the break in Gujarāt History between A.D. 480 and 520, agreeing with the term of Hūna supremacy in North India, seems to imply a similar supremacy in Gujarāt. The facts that up to the twelfth century Hūnas held a leading place in Gujarāt chronicles,⁷ and that while in Rajputāna and other parts of Northern India the traces of Huns are fairly widespread in Gujarāt they have almost if not altogether disappeared, support the view that the Hūna strain in Kāthiāvāda is hid under the names Mera, Jethva, and Jhāla.⁸

¹ Journal Asiatique (1883), II. 314.

² Compare for the chief's name Jetha, Colonel Watson Kath. Gaz. 622 in the Jyeshthā Nakshatra.

³ Priant's Embassies, 220; Migne's Patrologia Graeca Vol. 88 page 98.

⁴ Census of 1891. III. 116. A reference to the Jhauvlas is given above page 75 note 4. General Cunningham (Ninth Oriental Congress, I. 228-244) traces the tribe of Jhauvlas ruling in Sindh, Zabulistan or Ghazni, and Makran from the sixth to the eighth and ninth centuries.

⁵ Tod's Western India, 194 Note J. Tod adds: Chand abounds in such jou-de-mot on the names of tribes.

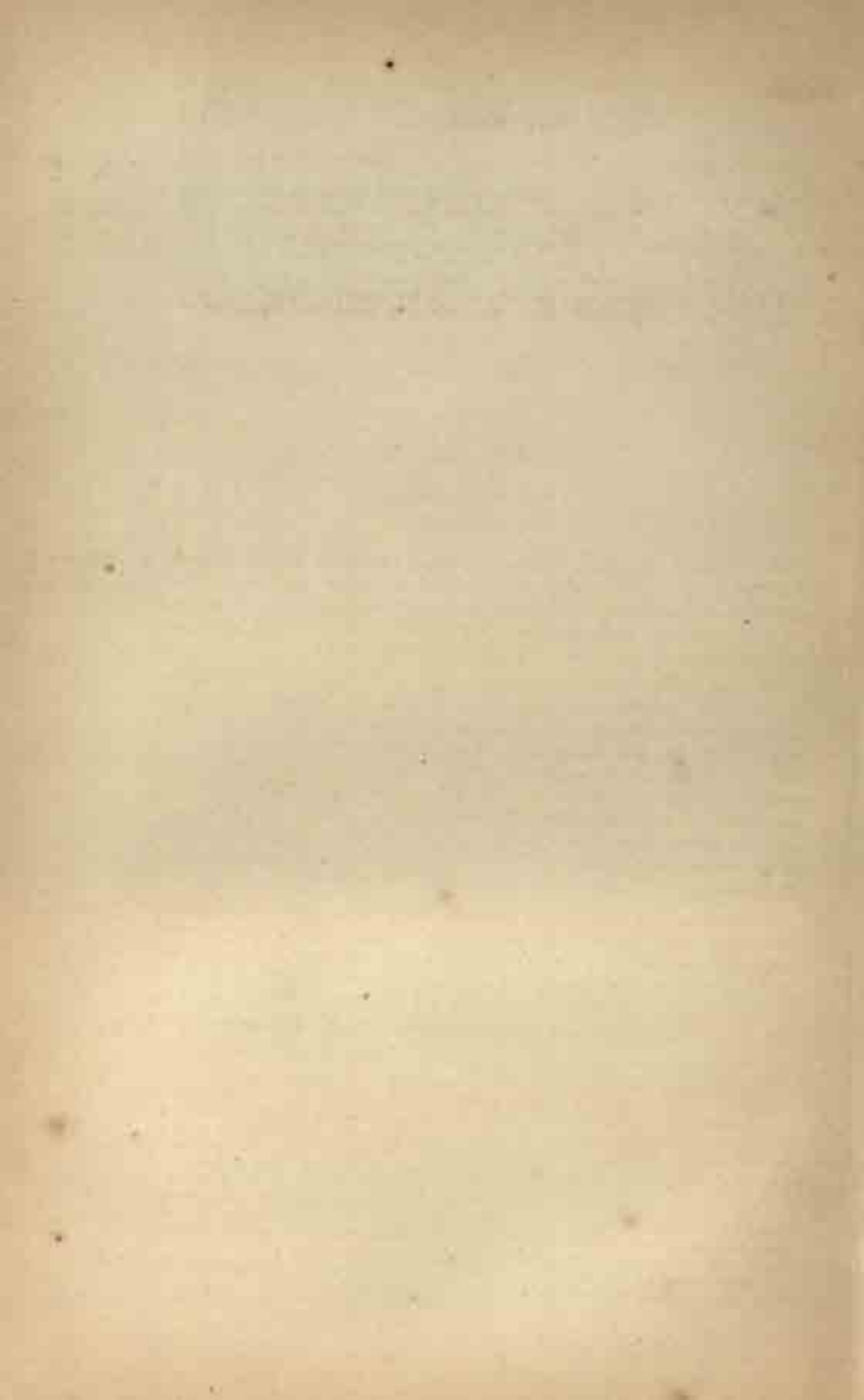
⁶ Rās Mālā, I. 302; Kāthiāwār Gazetteer, 111. ⁷ Tod's Annals of Rajasthan, I. 111.

⁸ Among references to Hūnas may be noted: In the Vāyu Purāṇa (Sachau's Alberuni, I. 300) in the west between Karnaprāvāna and Darva; in the Vishnu Purāṇa Hūnas between the Saindhavas and the Salvās (Wilson's Works, VII. 133 and 134 Note †); in the eighth century Ungutsi lord of the Hūnas who helped Chitor (Tod's Annals, II. 457); in the Khichi bard Mogji, traditions of many powerful Hūna kings in India (Tod's Annals, I. 111 Note †) among them the Hūna chief of Baroli (Ditto, II. 706); and Rāja Hūna of the Pramāra race who was lord of the Pathār or plateau of Central India (Ditto, II. 457).

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In the Middle Ages the Hūnas were considered Kshatriyas and Kshatriyas married Hūna wives (Wilson's Works, VII. 134 Note f). Of existing traces in the Panjab may be noted Hon and Hona Rājputs and Gujjars, Hona Jats, Hon Labānas, Hon Lohars, Honi Malis, Hon Mochis, Hūna Barbers, and Haun Bahāris (Panjab Census, 1891, III. pages 116, 139, 227, 233, 246, 265, 276, 305, 315). The only traces Colonel Tod succeeded in finding in Gujarat were a few Hūna huts at a village opposite Umetha on the gulf of Cambay, a second small colony near Somanātha and a few houses at Trisauli five miles from Baroda. (Western India, 247, 323.) Since 1825 these traces have disappeared.



PART II.

THE KINGDOM OF ANAHILAVĀDA.

A.D. 720-1300.

CHAPTER I.

THE CHĀVADĀS

(A.D. 720-956.)

The history embodied in the preceding chapters is more or less fragmentary, pieced together from coins, stone and copperplate inscriptions, local traditions, and other similar sources. A history based on such materials alone must of necessity be imperfect, leaving blanks which it may be hoped fresh details will gradually fill.

The rise of the Anahilavāda kingdom (A.D. 720) marks a new period of Gujarāt history regarding which materials are available from formal historical writings.¹ Though this section of Gujarāt history begins with the establishment of Anahilavāda by the Chāvadās (A.D. 720-956) the details for the earlier portions are very imperfect being written during the time of the Chālukya or Solāhki (A.D. 957-1242) successors of the Chāvadās. The chief sources of information regarding the earlier period of Chāvadā rule are the opening chapters of the Prabandhachintāmaṇi, Vichārāreṇi, Sukṛitasankīrtana, and Ratnamālā.²

Before the establishment of Anahilavāda a small Chāvadā chiefship centred at Pañchāsar, now a fair-sized village in Vadhuār between Gujarāt and Kacch.³ The existence of a Chāvadā chiefship at Pañchāsar is proved by the Navsārī grant dated Samvat 490 (A.D. 788-89) of the Gujarāt Chālukya king Pulikeśī Janāsraya. This grant in recording the triumphant progress of an army of Tājikas or Arabs

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THE CHĀVADĀS,
A.D. 720-956.

Pañchāsar,
A.D. 788.

¹ The following manuscript histories have been used in preparing Part II. Hemachandra's Dvyāstrayakāvya, Merutunga's Prabandhachintāmaṇi, Merutunga's Vichārāreṇi, Jinaprabhānādi's Tīrthakalpā, Jinamandanaśāstrya's Kumārapāda-prabandha, Kṛishṇa-rishi's Kumārapāla-charita, Kṛishṇabhaṭṭa's Ratnamālā, Somēśvara's Kīrtikūmudī, Arisinha's Sukṛitasankīrtana, Rājasekhara's Chaturvīratiprabandha, Vastupāla-charita, and published and unpublished inscriptions from Gujarāt and Kathiāvāda.

² The Prabandhachintāmaṇi is a short historical compilation; the Vichārāreṇi, though a mere list of kings, is more reliable; the Ratnamālā is a poetic history with good descriptions and many fables taken from the Prabandhachintāmaṇi, the Sukṛitasankīrtana is a short work largely borrowed from the Vichārāreṇi.

³ This is apparently Viddhi Ahārā or the Viddhi Collectorate, probably called after some village or town of that name.

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from Sindh to Navsári and mentioning the kingdoms "afflicted" by the Arabs, names the Chávotakas next after the kings of Kacch and Sauráshtra. These Chávotakas can be no other than the Chávadás of Pañchásar on the borders of Kacch. The Chávadás of Pañchásar do not appear to have been important rulers. At the most they seem to have held Vadhiár and part of the north coast of Káthiáwád. Whatever be the origin of the name Chávadá, which was afterwards Sanskritised into the high-sounding Chápotkata or Strongbow, it does not seem to be the name of any great dynasty. The name very closely resembles the Gujaráti Chor (Prakrit Chautá or Chorátá) meaning thieves or robbers; and Jávadá, which is a further corruption of Chávadá, is the word now in use in those parts for a thief or robber. Except the mention of the Chávotakas in the Navsári copperplate we do not find the Chávadás noticed in any known cotemporary Gujarát copperplates. For this reason it seems fair to regard them as unimportant rulers over a territory extending from Pañchásar to Aqahilaváda.

Jayasékharā,
A.D. 696.

The author of the Ratnamálá (c. 1230 A.D.) says that in A.D. 696 (S. 752) Jayasékharā the Chávadá king of Pañchásar was attacked by the Chaulukya king Bhuváda of Kalyánakataka in Kanyákubja or Kanoj and slain by Bhuváda in battle. Before his death Jayasékharā, finding his affairs hopeless, sent his pregnant wife Rupasundari to the forest in charge of her brother Sumpála, one of his chief warriors. After Jayasékharā's death Rupasundari gave birth to a son named Vanarāja who became the illustrious founder of Aqahilaváda. It is hard to say how much truth underlies this tradition. In the seventh century not Chaulukya but Pála kings flourished in Kanoj. No place of importance called Kalyánakataka is recorded in the Kanoj territory. And though there was a southern Chálukya kingdom with its capital at Kalyán, its establishment at Kalyán was about the middle of the eleventh not in the seventh century. Further the known Dakhan Chálukya lists contain no king named Bhuváda, unless he be the great Chálukya king Vijayáditya (A.D. 696-733) also called Bhuvanásraya, who warred in the north and was there imprisoned but made his escape. The inference is that the author of the Ratnamálá, knowing the Solankis originally belonged to a city called Kalyán, and knowing that a Chálukya king named Bhuváda had defeated the Chávadás may have called Bhuváda king of Kalyánakataka and identified Kalyánakataka with a country so well known to Purānik fame as Kanyákubja. This view is supported by the absence in the Prahandha-chintāmaṇi and other old records of any mention of an invasion from Kanoj. It is possible that in A.D. 696 some king Bhuváda of the Gujarát Chálukyās, of whom at this time branches were ruling as far north as Kaira,¹ invaded the Chávadás under Jayasékharā. Since traces of a Chávotaka kingdom remain, at least as late as A.D. 720, it seems probable that the destruction of Pañchásar was caused not by Bhuváda in A.D. 696, but in the Arab raid mentioned above whose date falls about A.D. 720.² About A.D. 720 may therefore be taken as the date

¹ See above page 102.

² See above page 109.

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of the birth of Vanarāja. Merutunga the author of the Prabandha-chintāmaṇi tells how Rupaśundarī was living in the forest swinging her son in a hammock, when a Jain priest named Śīlaguṇasūri noticing as he passed royal marks on the boy bought him from his mother. The story adds that a nun named Vīramatī brought up the boy whom the *sādhu* called Vanarāja or the forest king. When eight years old, the priest employed Vanarāja to protect his place of worship from rats. The boy's skill in shooting rats convinced the priest he was not fit to be a *sādhu* but was worthy of a kingdom. He therefore returned the boy to his mother. These details seem invented by the Jains in their own honour. No mention of any such story occurs in the Ratnamālā.¹

In the forests where Vanarāja passed his youth lived his maternal uncle Surapāla, one of Jayasēkhara's generals, who, after his sovereign's defeat and death, had become an outlaw. Vanarāja grew up under Surapāla's charge. The Prabandha-chintāmaṇi records the following story of the origin of Vanarāja's wealth. A Kanyākubja king married Mahā-pakā the daughter of a Gujarāt king. To receive the proceeds of the marriage cess which the Gujarāt king had levied from his subjects, a deputation or *pañchākūla* came from Kanyākubja to Gujarāt. The deputation made Vanarāja their leader or *sellabhrīt* to realize the proceeds of the cess. In six months Vanarāja collected 24 *lākhs* of *Paṇṭha drammaś* and 4000 horse, which the deputation took and started for Kanyākubja. Vanarāja waylaid and killed them, secured the money and horses, and remained in hiding for a year. With the wealth thus acquired Vanarāja enrolled an army and established his power assuming the title of king. He fixed the site of a capital which afterwards rose to be the great city of Anahilapura. The story of the choice of the site is the usual story of a hunted hare turning on the hounds showing the place to be the special nurse of strength and courage. Vanarāja is said to have asked a Bharvād or Shepherd named Anahila son of Sākhadā to show him the best site. Anahila agreed on condition that the city should be called by his name. Anahila accordingly showed Vanarāja the place where a hare had attacked and chased a dog. Though much in this tradition is fabulous the city may have been called after some local chief since it was popularly known as Anahilavāda (Sk. Anahilavāta) that is the place of Anahila. In the Prabandha-chintāmaṇi Merutunga gives A.D. 746 (S. 802) as the date of the installation of Vanarāja, while in his Vichārasreni the same author gives A.D. 765 (S. 821 Vaisakha Śukla 2) as the date of the foundation of the city. The discrepancy may be explained by taking A.D. 746 (S. 802) to refer to the date of Vanarāja's getting money enough to fix the site of his capital, and A.D. 765 (S. 821) to refer to the date of his installation in the completed Anahilavāda. Local tradition connects the date A.D. 746 (S. 802) with an image of Ganpati which is said to be as old as the establishment of the city and

Vanarāja,
A.D. 720-790 (?).Founding of
Anahilavāda,
A.D. 746-765.

¹ In the Satyapurakalpa of his Tīrthākalpa, Jinaprabhasūri tells an almost identical story of another king.

² This name often recurs in Jain works. These would seem to be Kalatrāpa coins as Gadhadra coins are simply called *drummas*.

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A.D. 720-956.Founding of
Anahilavāda,
A.D. 746-766.

to bear the date 802. But as the letters of the inscription on the image can be made out by ordinary readers they cannot have been inscribed at nearly so early a date as 802. A.D. 765 (S. 821), the year given in the *Vichāśreṇi*, seems the more probable date for the installation as the *Prabandhaśhīntāmāni* says that Vanarāja got himself installed at Anahilapura when he was about fifty. This accords with the date fixed on other grounds. Placing Vanarāja's birth at about A.D. 720 would make him 44 in A.D. 765 (S. 821) the date at which according to the *Vichāśreṇi* he was formally installed as sovereign of Anahilavāda. Merutunga in both his works gives the length of Vanarāja's life at 109 and of his reign at sixty years. The figure 60 seems to mark the length of his life and not of his reign. So long a reign as sixty years is barely possible for a sovereign who succeeded late in life, and the 109 years of his life can hardly be correct. Taking Vanarāja's age at 45 when he was installed in A.D. 765 (S. 821) and allowing fifteen years more to complete the sixty years A.D. 780 (S. 836) would be the closing year of his reign.

Vanarāja's
Installation.

The *Prabandhaśhīntāmāni* narrates how generously Vanarāja rewarded those who had helped him in his adversity. His installation was performed by a woman named Śrī Devī of Kākara village whom in fulfilment of an early promise Vanarāja had taken to be his sister.¹ The story regarding the promise is that once when Vanarāja had gone with his uncle on a thieving expedition to Kākara village and had broken into the house of a merchant he by mistake dipped his hand into a pot of curds. As to touch curds is the same as to dine at a house as a guest, Vanarāja left the house without taking anything from it.² Hearing what had happened the merchant's sister invited Vanarāja as a brother to dinner and gave him clothes. In return Vanarāja promised if he ever regained his father's kingdom he should receive his installation as king at her hands.³ Vanarāja chose as minister a Banīa named Jāmā. The story is that while Vanarāja was looting with two others he came across a merchant Jāmā who had five arrows. Seeing only three enemies, Jāmā broke and threw away two of the arrows, shouting 'One for each of you.' Vanarāja admiring his coolness persuaded Jāmā to join his band and found him so useful that he promised to make him minister. From the absence of any reference to him in these and similar tales it is probable that his uncle Surapāla died before the installing of Vanarāja. Vanarāja is said to have built at Anahilavāda a Jain temple of Pañchāsarā Pārasnāth so called because the image was brought from the old settlement of Pañchāsar. Mention of this temple continues during the Solankī and Vāghelā times.

His Image.

Vanarāja is said to have placed a bowing image of himself facing the image of Pārasnāth. The figure of Vanarāja is still shown at Sidhpur

¹ The text is 'Pañchāsaravarshadesyah.'² Probably Kākrej famous for its bullocks.³ Stories of thieves refraining from plundering houses where they have accidentally laid their hands on salt or millet are common.⁴ The making of the installation mark on the forehead is the privilege of the king's sister who gives a blessing and receives a present of villages.

and a woodcut of it is given by the late Mr. Forbes in his *Rās Mālā*. It is clearly the figure of a king with the umbrella of state and a nimbus round the head and in the ears the long ornaments called *kundalas* noticed by Arab travellers as characteristic of the Balliara or Rāshtrakūṭa kings who were cotemporary with Vanarāja.¹ The king wears a long beard, a short waistcloth or *dhoti*, a waistband or *vanmarband*, and a shoulder garment or *uperna* whose ends hang down the back. Besides the earrings he is adorned with bracelets armlets and anklets and a large ornament hangs across the chest from the left shoulder to the right hip. The right hand is held near the chest in the act of granting protection: and the left hand holds something which cannot be made out. By his side is the umbrella-bearer and five other attendants. The statue closely resembles the lifesize figure of a king of the Solanki period lying in the yard of a temple at Mālīā about twenty-four miles north of Somanātha Patan. At Somanātha Patan are similar but less rich cotemporary figures of local officers of the Solankis. Another similar figure of which only the torso remains is the statue of Anrāja the father of Vastupāla in a niche in Vastupāla's temple at Gīrnār. The details of this figure belong to the Solanki period.

The lists of Vanarāja's successors vary so greatly in the names, in the order of succession, and in the lengths of reigns, that little trust can be placed in them. The first three agree in giving a duration of 196 years to the Chāvādā dynasty after the accession of Vanarāja. The accession of the Solanki founder Mūlarāja is given in the *Vichāras'repī* at Samvat 1017 and in the *Prabandhashintāmaṇi* at Samvat 998 corresponding with the original difference of nineteen years (S. 802 and 821) in the founding of the city. This shows that though the total duration of the dynasty was traditionally known to be 196 years the order of succession was not known and guesses were made as to the duration of the different reigns. Certain dates fixed by inscriptions or otherwise known to some compilers and not known to others caused many discrepancies in the various accounts.

According to the calculations given above Vanarāja's reign lasted to about A.D. 780. Authorities agree that Vanarāja was succeeded by his son Yogarāja. The length of Yogarāja's reign is given as thirty-five years by the *Prabandhashintāmaṇi* and the *Ratnamālā* and as twenty-nine by the *Vichāras'repī*. That is according to the *Prabandhashintāmaṇi* and *Ratnamālā* his reign closes in A.D. 841 (S. 897) and according to the *Vichāras'repī* in A.D. 836 (S. 891). On the whole the *Prabandhashintāmaṇi* date A.D. 841 (S. 897) seems the more probable. The author of the *Vichāras'repī* may have mistaken the 7 of the manuscripts for a 1, the two figures in the manuscripts of that date being closely alike. If A.D. 780 is taken as the close of Vanarāja's reign and A.D. 806 as the beginning of Yogarāja's reign an interval of twenty-six years is left. This blank, which perhaps accounts for the improbably long reign and life assigned to Vanarāja, may have been filled by the forgotten reign of a childless elder brother of Yogarāja.

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THE
CHAVADAS,
A.D. 720 - 956.
Image of
Vanarāja.

Vanarāja's
Successors,
A.D. 780 - 961.

Yogarāja,
A.D. 806 - 841.

¹ Elliot and Dawson, I. 11.

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THE CHAVANAS,
A.D. 720-906.Yogarāja,
A.D. 806-814.

Of Yogarāja the Prabandhachintāmaṇi tells the following tale. Kshemarāja one of Yogarāja's three sons reported that several ships were storm-stayed at Prabhāsa or Somanātha. The ships had 10,000 horses, many elephants, and millions of money and treasure. Kshemarāja prayed that he might seize the treasure. Yogarāja forbade him. In spite of their father's orders the sons seized the treasure and brought it to the king. Yogarāja said nothing. And when the people asked him why he was silent he answered: To say I approve would be a sin; to say I do not approve would annoy you. Hitherto on account of an ancestor's misdeeds we have been laughed at as a nation of thieves. Our name was improving and we were rising to the rank of true kings. This act of my sons has renewed the old stain. Yogarāja would not be comforted and mounted the funeral pyre.

Kshemarāja,
A.D. 841-880.

According to the Prabandhachintāmaṇi in A.D. 841 (S. 898) Yogarāja was succeeded by his son Kshemarāja. The Vichāras'reni says that Yogarāja was succeeded by Ratnāditya who reigned three years, and he by Vairisimha who reigned eleven years. Then came Kshemarāja who is mentioned as the son of Yogarāja and as coming to the throne in A.D. 849 (S. 905). The relationship of Yogarāja to Ratnāditya and Vairisimha is not given. Probably both were sons of Yogarāja as the Prabandhachintāmaṇi mentions that Yogarāja had three sons. The duration of Kshemarāja's reign is given as thirty-nine years. It is probable that the reigns of the three brothers lasted altogether for thirty-nine years, fourteen years for the two elder brothers and twenty-five years for Kshemarāja the period mentioned by the Prabandhachintāmaṇi. Accepting this chronology A.D. 880 (S. 936) will be the date of the close of Kshemarāja's reign.

Chāmunda,
A.D. 880-908.

According to the Vichāras'reni and the Sukritasankirtana Kshemarāja was succeeded by his son Chāmunda. Instead of Chāmunda the Prabandhachintāmaṇi mentions Bhūyada perhaps another name of Chāmunda, as in the Prabandhachintāmaṇi the name Chāmunda does not occur. The Prabandhachintāmaṇi notes that Bhūyada reigned twenty-nine years and built in Anahilavāda Patan the temple of Bhūyadeshvar. The Vichāras'reni gives twenty-seven years as the length of Chāmunda's reign an insignificant difference of two years. This gives A.D. 908 (S. 964) as the close of Chāmunda's reign according to the Vichāras'reni.

Ghaghada,
A.D. 908-937.

After Bhūyada the Prabandhachintāmaṇi places Vairisimha and Ratnāditya assigning twenty-five and fifteen years as the reigns of each. The Vichāras'reni mentions as the successor of Chāmunda his son Ghaghada who is called Rāhada in the Sukritasankirtana. Instead of Ghaghada the Prabandhachintāmaṇi gives Sāmantasimha or Lion Chieftain perhaps a title of Ghaghada's. The Vichāras'reni gives Ghaghada a reign of twenty-seven years and mentions as his successor an unnamed son who reigned nineteen years. The Sukritasankirtana gives the name of this son as Bhūbhata. According to these calculations the close of Ghaghada's reign would be A.D. 936 (Samvat 985 + 27 = 992). Adding nineteen years for Bhūbhata's reign brings the date of the end of the dynasty to A.D. 956 (Samvat

993 + 19 = 1012) that is five years earlier than S. 1017 the date given by the Vicharas'reni. Until some evidence to the contrary is shown Merutunga's date A.D. 961 (S. 821 + 196 = 1017) may be taken as correct.

Chapter I.
THE CHAVADAS,
A.D. 720-996.

According to the above the Chāvadā genealogy stands as follows:

Vanarāja, born A.D. 720; succeeded A.D. 785; died A.D. 780.

Interval of twenty-six years.

Yogarāja, A.D. 806-841.

Ratnāditya,
A.D. 842.

Vairāma,
A.D. 845.

Kahemarāja,
A.D. 856.

Chāmuṇḍa or Bhāyada (?),
A.D. 881.

Ghāgharāja or Rāharāja,
A.D. 908.

Name Unknown,
A.D. 937-961.

[The period of Chāvadā rule at Anahilavāḍa is likely to remain obscure until the discovery of cotemporary inscriptions throws more light upon it than can be gathered from the confused and contradictory legends collected by the Solanki historians, none of whom are older than the twelfth century. For the present a few points only can be regarded as established:

- (i) The Chāvadās, Chāvotakas, or Chāpotkatas, are connected with the Chāpas of Bhīnmāl and of Vādhvān and are therefore of Gurjara race. (Compare Ind. Ant. XVII. 192.)
- (ii) They probably were never more than feudatories of the Bhīnmāl kings.
- (iii) Though the legend places the fall of Pañchāsar in A.D. 696 and the foundation of Anahilavāḍa in A.D. 746, the grant of Pulakesi Janāśraya shows that a Chāvadā (Chāvotaka) kingdom existed in A.D. 728.

As regards the chronology of the dynasty, the explanation of the long life of 110 years ascribed to Vanarāja may be that a grandson of the same name succeeded the founder of the family. The name of Chāmuṇḍa has, as Dr. Bühler long ago pointed out, crept in through some error from the Solanki list. But when the same author in two different works gives such contradictory lists and dates as Merutunga does in his Prabandhachintāmaṇi and his Vicharas'reni, it is clearly useless to attempt to extract a consistent story from the chroniclers. — A. M. T. J.]

CHAPTER II.

THE CHAULUKYAS OR SOLANKIS

(A.D. 961-1242.)

Chapter II.

THE
CHAULUKYAS,
A.D. 961-1242.
Authorities.

THE next rulers are the Chaulukyas or Solankis (A.D. 964-1242) whose conversion to Jainism has secured them careful record by Jain chroniclers. The earliest writer on the Solankis, the learned Jain priest Hemachandra (A.D. 1089-1173), in his work called the *Dvyāstraya*, has given a fairly full and correct account of the dynasty up to Siddharāja (A.D. 1143). The work is said to have been begun by Hemachandra about A.D. 1160, and to have been finished and revised by another Jain monk named Abhayatilakagani in A.D. 1255.¹ The last chapter which is in Prakrit deals solely with king Kumārāpāla. This work is a grammar rather than a chronicle, still, though it has little reference to dates, it is a good collection of tales and descriptions. For chronology the best guide is the *Vichārāsreṇi* which its author has taken pains to make the chief authority in dates. The *Vichārāsreṇi* was written by Merutunga about A.D. 1314, some time after he wrote the *Prabandhachintamani*.

The Name
Chaulukya.

According to the *Vichārāsreṇi* after the Chāvādās, in A.D. 961 (*Vaishakh Suddha 1017*), began the reign of Mūlarāja the son of a daughter of the last Chāvādā ruler. The name Chaulukya is a Sanskritised form, through an earlier form Chālukya, of the old names Chalkya, Chalikya, Chirikya, Chālukya of the great Dakhan dynasty (A.D. 552-973), made to harmonise with the Purāṇik-looking story that the founder of the dynasty sprang from the palm or *chuluka* of Brahma. The form Chaulukya seems to have been confined to authors and writers. It was used by the great Dakhan poet Bilhana (c. 1050 A.D.) and by the *Apahilavāda* chroniclers. In Gujarāt the popular form of the word seems to have been Solaki or Solāki (a dialectic variant of Chālukya), a name till lately used by Gujarāt lords. The sameness of name seems to show the Dakhan and Gujarāt dynasties to be branches of one stock. No materials are available to trace the original seat of the family or to show when and whence they came to Gujarāt. The balance of probability is, as Dr. Bühler holds, that Mūlarāja's ancestors came from the north.²

Mūlarāja,
A.D. 961-996.

The *Sukritasankirtana* says that the last Chāvādā king Bhūbhata was succeeded by his sister's son Mūlarāja. Of the family or country of Mūlarāja's father no details are given. The *Prabandhachintamani* calls Mūlarāja the sister's son of Sāmantasimha and gives the following details. In A.D. 930 of the family of Bhuiyāda (who destroyed Jayasekhara) were three brothers Rāji, Bija, and Dandaka, who stopped at *Apahilavāda* on their way back from a pilgrimage to Somanātha in the guise of Kārpātika or Kāpdi beggars. The three brothers attended a cavalry

¹ Ind. Ant. IV, 71-72 and VI, 180.

² Ind. Ant. VI, 180ff. The suggestion may be offered that the Kanyākubja which is mentioned as the seat of Mūlarāja's ancestors, is Kanyakulja, an old name of Junagadh. Compare Burgess' Kathiawār and Kutch, 156.

parade held by king Sámantasimha. An objection taken by Ráji to some of the cavalry movements pleased Sámantasimha, who, taking him to be the scion of some noble family, gave him his sister Líládeví in marriage. Líládeví died pregnant and the child, which was taken alive from its dead mother's womb was called Múlarája, because the operation was performed when the Múla constellation was in power. Múlarája grew into an able and popular prince and helped to extend the kingdom of his maternal uncle. In a fit of intoxication Sámantasimha ordered Múlarája to be placed on the throne. He afterwards cancelled the grant. But Múlarája contended that a king once installed could not be degraded. He collected troops defeated and slew his uncle and succeeded to the throne in A.D. 942 (S. 998). The main facts of this tale, that Múlarája's father was one Ráji of the Chálukya family, that his mother was a Cháavadá princess, and that he came to the Cháavadá throne by killing his maternal uncle, appear to be true. That Múlarája's father's name was Ráji is proved by Dr. Bühler's copperplate of Múlarája.¹ Merutunga's details that Ráji came in disguise to Anahilaváda, took the fancy of Sámantasimha, and received his sister in marriage seem fictions in the style common in the bardic praises of Rájput princes. Dr. Bühler's copperplate further disproves the story as it calls Múlarája the son of the illustrious Ráji, the great king of kings *Maharajadhiraja*, a title which would not be given to a wandering prince. Ráji appears to have been of almost equal rank with the Cháavadás. The Ratnamálá calls Ráji fifth in descent from Bhuváda, his four predecessors being Karnáditya, Chándráditya, Somáditya, and Bhuvanáditya. But the Ratnamálá list is on the face of it wrong, as it gives five instead of seven or eight kings to fill the space of over 200 years between Jayasekhara and Múlarája.

Most Jain chroniclers begin the history of Anahilaváda with Múlarája who with the Jains is the glory of the dynasty. After taking the small Cháavadá kingdom Múlarája spread his power in all directions, overrunning Káthiaváda and Kacch on the west, and fighting Bérappa of Látá or South Gujarát on the south, and Vighararája king of Ajmir on the north. The Ajmir kings were called Sapádalaksha. Why they were so called is not known. This much is certain that Sapádalaksha is the Sanskrit form of the modern Sewálík. It would seem that the Choháns, whom the Gujarát Jain chroniclers call Sapádalakshíya, must have come to Gujarát from the Sewálík hills. After leaving the Sewálík hills the capital was at Ajmir, which is usually said to have been first fortified by the Chohán king Ajayapála (A.D. 1174-1177).² This story seems invented by the Choháns. The name Ajmir appears to be derived from the Mehra who were in power in these parts between the fifth and the eighth centuries. The Hammíramahákávyá begins the Chohán genealogy with Váśudeva (A.D. 780) and states that Váśudeva's fourth successor Ajayapála established the hill fort of Ajmir. About this time (A.D. 840) the Choháns seem to have made settlements in the Ajmir country and to have harassed Gujarát. Vighararája the tenth in suc-

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¹ Ind. Ant. VI. 191B.² Kirtane's Hammíramahákávyá, I.

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cession from Vāsudeva is described as killing Mularāja and weakening the Gurjjara country.¹ The author of the *Prabandhachintāmaṇi* gives the following details. The Sapādalaksha or Ajmir king entered Gujaraṭ to attack Mularāja and at the same time from the south Mularāja's territory was invaded by Bārappa a general of king Tailapa of Telingāna.² Unable to face both enemies Mularāja at his minister's advice retired to Kanthādurga apparently Kanthkot in Cutch.³ He remained there till the Navarātra or Nine-Night festival at the close of the rains when he expected the Sapādalaksha king would have to return to Ajmir to worship the goddess Sākambhari when Bārappa would be left alone. At the close of the rains the Sapādalaksha king fixed his camp near a place called Sākambhari and bringing the goddess Sākambhari there held the Nine-Night festival. This device disappointed Mularāja. He sent for his *śamanṭas* or nobles and gave them presents. He told them his plans and called on them to support him in attacking the Sapādalaksha king. Mularāja then mounted a female elephant with no attendant but the driver and in the evening came suddenly to the Ajmir camp. He dismounted and holding a drawn sword in his hand said to the doorkeeper 'What is your king doing. Go and tell your lord that Mularāja waits at his door.' While the attendant was on his way to give the message, Mularāja pushed him on one side and himself went into the presence. The doorkeeper called 'Here comes Mularāja.' Before he could be stopped Mularāja forced his way in and took his seat on the throne. The Ajmir king in consternation asked 'Are you Mularāja?' Mularāja answered 'I would regard him as a brave king who would meet me face to face in battle. While I was thinking no such brave enemy exists, you have arrived. I ask no better fortune than to fight with you. But as soon as you are come, like a bee falling in at dinner time, Bārappa the general of king Tailapa of Telingāna has arrived to attack me. While I am punishing him you should keep quiet and not give me a side blow.' The Ajmir king said, 'Though you are a king, you have come here alone like a foot soldier, not caring for your safety. I will be your ally for life.' Mularāja replied 'Say not so.' He refused the Rāja's invitation to dine, and leaving sword in hand mounted his elephant and with his nobles attacked the camp of Bārappa. Bārappa was killed and eighteen of his elephants and 10,000 of his horses fell into Mularāja's hands. While returning with the spoil Mularāja received news that the Sapādalaksha king had fled.

¹ The Chohāns of Ajmir were also known as the rulers of Sākambhari, the Sāmbhar lake in Rajputāna on the borders of Jaipur and Jodhpur. The corrected edition of the Harsha inscription published by Prof. Kielhorn in *Epigraphia Indica* II. 116ff. shows that their first historical king was Gūvaka, who reigned some time in the first half of the ninth century (c. 820 A.D.) The Chohāns are still very numerous in the neighbourhood of the Sewalik hills, especially in the districts of Ambālā and Karnāl. Compare Ibbetson's *Panjab Census* for 1881.

² It appears from the grant of Saka 972 published by Mr. Dhruva in *Ind. Ant.* XII. 196 and from the Śeraṭ grant of Kirttirāja dated Saka 940, that this Bārappa was the founder of a dynasty who ruled Lāṭa or South Gujaraṭ as under-kings of the Dakṣha Chalukyas until at least A.D. 1050. Bārappa was, as his name shows, a Southerner from the Kānarese country, but his descendants spell the family name Chalukya in the same way as the dynasty of Anahilavāḍa.

³ Dr. Bühler (*Ind. Ant.* XII. 125) sees a reference to this retirement in Mularāja's grant of Śaṃvrat 1043.

This story of the author of the *Prabandhachintāmaṇi* differs from that given by the author of the *Hamīrakāvya* who describes Mularāja as defeated and slain. The truth seems to be that the Ajmir king defeated Mularāja and on Mularāja's submission did not press his advantage. In these circumstances Mularāja's victory over Bārappa seems improbable. The *Dvyāśraya* devotes seventy-five verses (27-101) of its sixth chapter to the contest between Bārappa and Mularāja. The details may be thus summarised. Once when Mularāja received presents from various Indian kings Dvārappa¹ king of Lātades'a sent an ill-omened elephant. The marks being examined by royal officers and by prince Chāmunda, they decided the elephant would bring destruction on the king who kept him. The elephant was sent back in disgrace and Mularāja and his son started with an army to attack Lātades'a and avenge the insult. In his march Mularāja first came to the Svahhravati or Sābarmatī which formed the boundary of his kingdom, frightening the people. From the Sābarmatī he advanced to the ancient Puri² where also the people became confused. The Lāta king prepared for fight, and was slain by Chāmunda in single combat. Mularāja advanced to Broach where Bārappa who was assisted by the island kings opposed him. Chāmunda overcame them and slew Bārappa. After this success Mularāja and Chāmunda returned to Anahilapura.³

The *Dvyāśraya* styles Bārappa king of Lātades'a; the *Prabandhachintāmaṇi* calls him a general of Tailapa king of Telingāna; the *Sukritasankīrtana* a general of the Kanyākubja king; and the *Kīrtikaumudī*⁴ a general of the Lord of Lāta.

Other evidence proves that at the time of Mularāja a Chaulukya king named Bārappa did reign in Lātades'a. The Surat grant of Kīrtirāja grandson of Bārappa is dated A.D. 1018 (Saka 940). This, taking twenty years to a king, brings Bārappa's date to A.D. 978 (Saka 900), a year which falls in the reign of Mularāja (A.D. 961-996; S. 1027-1053). The statement in the *Prabandhachintāmaṇi* that Bārappa was a general of Tailapa seems correct. The southern form of the name Bārappa supports the statement. And as Tailapa overthrew the Rāshtrakūṭas in A.D. 972 (Saka 894) he might well place a general in military charge of Lāta, and allow him practical independence. This would explain why the *Dvyāśraya* calls Bārappa king of Lātades'a and why the *Kīrtikaumudī* calls him general of the Lord of Lāta.

One of Mularāja's earliest wars was with Graharipu the Abhīra or Chudāsama ruler of Sorath.⁵ According to Mularāja's bards, the cause

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¹ Apparently a Sanskrit form of Bārappa. ² Broach according to the commentator.

³ The *Sukritasankīrtana* mentions this defeat of Bārappa who is said to be a general of the Kanyākubja or Kanauj king. The *Prabandhachintāmaṇi* (Mularāja-prabandha) also mentions the invasion and slaughter of Bārappa; but there is no reference to it in the grant of Bārappa's descendant Trilochanapāla (Ind. Ant. XII. 190ff.)

⁴ Canto II. Verse 3.

⁵ As Mr. Forbes rightly observed Graharipu the Planet-seizer is a made-up title based on the resemblance of the planet-seizer's name Rāhu to Rā the title of the Chudāsama of Junāgadh. The personal name of the chief is not given and the list of the Junāgadh Chudāsamas is too incomplete to allow of identification.

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of war was Graharipu's oppression of pilgrims to Prabhāsa. Graharipu's capital was Vāmanasthali, the modern Vanthali nine miles west of Junāgadh, and the fort of Durgapalli which Graharipu is said to have established must be Junāgadh itself which was not then a capital. Graharipu is described as a cow-eating Mlechha and a grievous tyrant. He is said to have had much influence over Lakhā son of king Phula of Kacch and to have been helped by Turks and other Mlechhas. When Mularāja reached the Jambumālī river, he was met by Graharipu and his army. With Graharipu was Lakhā of Kacch, the king of Sindh probably a Sumrā, Mewās Bhīlas, and the sons of Graharipu's wife Nīlī who had been summoned from near the Bhadar river by a message in the Yavana language.¹ With Mularāja were the kings of Sūlāprastha,² of Mārwar, of Kāśī, of Arbuda or Abu, and of Śrīmāla or Bhīnmāl. Mularāja had also his own younger brother Gangāmāh, his friend king Revatīmitra, and Bhīlas. It is specially mentioned that in this expedition Mularāja received no help from the sons of his paternal uncles Bīja and Dandaka. The fight ended in Graharipu being made prisoner by Mularāja, and in Lakhā being slain with a spear. After the victory Mularāja went to Prabhāsa, worshipped the *līnga*, and returned to Anahilavāḍa with his army and 108 elephants.

According to the author of the Prabandhachintāmaṇi Lakhā met his death in a different contest with Mularāja. Lakhā who is described as the son of Phuladā and Kāmalatā daughter of Kīrttirāja a Parmār king, is said to have been invincible because he was under the protection of king Yaśovarman of Mālwa. He defeated Mularāja's army eleven times. In a twelfth encounter Mularāja besieged Lakhā in Kapilakot, slew him in single combat, and trod on his flowing beard. Enraged at this insult to her dead son Lakhā's mother called down on Mularāja's descendants the curse of the spider poison that is of leprosy.³

Mr. Forbes, apparently from hardie sources, states that on his wife's death Rāji the father of Mularāja went to the temple of Vishnu at Dwārakā. On his return he visited the court of Lakhā Phulāni and espoused Lakhā's sister Rāyāji by whom he had a son named Rākhāich. This marriage proved the ruin of Rāji. In a dispute about precedence Lakhā slew Rāji and many of his Rājput followers, his wife Rāyāji becoming a Satī. Bīja the uncle of Mularāja urged his nephew to avenge his father's death and Mularāja was further incited against Lakhā because Lakhā harboured Rākhāich the younger son of Rāji at his court as a rival to Mularāja.

According to the Dvyāśraya, either from the rising power of his son or from repentance for his own rough acts, after Chāmuṇḍa's victory over Bārappa Mularāja installed him as ruler and devoted himself to religion and charity. According to the Prabandhachintāmaṇi Mularāja built in Anahilavāḍa a Jain temple named Mūlavasatikā. But as the Nandi

¹ The mention of her name and of the language in which she wrote suggest something remarkable in the race and position of queen Nīlī.

² Perhaps Sīthā in Jhalārād.

³ The same account appears in the Kumārapālacharita.

symbol on his copperplate shows that Mularāja was a devoted Saivite, it is possible that this temple was built by some Jain guild or community and named after the reigning chief.¹ Mularāja built a Mahādeva temple called Mulasvami in Anahilavāda, and, in honour of Somanātha, he built the temple of Mulesvara at Maṇḍali-nagara where he went at the bidding of the god.² He also built at Anahilavāda a temple of Mahādeva called Tripurushaprāsāda on a site to which the tradition attaches that seeing Mularāja daily visiting the temple of Mulanāthadeva at Maṇḍali, Somanātha Mahādeva being greatly pleased promised to bring the ocean to Anahilavāda. Somanātha came, and the ocean accompanying the god certain ponds became brackish. In honour of these salt pools Mularāja built the Tripurushaprāsāda. Looking for some one to place in charge of this temple, Mularāja heard of an ascetic named Kanthadi at Siddhapura on the banks of the Sarasvatī who used to fast every other day and on the intervening day lived on five morsels of food. Mularāja offered this sage the charge of the temple. The sage declined saying 'Authority is the surest path to hell.' Eventually Vayajalladeva a disciple of the sage undertook the management on certain conditions. Mularāja passed most of his days at the holy shrine of Siddhapura, the modern Sidhpur on the Sarasvatī about fifteen miles north-east of Anahilavāda. At Sidhpur Mularāja made many grants to Brāhmins. Several branches of Gujarāt Brāhmins, Audichyas, Srīgandās and Kanojias, trace their origin in Gujarāt to an invitation from Mularāja to Siddhapura and the local Purāṇas and Māhātmyas confirm the story. As the term Audichya means Northerner Mularāja may have invited Brāhmins from some such holy place as Kurukshetra which the Audichyas claim as their home. From Kanyakubja in the Madhyadesa between the Ganges and the Yamunā another equally holy place the Kanojias may have been invited. The Srī Gaudās appear to have come from Bengal and Tirhut. Gauda and Tirhut Brāhmins are noted Tāntrikes and Mantrasāsthis a branch of learning for which both the people and the rulers of Gujarāt have a great fondness. Grants of villages were made to these Brāhmins. Sidhpur was given to the Audichyas, Simhapura or Siher in Kāthiavāda to some other colony, and Stambhatīrtha or Cambay to the Srī Gaudās. At Siddhapura Mularāja built the famous temple called the Rudramahālaya or the great shrine of Rudra. According to tradition Mularāja did not complete the Rudramahālaya and Siddharāja finished it. In spite of this tradition it does not appear that Mularāja died leaving the great temple unfinished as a copperplate of A.D. 987 (S. 1043) records that

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¹ Compare the Lakṣmī-Vihāra Jain temple in Jesalmir built by the Jain Saṅgha and called after the reigning king Lakṣmaṇa.

² Dr. Bühler's copperplate of Mularāja records a grant to this temple, said to be of Mulanāthadeva in Maṇḍali in the Vardhi zilla, apparently the modern Māndai near Pafichisar in the Vudhiār province near Jhinjhavāda. The grant is in Samvat 1043 and is dated from Anahilapura though the actual gift was made at Sriethala or Sidhpur after bathing in the Sarasvatī and worshipping the god of the Rudramahālaya. The grant is of the village of Kamboika, the modern Kamboi near Modhara. Ind. Ant. VI. 192-193. The grant is said to have been written by a Kāyastha named Kāṣṭhapa and ends with the words "of the illustrious Mularāja."

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Mularāja made the grant after worshipping the god of the Rudramahālaya on the occasion of a solar eclipse on the fifteenth of the dark half of Māgha. It would seem therefore that Mularāja built one large Rudramahālaya which Siddharāja may have repaired or enlarged. Mularāja is said while still in health to have mounted the funeral pile, an act which some writers trace to remorse and others to unknown political reasons. The Vichārasreni gives the length of Mularāja's reign at thirty-five years A.D. 961-996 (S. 1017-1052); the Prabandhachintāmaṇi begins the reign at A.D. 942 (S. 998) and ends it at A.D. 997 (S. 1053) that is a length of fifty-five years.¹ Of the two, thirty-five years seems the more probable, as, if the traditional accounts are correct, Mularāja can scarcely have been a young man when he overthrew his uncle's power.

Chāmunda,
A.D. 997-1010.

Of Mularāja's son and successor Chāmunda no historical information is available. The author of the Prabandhachintāmaṇi assigns him a reign of thirteen years. The author of the Dyvāsraya says that he had three sons Vallabha Rāja, Durlabha Rāja, and Nāga Rāja. According to one account Chāmunda installed Vallabha in A.D. 1010 (S. 1066) and went on pilgrimage to Benares. On his passage through Mālwa Muñja the Mālwa king carried off Chāmunda's umbrella and other marks of royalty.² Chāmunda went on to Benares in the guise of a hermit. On his return he prayed his son to avenge the insult offered by the king of Mālwa. Vallabha started with an army but died of small-pox. The author of the Prabandhachintāmaṇi gives Chāmunda a reign of six months, while the author of the Vichārasreni entirely drops his name and gives a reign of fourteen years to Vallabha made up of the thirteen years of Chāmunda and the six months of Vallabha. This seems to be a mistake. It would seem more correct, as is done in several copperplate lists, to omit Vallabha, since he must have reigned jointly with his father and his name is not wanted for purposes of succession. The Vichārasreni and the Prabandhachintāmaṇi agree in ending Vallabha's reign in A.D. 1010 (S. 1066). The author of the Dyvāsraya states that Chāmunda greatly lamenting the death of Vallabha installed Vallabha's younger brother Durlabha, and himself retired to die at Sūkiatīrtha on the Narmadā.

Durlabha,
A.D. 1010-1022.

Durlabha whom the Sukṛitasankīrtana also calls Jagatjampaka or World Guardian came to the throne in A.D. 1010 (S. 1066). The Prabandhachintāmaṇi gives the length of his reign at eleven years and six months while the Vichārasreni makes it twelve years closing it in A.D. 1022 (S. 1078). The author of the Dyvāsraya says that along with his brother Nāga Rāja, Durlabha attended the Svayamvara or bridegroom-choosing of Durlabha Devī the sister of Mahendra the

¹ The difference between 1052 and 1053 is probably only a few months.

² The fight with Muñja must have taken place about A.D. 1011 (S. 1067). As Chāmunda started just after installing Vallabha the beginning of the reign must be before A.D. 997 as Tallapa who fought with Muñja died in that year. This is proved by a manuscript dated A.D. 994 (S. 1060) which gives the reigning king as Muñja. That Bhoja Muñja's successor was ruling in A.D. 1014 (S. 1070) makes it probable that Muñja's reign extended to A.D. 1011 (S. 1067).

Rāja of Nadol in Mārwar. The kings of Aṅga, Kāśī, Avanti, Chedi, Kuru, Hūna, Mathurā, Vindhya, and Andhra were also present.¹ The princess chose Durlabha and Mahendra gave his younger sister Lakṣmī to Durlabha's brother Nāga Rāja. The princess' choice of Durlabha drew on him the enmity of certain of the other kings all of whom he defeated. The brothers then returned to Aṇahilavāḍa where Durlabha built a lake called Durlabhasarovara. The author of the *Prabandhachintāmaṇi* says that Durlabha gave up the kingdom to his son (?) Bhīma.² He also states that Durlabha went on pilgrimage and was insulted on the way by Muṇja king of Mālwa. This seems the same tale which the Dvyās'raya tells of Chāmunda. Since Muṇja cannot have been a cotemporary of Durlabha the Dvyās'raya's account seems correct.

Durlabha was succeeded by his nephew Bhīma the son of Durlabha's younger brother Nāga Rāja. The author of the *Dvyās'raya* says that Durlabha wishing to retire from the world offered the kingdom to his nephew Bhīma; that Bhīma declined in favour of his father Nāga Rāja; that Nāga Rāja refused; that Durlabha and Nāga Rāja persuaded Bhīma to take the government; and that after installing Bhīma the two brothers died together. Such a voluntary double death sounds unlikely unless the result was due to the machinations of Bhīma. The *Prabandhachintāmaṇi* gives Bhīma a reign of fifty-two years from A.D. 1022 to 1074 (S. 1078-1130), while the *Vichārā'reṇi* reduces his reign to forty-two years placing its close in A.D. 1064 (S. 1120). Forty-two years would seem to be correct as another copy of the *Prabandhachintāmaṇi* has 42.

Two copperplates of Bhīma are available one dated A.D. 1030 (S. 1086) eight or nine years after he came to the throne, the other from Kacch in A.D. 1037 (S. 1093).

Bhīma seems to have been more powerful than either of his predecessors. According to the *Dvyās'raya* his two chief enemies were the kings of Sindh and of Chedi or Bundelkhand. He led a victorious expedition against Hammuka the king of Sindh, who had conquered the king of Sivasāna and another against Karna king of Chedi who paid tribute and submitted. The *Prabandhachintāmaṇi* has a verse, apparently an old verse interpolated, which says that on the Mālwa king Bhoja's death, while sacking Dhārāpuri, Karna took Bhīma as his coadjutor, and that afterwards Bhīma's general Dāmara took Karna captive and won from him a gold *maṇḍapikā* or canopy and images of Ganeśa and Nīlakanṭhes'vara Mahādeva. Bhīma is said to have presented the canopy to Śomanātha.

When Bhīma was engaged against the king of Sindh, Kulachandra the general of the Mālwa king Bhoja with all the Mālwa feudatories, invaded Aṇahilavāḍa, sacked the city, and sowed shell-money at the gate where the time-marking gong was sounded. So great was the

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Durlabha,
A.D. 1010-1022.

Bhīma I.
A.D. 1022-1064.

¹ This Swayamvara and the list of attendant and rival kings seem imaginary. The Nadol chieftainship was not important enough to draw kings from the countries named.

² The text has son but Bhīma was Durlabha's nephew not his son.

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Bhima I.
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loss that the 'sacking of Kulachandra' has passed into a proverb. Kulachandra also took from Apahilavāḍa an acknowledgment of victory or *jayapatra*. On his return Bhoja received Kulachandra with honour but blamed him for not sowing salt instead of shell-money.¹ He said the shell-money is an omen that the wealth of Mālwa will flow to Gujārāt. An unpublished inscription of Bhoja's successor Udayāditya in a temple at Udepur near Bhilsā confirms the above stating that Bhīma was conquered by Bhoja's officers.²

The Solanki kings of Anahilapura being Śaivites held the god Somanātha of Prabhāsa in great veneration. The very ancient and holy shrine of Prabhāsa has long been a place of special pilgrimage. As early as the Yādavas of Dwārakā,³ pilgrimages to Prabhāsa are recorded but the Mahābhārata makes no mention either of Somanātha or of any other Śaivite shrine. The shrine of Somanātha was probably not established before the time of the Valabhis (A.D. 480-767). As the Valabhi kings were most open-handed in religious gifts, it was probably through their grants that the Somanātha temple rose to importance. The Solankis were not behind the Valabhis in devotion to Somanātha. To save pilgrims from oppression Mūlarāja fought Graharipu the Abhira king of Sorath.⁴ Mūlarāja afterwards went to Prabhāsa and also built temples in Gujārāt in honour of the god Somanātha. As Mūlarāja's successors Chāmuṇḍa and Durlabha continued firm devotees of Somanātha during their reigns (A.D. 997-1022) the wealth of the temple must have greatly increased.

No Gujārāt Hindu writer refers to the destruction of the great temple soon after Bhīma's accession.⁵ But the Muslim historians place beyond doubt that in A.D. 1024 the famous tenth raid of

Mahmūd's
Invasion,
A.D. 1024.

¹ By sowing cowries Kulachandra may have meant to show the cheapness of Anahilavāḍa. Bhoja's meaning was that as shells are money, to sow shells was to sow Mālwa wealth in Gujārāt. If Kulachandra had sown salt all would have melted, and no trace been left. [This seems a symbolic later-stage explanation. The sense seems to be shell-sowing keeps the Anahilavāḍa guardians in place since guardians can live in shells: salt-sowing scares the guardian spirits and makes the site of the city a haunt of demons. Bhoja saw that thanks to his general the Luck of Anahilavāḍa would remain safe in the shells.]

² The Prabhādhachintāmaṇi tells other stories of the relations between Bhīma and Bhoja. Once when Gujārāt was suffering from famine Bhīma heard that Bhoja was coming with a force against Gujārāt. Alarmed at the news Bhīma asked Dāmarā his minister of peace and war to prevent Bhoja coming. Dāmarā went to Mālwa, amused the king by witty stories, and while a play was being acted in court degrading and jolting other kings, something was said regarding Tallapa of Telingana. On this Dāmarā reminded the king that the head of his grandfather Mūḍja was fixed at Tallapa's door. Bhoja grew excited and started with an army against Telingana. Hearing that Bhīma had come against him as far as Bhīmapura (?) Bhoja asked Dāmarā to prevent Bhīma advancing further. Dāmarā stopped Bhīma by taking him an elephant as a present from Bhoja. The Prabhādhachintāmaṇi gives numerous other stories showing that at times the relations between Bhoja and Bhīma were friendly.

³ See above page 9.

⁴ See above page 160.

⁵ With this silence compare the absence (Renaud's *Mémoires Sur l'Inde*, 67) of any reference either in Sanskrit or in Buddhist books to the victories, even to the name, of Alexander the Great. Also in modern times the ignoring of British rule in the many inscriptions of Jain repairers of temples on Satrājaya hill who belong to British territory. The only foreign reference is by one merchant of Daman who acknowledges the protection of the Phraṇḍ jētī Purastakāś Pāṇasāl the king of the Firangis of Portugal. Bühler in *Epigraphia Indica*, II, 36.

Mahmūd of Ghazni, ended in the destruction and plunder of Somanātha.¹

Of the destruction of Somanātha the earliest Musalmān account, that of Ibn Asir (A.D. 1160-1229), supplies the following details: In the year A.D. 1024 (H. 414) Mahmūd captured several forts and cities in Hind and he also took the idol called Somanātha. This idol was the greatest of all the idols of Hind. At every eclipse² the Hindus went on pilgrimage to the temple, and there congregated to the number of a hundred thousand persons. According to their doctrine of transmigration the Hindus believe that after separation from the body the souls of men meet at Somanātha; and that the ebb and flow of the tide is the worship paid to the best of its power by the sea to the idol.³ All that is most precious in India was brought to Somanātha. The temple attendants received the most valuable presents, and the temple was endowed with more than 10,000 villages.⁴ In the temple were amassed jewels of the most exquisite quality and of incalculable value. The people of India have a great river called Ganga to which they pay the highest honour and into which they cast the bones of their great men, in the belief that the deceased will thus secure an entrance to heaven. Though between this river and Somanātha is a distance of about 1200 miles (200 *parasangs*) water was daily brought from it to wash the idol.⁵ Every day a thousand Brāhmins performed the worship and introduced visitors.⁶ The shaving of the heads and beards of pilgrims employed three hundred barbers.⁷ Three hundred and fifty persons sang and danced at the gate of the temple,⁸ every one receiving a settled daily allowance. When Mahmūd was gaining victories and demolishing idols in North India, the Hindus said Somanātha is displeased with these idols. If Somanātha had been satisfied with them no one could have destroyed or injured them. When Mahmūd heard this he resolved on making a campaign to destroy Somanātha, believing that when the Hindus saw their prayers and imprecations to be false and futile they would embrace the Faith.

So he prayed to the Almighty for aid, and with 30,000 horse besides volunteers left Ghazni on the 10th Sha'bān (H. 414, A.D. 1024).

Chapter II

THE
CHAULUKYAS,
A.D. 961-1242.
SOMANĀTHA,
A.D. 1024.

¹ Elliot and Dowson, II. 468E. Sir H. M. Elliot gives extracts for this expedition from the *Tārīkh-i-Alfi*, *Tabakāt-i-Akbari*, *Tabakāt-i-Nāṣiri*, and *Baṣmāt-s-safā*.

² Since the earliest times Hindus have held eclipse days sacred. According to the *Mahābhārata* the Yadavas of Dwarka came to Somanātha for an eclipse fair. Great fairs are still held at Somanātha on the Kārtika and Chaitra (December and April) fullmoons.

³ This old Indian idea is expressed in a verse in an inscription in Somanātha Pātan itself.

⁴ Ten thousand must be taken vaguely.

⁵ Compare Fa-hien's *Alberuni*, II. 104. Every day they brought Somanātha a jug of Ganges water and a basket of Kashmir flowers. Somanātha they believed cured every inveterate sickness and healed every desperate and incurable disease. The reason why Somanātha became so famous was that it was a harbour for those who went to and fro from Sofala in Zanzibar to China. It is still the practice to carry Ganges water to bathe distant gods.

⁶ These must be the local Sompura Brāhmins who still number more than five hundred souls in Somanātha Pātan.

⁷ Shaving is the first rite performed by pilgrims.

⁸ Dancers are now chiefly found in the temples of Southern India.

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A.D. 961-1242.
Somanátha,
A.D. 1024.

He took the road to Multán and reached it in the middle of Ramzán. The road from Multán to India lay through a barren desert without inhabitants or food. Mahmúd collected provisions for the passage and loading 30,000 camels with water and corn started for Anahilaváda. After he had crossed the desert he perceived on one side a fort full of people in which place there were wells.¹ The leaders came to conciliate him, but he invested the place, and God gave him victory over it, for the hearts of the people failed them through fear. He brought the place under the sway of Islám, killed the inhabitants, and broke in pieces their images. His men carrying water with them marched for Anahilaváda, where they arrived at the beginning of Zilkáda.

The Chief of Anahilaváda, called Bhím, fled hastily, and abandoning his city went to a certain fort for safety and to prepare for war. Mahmúd pushed on for Somanátha. On his march he came to several forts in which were many images serving as chamberlains or heralds of Somanátha. These Mahmúd called Shaitán or devils. He killed the people, destroyed the fortifications, broke the idols in pieces, and through a waterless desert marched to Somanátha. In the desert land he met 20,000 fighting men whose chiefs would not submit. He sent troops against them, defeated them, put them to flight, and plundered their possessions. From the desert he marched to Dabalwárah,² two days' journey from Somanátha. The people of Dabalwárah stayed in the city believing that the word of Somanátha would drive back the invaders. Mahmúd took the place, slew the men, plundered their property, and marched to Somanátha.

Reaching Somanátha on a Thursday in the middle of Zilkáda Mahmúd beheld a strong fortress built on the sea-shore, so that its walls were washed by the waves.³ From the walls the people jeered at the Musalmáns. Our deity, they said, will cut off the last man of you and destroy you all. On the morrow which was Friday the assailants advanced to the assault. When the Hindus saw how the Muhammadans fought they abandoned their posts and left the walls. The Musalmáns planted their ladders and scaled the walls. From the top they raised their war-cry, and showed the might of Islám. Still their loss was so heavy that the issue seemed doubtful. A body of Hindus hurried to Somanátha, cast themselves on the ground before him, and besought him to grant them victory. Night came on and the fight was stayed.

Early next morning Mahmúd renewed the battle. His men made greater havoc among the Hindus till they drove them from the town to the house of their idol Somanátha. At the gate of the temple the slaughter was dreadful. Band after band of the defenders entered the temple and standing before Somanátha with their hands clasped round their necks wept and passionately entreated him. Then they issued forth to fight and fought till they were slain. The few left alive took

¹ Mahmúd seems to have crossed the desert from Multán and Baháwalpur to Bikanér and thence to Ajmir.

² Apparently Delvada near Uná. Mahmúd's route seems to have been from Anahilaváda to Modhera and Mándal, thence by the Little Ran near Pátri and Bajána, and thence by Jhalavád Gohelavád and Bahriavád to Delvada.

³ The waves still beat against the walls of the ruined fort of Somanátha.

to the sea in boats but the Musalmáns overtook them and some were killed and some were drowned.

The temple of Somanátha rested on fifty-six pillars of teakwood covered with lead.¹ The idol was in a dark chamber. The height of the idol was five cubits and its girth three cubits. This was what appeared to the eye; two cubits were hidden in the basement. It had no appearance of being sculptured. Mahmúd seized it, part of it he burnt, and part he carried with him to Ghazni, where he made it a step at the entrance of the Great Mosque.² The dark shrine was lighted by exquisitely jewelled chandeliers. Near the idol was a chain of gold 200 *mans* in weight. To the chain bells were fastened. And when each watch of the night was over the chain was shaken and the ringing of the bells roused a fresh party of Bráhmans to carry on the worship. In the treasury which was near the shrine were many idols of gold and silver. Among the treasures were veils set with jewels, every jewel of immense value. What was found in the temple was worth more than two millions of *dinárs*. Over fifty thousand Hindus were slain.³

After the capture of Somanátha, Mahmúd received intelligence that Bhim the chief of Anahilaváda had gone to the fort of Khandahat,⁴ about 240 miles (40 *parasangs*) from Somanátha between that place and the desert. Mahmúd marched to Khandahat. When he came before it he questioned some men who were hunting as to the tide. He learned that the ford was practicable, but that if the wind blew a little the crossing was dangerous. Mahmúd prayed to the Almighty and entered the water. He and his forces passed safely and drove out the enemy. From Khandahat he returned intending to proceed against Mansúra in central Sindh, whose ruler was an apostate Muhammadan. At the news of Mahmúd's approach the chief fled into the date forests. Mahmúd followed, and surrounding him and his adherents, many of them were slain, many drowned, and few escaped. Mahmúd then went

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¹ This shows that the temple was a building of brick and wood. According to Alberuni (Sachau, II, 103) the temple was built about a hundred years before Mahmúd's invasion. An inscription at Patan states that Bhimádeva I. (A.D. 1022-1072) rebuilt the Somanátha temple of stone. In Dr. Bhagvanlal's opinion the first dynasty in Gujarat to make stone buildings were the Solámkis. Before them buildings and temples were of wood and brick.

² Of the fate of the great *Litága* Alberuni (Sachau, II, 103) writes: Prince Mahmúd ordered the upper part to be broken. The rest with all its coverings and trappings of gold jewels and embroidered garments he transported to Ghazni. Part of it together with the brass Chakravartí or Vishnu of Thanesvar has been thrown into the hippodrome of the town: part lies before the mosque for people to rub their feet on.

³ The next paragraph relating to Mahmúd's return will be found on page 249 of the same volume of Sir H. Elliott's work.

⁴ Khandahat which must have been on the coast has not been identified. The description suggests some coast island in the gulf of Kacch. By the Gírnár route forty *parasangs* that is 240 miles would reach the Kacch coast. Kanthkot in Vagad in east Kacch suits well in sound and is known to have been a favourite resort of the Solámkis. But the ebb and flow of the tide close to it are difficult to explain. The identification with Kanthkot is favoured by Dr. Bühler. Colonel Watson (Kathiáwar Gazetteer, 89) prefers Gándhri on the Kathiáwáda coast a few miles north-east of Miani. M. Beinaud and Dr. Weil suggest Gándhár in Broach on the left bank of the mouth of the Dhádhár river. Sir H. Elliot (I. 443 and II. 473) prefers Khandahat at the north-west angle of Kathiáwáda.

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A.D. 1024.

to Bhátia, and after reducing the inhabitants to obedience, returned to Ghazni where he arrived on the 10th Safar 417 H. (A.D. 1026).

The *Rauzatu-s-safá* of Mirkhand supplements these details with the following account of Mahmúd's arrangements for holding Gujarat: 'It is related that when Sultan Mahmúd had achieved the conquest of Somanátha he wished to fix his residence there for some years because the country was very extensive and possessed many advantages among them several mines which produced pure gold. Indian rubies were brought from Sarandíp, one of the dependencies of the kingdom of Gujarat. His ministers represented to Mahmúd that to forsake Khurásán which had been won from his enemies after so many battles and to make Somanátha the seat of government was very improper. At last the king made up his mind to return and ordered some one to be appointed to hold and carry on the administration of the country. The ministers observed that as it was impossible for a stranger to maintain possession he should assign the country to one of the native chiefs. The Sultan accordingly held a council to settle the nomination, in concurrence with such of the inhabitants as were well disposed towards him. Some of them represented to him that amongst the ancient royal families no house was so noble as that of the Dabshilims of whom only one member survived, and he had assumed the habit of a Bráhmaṇ, and was devoted to philosophical pursuits and austerity.'¹

That Mahmúd should have found it necessary to appoint some local chief to keep order in Gujarat is probable. It is also probable that he would choose some one hostile to the defeated king. It has been suggested above that Bhíma's uncle Durlabha did not retire but was ousted by his nephew and that the story of Vallabha and Durlabha dying together pointed to some usurpation on the part of Bhíma. The phrase the Dabshilims seems to refer either to Durlabhasena or his son. Whoever was chosen must have lost his power soon after Mahmúd's departure.²

¹ According to Ferishta (Bombay Persian Ed. I. 57, Briggs' Translation, I. 74) Mahmúd stayed and meant to make his capital at Anahilavája not at Somanátha. That Mahmúd did stay at Anahilavája the Martyr's Mound and the Ghazni Mosque in Patan are evidence. Still the mound was probably raised and the mosque may at least have been begun in honour of the capture of Anahilavája on the journey south. Traces of a second mosque which is said to have had a tablet recording Mahmúd of Ghazni as the builder have recently (1878) been found at Munjpur about twenty-five miles south-east of Rádhhanpur.

² Briggs' Ferishta, I. 75. This account of the Dabshilims reads more like a tradition than an historical record. It is to be noted that the authors both of the 'Ain-i-Akbari (A.D. 1583) and of the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* (A.D. 1763) give Chámuṇja as king at the time of Mahmúd's invasion. Their statements cannot weigh against Ibn Asir's account. Compare Dr. Bühler's remarks in *Ind. Ant.* VI. 184. Of Mahmúd's return to Ghazni (A.D. 1026) the *Tabakat-i-Akbari* says: 'When Mahmúd resolved to return from Somanátha he learned that Parama Dev, one of the greatest Rájás of Hindustán, was preparing to intercept him. The Sultan, not deeming it advisable to contend with this chief, went towards Multán through Sindh. In this journey his men suffered much in some places from scarcity of water in others from want of forage. After enduring great difficulties he arrived at Ghazni in A.D. 1029 (H. 417).' This Parama Dev would seem to be the Parmara king of A'bu who could well block the Ajmir-Gujarat route. The route taken by Mahmúd must have passed by Mansúra near Bráhmaṇabád, Bhátia, and Multán. It

An inscription at Somanátha shows that soon after Mahmúd was gone Bhímadeva began to build a temple of stone in place of the former temple of brick and wood.

A few years later Bhíma was on bad terms with Dhandhuka the Paramára chief of Abu, and sent his general Vimala to subdue him. Dhandhuka submitted and made over to Vimala the beautiful Chitra-kúta peak of Abu, where, in A.D. 1032 (S. 1088), Vimala built the celebrated Jain temples known as Vimalavasahi still one of the glories of Abu.¹

Bhíma had three wives Udayámati who built a step-well at Anahilaváda, Bukuládevi, and another. These ladies were the mothers of Karna, Kshemarája, and Múlarája. Of the three sons Múlarája, though his mother's name is unknown, was the eldest and the heir-apparent. Of the kindly Múlarája the author of the Prabandhachintámáni tells the following tale: In a year of scarcity the Kutumbikas or cultivators of Vishopaka and Dandáhi found themselves unable to pay the king his share of the land-produce. Bhímarája sent a minister to inquire and the minister brought before the king all the well-to-do people of the defaulting villages. One day prince Múlarája saw these men talking to one another in alarm. Taking pity on them he pleased the king by his skilful riding. The king asked him to name a boon and the prince begged that the demand on the villagers might be remitted. The boon was granted, the ryots went home in glee, but within three days Múlarája was dead. Next season yielded a bumper harvest, and the people came to present the king with his share for that year as well as with the remitted share for the previous year. Bhímdev declined to receive the arrears. A jury appointed by the king settled that the royal share of the produce for both years should be placed in the king's hands for the erection of a temple called the new Tripurushaprásáda for the spiritual welfare of prince Múlarája.²

must have been in the crossing of the great desert that he suffered so severely from scarcity of water and forage. Ferishta (Briggs, I. 75) says that many of Mahmúd's troops died raging mad from the intolerable heat and thirst. The historian Muhammad Uí (A.D. 1200) alleges (Elliot, II. 192) that two Hindus disguised as countrymen offered themselves as guides and led the army three days' march out of the right course, where they were saved only by Mahmúd's miraculous discovery of a pool of sweet water. [This tale of the self-sacrificing Bráhman or priest and the miraculous find of water has gathered round Mahmúd as the latest of myth centres. It is Herodotus' (Book III. 154-158) old Zopyrus tale (Rawlinson's Seventh Monarchy, 318); it is revived in honour of the Great Kushán Kanishka, A.D. 78 (Beruni in Elliot, II. 11), of the Sassanian Firuz A.D. 457-483 (Rawlinson's Seventh Monarchy, 318), and of a certain king of Zabolistán or Ghazni of uncertain date (Elliot II. 170). Similarly the puzzling Dabshilim tale seems to be peculiar neither to Gujaráti nor to Mahmúd of Ghazni. It seems a repetition of the tale of Dabshilim the man of the royal race, who, according to the Pañchatantra or Fables of Pálpa, was chosen successor of Porus after Alexander the Great's Viceroy had been driven out. (Compare Reinand's *Mémoire Sur l'Inde*, 127-128.) The *Tibetati-i-Nádiri* (A.D. 1227) adds (Elliot, II. 175) that the guide devoted his life for the sake of Somanátha and this account is adopted by Ferishta, Briggs' Translation, I. 78.

¹ Vasahis Prákrit for Vasati that is residence. The word is used to mean a group of temples.

² Several later mentions of a *Tripurushaprásáda* show there was only one building of that name. The statement that the great Múlarája I. built a *Tripurushaprásáda* seems a mistake, due to a confusion with prince Múlarája.

Chapter II.

THE
CHAULUKYAS,
A.D. 961-1242.
Bhíma I.
A.D. 1022-1054.

Chapter II.

THE
CHAUUKYAS,
A.D. 901-1242.
Bhima I.
A.D. 1022-1064.

Bhima reigned forty-two years. Both the *Prabandhachintāmaṇi* and the *Vichārāstreni* mention Karna as his successor. According to the *Dvyāśraya* Bhima, wishing to retire to a religious life, offered the succession to Kshemarāja. But Kshemarāja also was averse from the labour of ruling and it was settled that Karna should succeed.

Bhima died soon after and Kshemarāja retired to a holy place on the Sarasvatī named Mundakeśvara not far from Anahilavāda. Karna is said to have granted Dahithali a neighbouring village to Devaprasāda the son of Kshemarāja that he might attend on his father in his religious seclusion. But as the *Kumārāpālacharita* mentions Kshemarāja being settled at Dahithali as a ruler not as an ascetic it seems probable that Dahithali was granted to Kshemarāja for maintenance as villages are still granted to the *bhāyās* or brethren of the ruler.

Karna,
A.D. 1064-1094.

Karna who came to the throne in A.D. 1064 (S. 1120) had a more peaceful reign than his predecessors. He was able to build charitable public works among them a temple called Karna-meru at Anahilavāda. His only war was an expedition against Ashā Bhil, chief of six lakhs¹ of Bhils residing at Ashāpalli the modern village of Asāval near Ahmadābād.² Ashā was defeated and slain. In consequence of an omen from a local goddess named Kochharva,³ Karna built her a temple in Asāval and also built temples to Jayantī Devī and Karnaśvara Mahādeva. He made a lake called Karnaśgara and founded a city called Karnāvatī which he made his capital.

Karna had three ministers Munjāla, Sāntu, and Udaya. Udaya was a Śrīmālī Vāṇiā of Mārwar, who had settled in Anahilavāda and who was originally called Udā. Sāntu built a Jain temple called Sāntu-vasahī and Udā built at Karnāvatī a large temple called Udaya-varāha, containing seventy-two images of Tirthankars, twenty-four past twenty-four present and twenty-four to come. By different wives Udā had five sons, Ahaḍa or Asthaḍa, Chāhada, Bāhada, Ambada, and Sollā, of whom the last three were half brothers of the first two.⁴ Except Sollā, who continued a merchant and became very wealthy, all the sons entered the service of the state and rose to high stations during the reign of Kumārāpāla.

In late life Karna married Miyanalladevī daughter of Jayakeśi son of Subhakeśi king of the Karnāṭaka. According to the *Dvyāśraya* a wandering painter showed Karna the portrait of a princess whom he described as daughter of Jayakeśi the Kadamba king⁵ of

¹ Meaning a large number of Bhils of whom A'shā was the head.

² Forbes' *Ras Mālā* (New Ed.), 79.

³ Probably a Bhil goddess. The name does not sound Sanskrit.

⁴ In one passage the *Prabandhachintāmaṇi* calls these princes half-brothers of Udaya. Further details show that they were half-brothers of one another and sons of Udaya.

⁵ This Jayakeśi is Jayakeśi I. son of Shashthadeva (S'chakeśi) the third of the Goa Kadambas. Jayakeśi's recorded date A.D. 1052 (S. 974) fits well with the time of Karna (*Fleet's Kanarese Dynasties*, 91). The *Prabandhachintāmaṇi* tells the following story of the death of Jayakeśi. Jayakeśi had a favourite parrot whom he

Chandrapura¹ in the Dakhan, and who he said had taken a vow to marry Karṇa. In token of her wish to marry Karṇa the painter said the princess had sent Karṇa an elephant. Karṇa went to see the present and found on the elephant a beautiful princess who had come so far in the hope of winning him for a husband. According to the Prabandhachintamani Karṇa found the princess ugly and refused to marry her. On this the princess with eight attendants determined to burn themselves on a funeral pyre and Udayāmatī Karṇa's mother also declared that if he did not relent she too would be a sacrifice. Under this compulsion Karṇa married the princess but refused to treat her as a wife. The minister Muñjala, learning from a *kañchuki* or palace-servant that the king loved a certain courtesan, contrived that Miyaṇalladevi should take the woman's place, a device still practised by ministers of native states. Karṇa fell into the snare and the queen became pregnant by him, having secured from the hand of her husband his signet ring as a token which could not be disclaimed. Thus in Karṇa's old age Miyaṇalladevi became the mother of the illustrious Siddharāja Jayasingha, who, according to a local tradition quoted by Mr. Forbes, first saw the light at Palanpur.² When three years old the precocious Siddharāja climbed and sat upon the throne. This ominous event being brought to the king's notice he consulted his astrologers who advised that from that day Siddharāja should be installed as heir-apparent.

The Gujarāt chronicles do not record how or when Karṇa died. It appears from a manuscript that he was reigning in A. D. 1089 (S. 1145).³ The Hammīramahākāvya says 'The illustrious Karṇadeva was killed in battle by king Duśśala of Sakambhari,' and the two appear to have been cotemporaries.⁴ The author of the Dvyāsraya says that Karṇa died fixing his thoughts on Vishnu, recommending to Siddharāja his cousin Devaprasāda son of Kshemarāja. According to the Prabandhachintamani Vichitraśreṇī and Sukṛita-sankīrtana Karṇa died in A. D. 1094 (S. 1150).

As, at the time of his father's death, Siddharāja was a minor⁵ the reins of government must have passed into the hands of his mother Miyaṇalladevi. That the succession should have been attended with struggle and intrigue is not strange. According to the Dvyāsraya Devaprasāda, the son of Kshemarāja burned himself on the funeral pile shortly after the death of Karṇa, an action which was probably the result of some intrigue regarding the succession. Another intrigue

Chapter II.

THE

CHAULUKYAS,
A. D. 961 - 1242.Karṇa,
A. D. 1004 - 1094.Siddharāja
Jayasingha,
A. D. 1094 - 1143.

one day asked to come out of his cage and dine with him. The parrot said: The cat sitting near you will kill me. The king seeing no cat replied: If any cat kills you I too will die. The parrot left his cage, ate with the king, and was killed by the cat. Jayakeśi made ready his funeral pyre, and, in spite of his minister's prayers, taking the dead parrot in his hand laid himself on the funeral pyre and was burned.

¹ Chandrapura is probably Chandivar near Gokarn in North Kānara.

² *Itaś Mātā* (New Edition), 83.

³ Kiehn's Report on Sanskrit Manuscripts for 1881 page 22.

⁴ Duśśala was slain in descent from Vighararāja the enemy of Mālarāja from whom Karṇa was fifth in descent.

⁵ The date of his installation is given by the author of the Vichitraśreṇī as Vikrama S. 1150.

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THE
CHAULUKYAS,
A.D. 961-1242.
Siddharāja
Jayasingha,
A.D. 1094-1143.

ended in the death of Madanapāla brother of Karna's mother queen Udayāmatī, at the hands of the minister Śāntu, who along with Muñjala and Udā, helped the queen-mother Miyanalladevi during the regency. Muñjala and Śāntu continued in office under Siddharāja. Another minister built a famous Jain temple named Mahārājabhavana in Sidhpur at the time when Siddharāja built the Rudramāla. An inscription from a temple near Bhadresar in Kacch dated A.D. 1139 (S. 1195 Ashādha Vad 10, Sunday), in recording grants to Audichya Brāhmins to carry on the worship in an old temple of Udaesvara and in a new temple of Kumārapālesvara built by Kumārapāla son of the great prince Āsapāla,¹ notes that Dādāka was then minister of Siddharāja. Among his generals the best known was a chief named Jagaddeva (Jag Dev), commonly believed to be a Paramāra, many of whose feats of daring are recorded in bardic and popular romances.² Though Jag Dev is generally called a Paramāra nothing of his family is on record. The author of the *Prabandhachintāmaṇi* describes Jagaddeva as a thrice valiant warrior held in great respect by Siddharāja. After Siddharāja's death Jagaddeva went to serve king Permādi to whose mother's family he was related.³ Permādi gave him a chiefship and sent him to attack Mālava.

When Siddharāja attained manhood his mother prepared to go in great state on pilgrimage to Somanātha. She went with rich offerings as far as Bāhuloda apparently the large modern village of Bholāda on the Gujarat-Kāthiāvāda frontier about twenty-two miles south-west of Dholkā. At this frontier town the Anahilavāda kings levied a tax on all pilgrims to Somanātha. Many of the pilgrims unable to pay the tax had to return home in tears. Miyanalladevi was so saddened by the woes of the pilgrims that she stopped her pilgrimage and returned home. Siddharāja met her on the way and asked her why she had turned back. Miyanalladevi said, I will neither eat nor go to Somanātha until you order the remission of the pilgrim tax. Siddharāja called the Bholāda treasurer and found that the levy yielded 72 lakhs a year.⁴ In spite of the serious sacrifice Siddharāja broke the board authorizing the levy of the tax and pouring water from his hand into his mother's declared that the merit of the remission was hers. The queen went to Somanātha and worshipped the god with gold presenting an elephant and other gifts and handing over her own weight in money.

According to the *Prabandhachintāmaṇi* while Miyanalladevi and Siddharāja were on pilgrimage Yaśovarman king of Mālwa continually harassed the Gurjjara-Maṇḍala. Śāntu who was in charge of the kingdom asked Yaśovarman on what consideration he would retire.

¹ Āsapāla and Kumārapāla appear to be local chiefs.

² Compare Forbes' *R4*, *MAJ*, I, 118-153.

³ Goa Kādāmba inscriptions say that Jagaddeva was the cousin of the Goa Kādāmba king Vijayārka the nephew of Miyanalladevi and call him by courtesy the younger brother of Vijayārka's son Jayakēśi II. He would seem to have been held in esteem by Vijayārka and his son Jayakēśi, to have then gone for some time to Siddharāja, and after leaving Siddharāja to have transferred his services to Permādi. His being called Paramāra may be due to his connection with Permādi. Fleet's *Kāmaras* Dynasties, 91.

⁴ Seventy-two a favourite number with Indian authors.

Yasovarman said he would retire if Siddharāja gave up to him the merit of the pilgrimage to Somesvara. Sāntu washed his feet and taking water in his hand surrendered to Yasovarman the merit of Siddharāja, on which, according to his promise, Yasovarman retired. On his return Siddharāja asked Sāntu what he meant by transferring his sovereign's merit to a rival. Sāntu said, 'If you think my giving Yasovarman your merit has any importance I restore it to you.' This curious story seems to be a Jain fiction probably invented with the object of casting ridicule on the Brāhmanical doctrine of merit. Yasovarman was not a cotemporary of Siddharāja. The Mālwa king referred to is probably Yasovarman's predecessor Naravarman, of whom an inscription dated A.D. 1134 (S. 1190) is recorded.

Under the name Sadharo Jesingh, Siddharāja's memory is fresh in Gujarāt as its most powerful, most religious, and most charitable ruler. Almost every old work of architectural or antiquarian interest in Gujarāt is ascribed to Siddharāja. In inscriptions he is styled The great king of kings, The great lord, The great Bhāttāraka, The lord of Avantī, The hero of the three worlds, The conqueror of Barbaraka, The universal ruler Siddha, The illustrious Jayasimhadeva. Of these the commonest attributes are Siddhachakravartin the Emperor of Magic and Siddharāja the Lord of Magic, titles which seem to claim for the king divine or supernatural powers.¹ In connection with his assumption of these titles the Kumārapālprabandha, the Dvyāśraya, and the Prabandhachintāmaṇi tell curious tales. According to the Dvyāśraya, the king wandering by night had subdued the Bhūtas, Sākinis, and other spirits. He had also learnt many mantras or charms. From what he saw at night he would call people in the day time and say 'You have such a cause of uneasiness' or 'You have such a comfort.' Seeing that he knew their secrets the people thought that the king knew the hearts of all men and must be the avatāra of some god. A second story tells how Siddharāja helped a Naga prince and princess whom he met by night on the Samavati.² According to a third story told in the Kumārapālprabandha two Yōginis or nymphs came from the Himālayas and asked the king by what mystic powers he justified the use of the title Siddharāja. The king agreed to perform some wonders in open court in the presence of the nymphs. With the help of a former minister, Haripāla, the king had a dagger prepared whose blade was of sugar and its handle of iron set with jewels. When the king appeared in court to perform the promised wonders a deputation of ambassadors from king Permādi of Kalyānakataka³ was

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¹ Prabandhachintāmaṇi and Kumārapālacharita.

² Dr. Kielhorn's Report on Sanskrit Manuscripts for 1881 page 22.

³ The Kumārapālacharita says that the title was assumed on the conquest of Barbaraka. The verse is:

सिद्धो बर्बरकास्य सिद्धरानस्ततोभवत्

that is, by him the demon Barbaraka was vanquished, therefore he became Siddharāja The Lord of Magical Power.

⁴ Ind. Ant. IV. 265.

⁵ This Permādi may be the Goa Kādamba chief Permādi Sivachitta (A.D. 1147-1175), who was heir-apparent in the time of Siddharāja, or the Śinda chief Permādi who was a cotemporary of Siddharāja and flourished in A.D. 1144.

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announced. The deputation entered and presented the prepared dagger as a gift from their lord. The king kept the prepared dagger and in its stead sent all round the court a real dagger which was greatly admired. After the real dagger had been seen and returned the king said: I will use this dagger to show my mystic powers, and in its place taking the false dagger ate its sugar blade. When the blade was eaten the minister stopped the king and said Let the Yoginis eat the handle. The king agreed and as the Yoginis failed to eat the handle which was iron the superiority of the king's magic was proved.

A fourth story in the Dvyāśraya tells that when the king was planning an invasion of Mālwa a Yoginī came from Ujjain to Patan and said 'O Rāja, if you desire great fame, come to Ujjain and humbly entreat Kālīka and other Yoginīs and make friends with Yaśovarman the Rāja of Ujjain.' The king contemptuously dismissed her, saying, 'If you do not fly hence like a female crow, I will cut off your nose and ears with this sword.'

So also the king's acts of prowess and courage were believed to be due to magical aid. According to the common belief Siddharāja did his great acts of heroism by the help of a demon named Bābaro, whom he is said to have subdued by riding on a corpse in a burying ground. The story in the Prāhandhachintāmaṇi is similar to that told of the father of Harshavardhana who subdued a demon with the help of a Yogi. It is notable that the story had passed into its present form within a hundred years of Siddharāja's death. Somesvara in his Kīrtikāumudī says, 'This moon of kings fettered the prince of goblins Barbaraka in a burial-place, and became known among the crowd of kings as Siddharāja.' Older records show that the origin of the story, at least of the demon's name, is historical being traceable to one of Siddharāja's copperplate attributes Barbaraka-jahnu that is conqueror of Barbaraka. The Dvyāśrayakośha represents this Barbara as a leader of Rākhasas or Mlecchas, who troubled the Brāhmanas at S'rīsthala-Siddhapura. Jayasimha conquered him and spared his life at the instance of his wife Piṅgalikā. Afterwards Barbara gave valuable presents to Jayasimha and 'served him as other Rajputs.'¹ Barbaraka

¹ Ind. Ant. IV. 2. Regarding Barbaraka Doctor Bühler remarks in Ind. Ant. VI. 167: 'The Varvarakas are one of the non-Aryan tribes which are settled in great numbers in North Gujarat, Koli, Bhil, or Mer.' Siddharāja's contests with the Barbarakas seem to refer to what Tod (Western India, 173 and 195) describes as the incursions of mountaineers and foresters on the plains of Gujarat during the eleventh and twelfth centuries. To attempt to identify Bhut Barbar or Varvaris is hazardous. The name Barbar is of great age and is spread from India to Morocco. Wilson (Works, VII. 176) says: 'The analogy between Barbaras and barbarians is not in sound only. In all Sanskrit authorities Barbaras are classed with borderers and foreigners and nations not Hindu. According to Sir Henry Rawlinson (Perrier's Caravan Journeys, 223 note) tribes of Berbers are found all over the east. Of the age of the word Canon Rawlinson (Herodotus, IV. 233) writes: 'Barbar seems to be the local name for the early race of Accad. In India Ptolemy (A.D. 150; McCrindle's Edn. 146) has a town Barbarei on the Indus and the Periplus (A.D. 247; McCrindle's Ed. 108) has a trade-centre Barbarikon on the middle mouth of the Indus. Among Indian writings, in the Rāmāyana (Hall in Wilson's Works, VII. 176 Note *) the Barbaras appear between the Tukharas and the Kambojas in the north; in the Mahābhārata (Muir's Sanskrit Texts, I. 481-2) in one list Var-varas are entered between Savaras and Sakas and in another list (Wilson's Works, VII. 176).

seems to be the name of a tribe of non-Aryans whose modern representatives are the Bahariās settled in South Kāthiāvāḍa in the province still known as Bāhariāvāḍa.

A Dahad inscription of the time of Siddharāja dated A.D. 1140 (S. 1196) says of his frontier wars: 'He throw into prison the lords of Surāshtra and Mālwa; he destroyed Sindhurāja and other kings; he made the kings of the north bear his commands.' The Surāshtra king referred to is probably a ruler of the Ahir or Chudāsāmā tribe

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Baharas come between Kiratas and Siddhas. Finally (As. Res. XV. 47 footnote) Barbara is the northernmost of the Seven Konkannas. The names Barbari in Ptolemy and Barbarikon in the Periplus look like some local place-name, perhaps Bāmbhara, altered to a Greek form. The Hindu tribe names, from the sameness in sound as well as from their position on the north-west border of India, suggest the Mongol tribe Juān-Juān or Var-Var, known to the western nations as Avārs, who drove the Little Ymuchi out of Balkh in the second half of the fourth century, and, for about a hundred years, ruled to the north and perhaps also to the south of the Hindu Kush. (Specht in *Journal Asiatique* 1883. II. 390-410; Howarth in *Jour. R. A. S.* XXI. 721-810.) It seems probable that some of these Var-Vars passed south either before or along with the White Hunas (A.D. 450-550). Var, under its Mongol plural form Avarti (Howarth, *Ibid.* 722), closely resembles Avartiya one of the two main divisions of the Kāthīs of Kacch (Mr. Krishna's list in *J. Bom. Ges. Soc.* II. 59-60 for Aug. 1838). That among the forty-seven clans included under the Avartiyas four (Nos. 30, 35, 42, and 43) are Babariyas, suggests that the Kāthīs received additions from the Var-Vars at different times and places. Dr. Bühler (*Ind. Ant.* VI. 186) thinks that the Baharo or Barbar or Var-Var who gave trouble to Siddharāja represent some early local non-Aryan tribe. The fact that they are called Rākshasas and Mlecchas and that they stopped the ceremonies at Siddhpur north of Anahilavāḍa seems rather to point to a foreign invasion from the north than to a local uprising of hill tribes. Though no Musalman invasion of Gujarat during the reign of Siddharāja is recorded a Jodpur legend (Forbes' *Ras Malā*, I. 175) tells how Lajpā Bijirao the Bhāṭṭi prince who married Siddharāja's daughter was hailed by his mother-in-law as the bulwark of Anahilavāḍa against the power of the king who grows too strong. This king may be Bahālim the Indian viceroy of the Ghaznavid Bahram Shāh (A.D. 1116-1157). Bahālim (Elliot, II. 279; Briggs' *Peristā*, I. 151) collected an army of Arabs, Persians, Afghans, and Khūṣiā, repaired the fort of Nāgor in the province of Sewālīk, and committed great devastations in the territories of the independent Indian rulers. He threw off allegiance to Ghazni and advancing to meet Bahram Shāh near Multān was defeated and slain. Except that they were northerners and that Bahālim's is the only known invasion from the north during Siddharāja's reign nothing has been found connecting Barbar and Bahālim. At the same time that the Barbar or Var-Vars the Gujarāt writers may have been non-Hindu mercenaries from the north-west, or when Siddharāja admitted as Hindu subjects is made not unlikely by two points preserved by the Muhammadan historians. The *Tārkh-i-Sorāth* (Bayley's *G. Gaz.* 25 Note *) tells how in A.D. 1178 from the defeated army of Shāhāb-ud-din Ghori the Turkish Afghan and Meghal women were distributed the higher class to high caste and the commoner to low caste Hindus. Similarly how the better class of male captives were admitted among Chakāvāl and Wadhāi Rajputs and the lower among Khātis, Sōṭis, Babarias, and Mers. Again about thirty years later (A.D. 1210) when his Turk mercenaries, who were not converted to Islām, revolted against Shāms-ud-din Altamash they seized Delhi and built Hindu temples (Elliot, II. 237-238). These clues seem to make it likely that among Bahālim's mercenaries were some un-Islamised North Indian Var-Vars and that they were admitted into Hinduism by Siddharāja and as the story states served him as other Rajputs. Some of the new-comers as noted above seem to have merged into the Kāthīs. Others founded or joined the Bahariās who give their name to Bahariāvāḍa a small division in the south of Kāthiāvāḍa. Though the tribe is now small the 72 divisions of the Bahariās show that they were once important. One of their leading divisions preserves the early form Var (Kāthiāvār Gazetteer, 132-133) and supports their separate northern origin, which is forgotten in the local stories that they are descended from Jētras and Ahirs and have a Brahman element in their ancestry. (Tod's *Western India*, 413; Kāthiāvār Gazetteer, 132-133.) Of the Var-Vars in their old seats a somewhat doubtful trace remains in the Barbaris a tribe of Hazārās near Herāt (Bellow in *Imp. and As. Quar. Review* Oct. 1891 page 378) and in the Panjāb (Hobson's *Census*, 538) Bhabras a class of Panjāb Jains.

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whose head-quarters were at Junágadh. According to the Prabandha-chintāmaṇi Siddharāja went in person to subdue Noghan or Navaghan the Ahir ruler of Surāshtra; he came to Vardhamānapura that is Vadhvan and from Vadhvan attacked and slew Noghan. Jinaprabhasūri the author of the Tirthakalpa says of Gīrnār that Jayasimha killed the king named Khengār and made one Sajjana his viceroy in Surāshtra. So many traditions remain regarding wars with Khengār that it seems probable that Siddharāja led separate expeditions against more than one king of that name. According to tradition the origin of the war with Khengār was a woman named Rānakadevi whom Khengār had married. Rānakadevi was the daughter of a potter of Majevādi village about nine miles north of Junágadh, so famous for her beauty that Siddharāja determined to marry her. Meanwhile she had accepted an offer from Khengār whose subject she was and had married him. Siddharāja enraged at her marriage advanced against Khengār, took him prisoner, and annexed Sorath. That Khengār's kingdom was annexed and Sajjana, mentioned by Jinaprabhasūri, was appointed Viceroy is proved by a Gīrnār inscription dated A.D. 1120 (S. 1176).

An era called the Simha Samvatsara connected with the name of Jayasimha and beginning with A.D. 1113-1114 (S. 1169-70), occurs in several inscriptions found about Prabhāsa and South Kāthiavāda. This era was probably started in that year in honour of this conquest of Khengār and Sorath.¹ The earliest known mention of the Simha Samvatsara era occurs in a step-well at Māngrol called the Sodhali Vāv. The inscription is of the time of Kumārāpāla and mentions Sahajiga the father of Mūlaka the grantor as a member of the bodyguard of the Chālukyas. The inscription states that Sahajiga had several sons able to protect Saurāshtra, one of whom was Somarāja who built the temple of Sahajigesvara, in the enclosure of the Somanātha temple at Prabhāsa; another was Mūlaka the *nāyaka* of Surāshtra, who is recorded to have made grants for the worship of the god by establishing cesses in Māngalapura or Māngrol and other places. The inscription is dated A. D. 1143 (Monday the 13th of the dark half of Āśvin Vīśākha S. 1202 and Simha S. 32). This inscription supports the view that the Simha era was established by Jayasimha, since if the era belonged to some other local chief, no Chālukya viceroy would adopt it. The Simha era appears to have been kept up in Gujaraṭ so long as Anahilapura rule lasted. The well known Verāval inscription of the time of Arjunadeva is dated Hījri 632, Vikrama S. 1320, Valabhi S. 945, Simha 3. 151, Sunday the 13th of Ashādha Vadi. This inscription shows that the Simha era was in use for a century and a half during the sovereignty of Anahilavāda in Surāshtra.

Regarding Sajjana Siddharāja's first viceroy in Surāshtra, the Prabandha-chintāmaṇi says that finding him worthy the king appointed Sajjana the *daṇḍādhipati* of Surāshtra. Without consulting his master Sajjana spent three years' revenue in building a stone temple of

¹ Abhayatilaka Gani who revised and completed the *Dvayātraya* in Vikrama S. 1312 (A.D. 1256) says, in his twentieth Sarga, that a new era was started by Kumārāpāla. This would seem to refer to the Simha era.

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Neminātha on Gīrnār instead of a wooden temple which he removed. In the fourth year the king sent four officers to bring Sajjana to Aṇahilavāda. The king called on Sajjana to pay the revenues of the past three years. In reply Sajjana asked whether the king would prefer the revenue in cash or the merit which had accrued from spending the revenue in building the temple. Preferring the merit the king sanctioned the spending of the revenues on the Tīrtha and Sajjana was reappointed governor of Sorath.¹ This stone temple of Sajjana would seem to be the present temple of Neminātha, though many alterations have been made in consequence of Muhammadan sacrilege and a modern enclosure has been added. The inscription of Sajjana which is dated A.D. 1120 (S. 1176) is on the inside to the right in passing to the small south gate. It contains little but the mention of the Śādhū who was Sajjana's constant adviser. On his return from a second pilgrimage to Somanātha Siddharāja who was encamped near Ravatāka that is Gīrnār expressed a wish to see Sajjana's temple. But the Brāhmanas envious of the Jains persuaded the king that as Gīrnār was shaped like a *līṅg* it would be sacrilege to climb it. Siddharāja respected this objection and worshipped at the foot of the mountain. From Gīrnār he went to Satruṅjaya. Here too Brāhmanas with drawn swords tried to prevent the king ascending the hill. Siddharāja went in disguise at night, worshipped the Jain god Adīśvara with Ganges water, and granted the god twelve neighbouring villages. On the hill he saw so luxuriant a growth of the *śallaki* a plant dear to elephants, that he proposed to make the hill a breeding place for elephants a second Vindhya. He was reminded what damage wild elephants would cause to the holy place and for this reason abandoned his plan.

Siddharāja's second and greater war was with Mālwa. The cotemporary kings of Mālwa were the Paramāra ruler Naravarman who flourished from A.D. 1104 to 1133 (S. 1160-1189) and his son and successor Yaśovarman who ruled up to A.D. 1143 (S. 1199) the year of Siddharāja's death. As the names of both these kings occur in different accounts of this war, and, as the war is said to have lasted twelve years, it seems that fighting began in the time of Naravarman and that Siddharāja's final victory was gained in the time of Yaśovarman in Siddharāja's old age about A.D. 1134 (S. 1190). This view is supported by the local story that his expedition against Yaśovarman was undertaken while Siddharāja was building the Sahasralīṅga lake and other religious works. It is not known how the war arose but the statement of the Prabandha-hintāmaṇi that Siddharāja vowed to make a scabbard of Yaśovarman's skin seems to show that Siddharāja received grave provocation. Siddharāja is said to have left the building of the Sahasralīṅga lake to the masons and architects and himself to have

¹ The Kumāraplācharita states that Sajjana died before the temple was finished, and that the temple was completed by his son Paraśurāma. After the temple was finished Siddharāja is said to have come to Somanātha and asked Paraśurāma for the revenues of Sorath. But on seeing the temple on Gīrnār he was greatly pleased, and on finding that it was called Karpā-vihāra after his father he sanctioned the outlay on the temple.

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started for Mālwa. The war dragged on and there seemed little hope of victory when news reached Siddharāja that the three south gates of Dhārā could be forced. With the help of an elephant an entrance was effected. Yaśovarman was captured and bound with six ropes, and, with his captured enemy as his banner of victory, Siddharāja returned to Anahilapura. He remembered his vow, but being prevented from carrying it out, he took a little of Yaśovarman's skin and adding other skin to it made a scabbard. The captured king was thenceforward kept in a cage. It was this complete conquest and annexation of Mālwa that made Siddharāja assume the style of Avantīnātha 'Lord of Avantī,' which is mentioned as his *birūda* or title in most of the Chaulukya copperplates.¹ Mālwa henceforward remained subject to Anahilavāḍa. On the return from Mālwa an army of Bhils who tried to block the way were attacked by the minister Śāntu and put to flight.

Siddharāja's next recorded war is with king Madanavarman the Chandela king of Mahobaka the modern Mahobā in Bundelkhand. Madanavarman, of whom General Cunningham has found numerous inscriptions dating from A.D. 1130 to 1164 (S. 1185-1220),² was one of the most famous kings of the Chandela dynasty. An inscription of one of his successors in Kālanjar fort records that Madanavarman 'in an instant defeated the king of Gurjjara, as Krishna in former times defeated Kamsa,'³ a statement which agrees with the Gujarāt accounts of the war between him and Jayasinha. In this conflict the Gujarāt accounts do not seem to show that Siddharāja gained any great victory; he seems to have been contented with a money present. The Kīrtikaumudī states that the king of Mahobaka honoured Siddharāja as his guest and paid a fine and tribute by way of hospitality. The account in the Kumārapālacharita suggests that Siddharāja was compelled to come to terms and make peace. According to the Kīrtikaumudī, and this seems likely, Siddharāja went from Dhārā to Kālanjara. The account in the Prabandhachintāmani is very confused. According to the Kumārapālacharita, on Siddharāja's way back from Dhārā at his camp near Patan a bard came to the court and said to the king that his court was as wonderful as the court of Madanavarman. The bard said that Madanavarman was the king of the city of Mahobaka and most clever, wise, liberal, and pleasure-loving. The king sent a courtier to test the truth of the bard's statement. The courtier returned after six months declaring that the bard's account was in no way exaggerated. Hearing this Siddharāja at once started against Mahobaka and encamping within sixteen miles of the city sent his minister to summon Madanavarman to surrender. Madanavarman who was enjoying himself took little notice of the minister. This king, he said, is the same who had to fight twelve years with Dhārā; if, as is probable, since he is a *kabādi* or wild king, he wants money, pay him what he wants. The money

¹ Ind. Ant. VI. 194ff. Dr. Bühler (Dittol) takes Avantīnātha to mean Siddharāja's opponent the king of Mālwa and not Siddharāja himself.

² Archaeological Survey Report, XXI. 86.

³ Jour. R. A. Soc. (1849), 319.

was paid. But Siddharāja was so struck with Madanavarman's indifference that he would not leave until he had seen him. Madanavarman agreed to receive him. Siddharāja went with a large bodyguard to the royal garden which contained a palace and enclosed pleasure-house and was guarded by troops. Only four of Siddharāja's guards were allowed to enter. With these four men Siddharāja went in, was shown the palace garden and pleasure-houses by Madanavarman, was treated with great hospitality, and on his return to Patan was given a guard of 120 men.

The Dvyāstraya says that after his conquest of Ujjain Siddharāja seized and imprisoned the king of a neighbouring country named Sim. We have no other information on this point.

The Dohad inscription dated A.D. 1140 mentions the destruction of Sindhurāja that is the king of Sindh and other kings. The Kirtikaumudī also mentions the binding of the lord of Sindhu. Nothing is known regarding the Sindh war. The Kirtikaumudī mentions that after a war with Arjorāja king of Sāmbar Siddharāja gave his daughter to Arjorāja. This seems to be a mistake as the war and alliance with Arjorāja belong to Kumārapāla's reign.

Siddharāja, who like his ancestors was a Śaiva, showed his zeal for the faith by constructing the two grandest works in Gujarāt the Rudramahālaya at Siddhpur and the Sahasralīnga lake at Patan. The Jain chroniclers always try to show that Siddharāja was favourably inclined to Jainism. But several of his acts go against this claim and some even show a dislike of the Jains. It is true that the Jain sage Hemāchārya lived with the king, but the king honoured him as a scholar rather than as a Jain. On the occasion of the pilgrimage to Somanātha the king offered Hemāchārya a palanquin, and, as he would not accept the offer but kept on walking, the king blamed him calling him a learned fool with no worldly wisdom. Again on one occasion while returning from Mālwa Siddharāja encamped at a place called Śrīnagara, where the people had decorated their temples with banners in honour of the king. Finding a banner floating over a Jain temple the king asked in anger who had placed it there, as he had forbidden the use of banners on Jain shrines and temples in Gujarāt. On being told that it was a very old shrine dating from the time of Bharata, the king ordered that at the end of a year the banner might be replaced. This shows the reverse of a leaning to Jainism. Similarly, according to the Prabandhachintāmaṇi, Hemāchārya never dared to speak to the king in favour of Jainism but used to say that all religions were good. This statement is supported by the fact that the opening verses of all works written by Hemāchārya in the time of Siddharāja contain no special praise of Jain deities.

So great is Siddharāja's fame as a builder that almost every old work in Gujarāt is ascribed to him. Tradition gives him the credit of the Dabhoi fort which is of the time of the Vāghelā king Vīradhavalā, A.D. 1220-1260. The Prabandhachintāmaṇi gives this old verse regarding Siddharāja's public works: 'No one makes a great temple (Rudramahālaya), a great pilgrimage (to Somanātha), a great Āsthāna (darbār hall), or a great lake (Sahasralīnga)

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such as Siddharāja made.¹ Of these the Rudramahālaya, though very little is left, from its size and the beauty of its carving, must have been a magnificent work the grandest specimen of the architecture of the Solanki period. The remains of the Sahasralīnga lake at Anahilapura show that it must have been a work of surprising size and richness well deserving its title of *mahāsarā* or great lake. Numerous other public works are ascribed to Siddharāja.²

At this period it seems that the kings of Gujarāt Sāmbhar and other districts, seeing the great reputation which his literary tastes had gained for Bhoja of Dhārā used all to keep Pandits. Certain carvings on the pillars of a mosque at the south-west of the modern town of Dhārā show that the building almost as it stands was the Sanskrit school founded by Bhoja. The carvings in question are beautifully cut Sanskrit grammar tables. Other inscriptions in praise of Naravarman show that Bhoja's successors continued to maintain the institution. In the floor of the mosque are many large shining slabs of black marble, the largest as much as seven feet long, all of them covered with inscriptions so badly mutilated that nothing can be made out of them except that they were Sanskrit and Prakrit verses in honour of some prince. On a rough estimate the slabs contain as many as 4000 verses.³ According to the old saying any one who drank of the Sarasvatī well in Dhārā became a scholar. Sarasvatī's well still exists near the mosque. Its water is good and it is still known as Akkal-kui or the Well of Talent. As in Dhārā so in Ajmir the Arhāt-dinkā Jhopdā mosque is an old Sanskrit school, recent excavations having brought to light slabs with entire dramas carved on them. So also the Gujarāt kings had their Pandits and their halls of learning. Śrīpāla, Siddharāja's poet-laureate, wrote a poetical eulogium or *prāśasti* on the Sahasralīnga lake. According to the Prabandha-chintāmaṇi Siddharāja gathered numerous Pandits to examine the eulogium. As has already been noticed Siddharāja's constant companion was the great scholar and Jain *āchārya* Hemachandra also called Hemāchārya, who, under the king's patronage, wrote a treatise on grammar called Siddhahema, and also the well-known Dvyāśrayakosha which was intended to teach both grammar and the history of the Solankis. Hemachandra came into even greater

¹ The original verse is महालयो महायात्रा महास्थानं महासूतः यत्कृतं सिद्धराजेन कियते तस्य केनानिदम्.

² These, as quoted by Rāo Sāheb Mahipatram Bāpām in his Sadhara Jeevanah, are, the erection of charitable feeding houses every gojoun or four miles, of Dahol fort, of a *lunda* or reservoir at Kapadvanj, of the Mahālaya lake at Dholā, of small temples, of the Rudramahālaya, of the Itanī's step-well, of the Sahasralīnga lake, of reservoirs at Sihor, of the fort of Saeth, of the Dāsasāhara or ten thousand temples, of the Manā lake at Viramgam, of the *padās* or forts of Dadharapur Vadhwan Anantapur and Chabari, of the Sārthār lake, of the *padās* of Jhinjhuvāda, Virpur, Bhādula, Vasingspara, and Tisan, of the palaces of Kaudola and Silā Jagaspara, of the reservoirs of Dadādrī and Kirtti stambha and of Jīpar-Anantpura. It is doubtful how many of these were actually Siddharāja's works.

³ One of the best preserved slabs was sent by Sir John Malcolm when Resident of Māwa to the Museum of the B. B. R. A. S., where it still lies. It has verses in twelfth century Prakrit in honour of a king, but nothing historical can be made out of it.

prominence in the time of Kumārapāla, when he wrote several further works and became closely connected with the state religion. Several stories remain of Siddharāja assembling poets, and holding literary and poetic discussions.

Record is preserved of a *sabha* or assembly called by the king to hear discussions between a Śvetāmbara Jaina *ācārya* named Bhattāraka Devasūri and a Digambara Jaina *ācārya* named Kumudachandra who had come from the Karnātak. Devasūri who was living and preaching in the Jain temple of Arishtanemi at Karnāvatī,¹ that is the modern Ahmadābad, was there visited by Kumudachandra. Devasūri treated his visitor with little respect, telling him to go to Patan and he would follow and hold a religious discussion or *vāda*. Kumudachandra being a Digambara or sky-clad Jaina went naked to Patan and Siddharāja honoured him because he came from his mother's country. Siddharāja asked Hemachandra to hold a discussion with Kumudachandra and Hemachandra recommended that Devasūri should be invited as a worthy disputant. At a discussion held before a meeting called by the king Kumudachandra was vanquished, probably because the first principle of his Digambara faith that no woman can attain *nirvāṇa*, was insulting to the queen-mother, and the second that no clothes-wearing Jain can gain *mukti* or absorption, was an insult to the Jain ministers. The assembly, like Brāhmanical *sabhās* at the present day, appears to have declined into noise and Siddharāja had to interfere and keep order. Devasūri was complimented by the king and taken by one Khada with great honour to his newly built Jain temple.²

In spite of prayers to Somanātha, of incantations, and of gifts to Brāhmanas Siddharāja Jayasinha had no son. The throne passed into the line of Tribhuvanapāla the great-grandson of Bhīmadeva I. (A.D. 1074-82) who was ruling as a feudatory of Siddharāja at his ancestral appanage of Dahithāl. Tribhuvanapāla's pedigree is Bhīmadeva I.; his son Kāshmarāja by Bakuladevī a concubine; his son Haripāla; his son Tribhuvanapāla. By his queen Kāśmīradevī Tribhuvanapāla had three sons Mahipāla, Kīrttipāla, and Kumārapāla, and two daughters Premaladevī and Devaladevī. Premaladevī was married to one of Siddharāja's nobles a cavalry general named Kānhada or Kṛṣṇadeva: Devaladevī was married to Anorāja³ or Anarāja

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¹ See above page 170.

² Devasūri was born in S. 1134 (A.D. 1078), took *dhikā* in S. 1152 (A.D. 1096), became a Sūri in S. 1174 (A.D. 1118), and died on a Thursday in the dark half of Śrāvana S. 1226 (A.D. 1170). His famous disciple Hemachandra was born on the full-moon of Kārtika S. 1145 (A.D. 1089), became an ascetic in S. 1150 (A.D. 1094), and died in S. 1229 (A.D. 1173).

³ The Prakrit local name was Āno, of which the Sanskritised forms would appear to be Arno, Arnava, A'naka, and A'nalla as given in the Hammīramahākavya. The genealogy of these kings of Śākambhārī or Sāmbhar is not settled. The Nadol copper-plate dated Śaṃvāt 1218 gives the name of its royal grantor as Alan and of Alan's father as Māharāja (Tod's Rajasthan, I. 804), the latter apparently a mistake for Anarāja which is the name given in the *Dryāpaya*. Alan's date being V. 1218, the date of his father Alan would fit in well with the early part of Kumārapāla's reign. The order of the two names Alhana and Analla in the Hammīramahākavya would seem to be mistaken and ought to be reversed.

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king of Śākambhari or Sāmbhar, the Analladeva of the Hammira-mahākāvya. Kumārapāla himself was married by his father to one Bhupāladevi. According to the Dvyāśraya, Tribhuvanapāla was on good terms with Siddharāja serving him and going with him to war. The Kumārapālacharita also states that Kumārapāla used to attend the court of Siddharāja. But from the time he came to feel that he would have no son and that the bastard Kumārapāla would succeed him Siddharāja became embittered against Kumārapāla. According to the Jain chronicles Siddharāja was told by the god Somanātha, by the sage Hamachandra, by the goddess Ambikā of Kōḍinār,¹ and by astrologers that he would have no son and that Kumārapāla would be his successor. According to the Kumārapālacharita so bitter did his hate grow that Siddharāja planned the death of Tribhuvanapāla and his family including Kumārapāla. Tribhuvanapāla was murdered but Kumārapāla escaped. Grieved at this proof of the king's hatred Kumārapāla consulted his brother-in-law Kṛṣṇadeva who advised him to leave his family at Dahithali and go into exile promising to keep him informed of what went on at Anahilapura. Kumārapāla left in the disguise of a *jaṭādhāri* or recluse and escaped the assassins whom the king had ordered to slay him. After some time Kumārapāla returned and in spite of his disguise was recognized by the guards. They informed the king who invited all the ascetics in the city to a dinner. Kumārapāla came but noticing that the king recognized him in spite of his disguise, he fled. The king sent a trusted officer with a small force in pursuit. Kumārapāla persuaded some husbandmen, the chief of whom was Dhīmasimha, to hide him in a heap of thorns. The pursuers failing to find him returned. At night Kumārapāla was let out bleeding from the thorns, and promised the husbandmen that the day would come when their help would be rewarded. He then shaved his topknot or *jaṭā* and while travelling met with a lady named Devāsri of Udambara village who pitying him took him into her chariot and gave him food. Kumārapāla promised to regard her as a sister. He then came to Dahithali where the royal troops had already arrived. Siddharāja sent an army which invested the village leaving Kumārapāla without means of escape. He went to a potter named Sajjana or Alīnga who hid him in the flues of his brick-kiln throwing hay over him. The troops searched the village, failed to find Kumārapāla, and retired. The potter then helped Kumārapāla from his hiding place and fed him. A former friend named Bosari joined Kumārapāla and they went away together Kumārapāla commending his family to the care of Sajjana. On the first day they had no food. Next day Bosari went to beg and they together ate the food given to Bosari in a monastery or *maṭh* where they slept. In time they came to Cambay where they called upon Hemāchārya and asked him their future. Hemāchārya knew and recognized Kumārapāla. Kumārapāla asked when fate would bless him. Before Hemāchārya

¹ Kōḍinār is a town in Gāḷkwar territory in South Kāthiāvāḍa. This temple of Ambika is noticed as a place of Jain pilgrimage by the sage Jinaprabhāsri in his Tīrthakalpa and was a well-known Jain shrine during the Anahilavāḍa period.

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could reply Udayana, one of the king's ministers, came. Hemāchārya said to Udayana, 'This is Kumārāpāla who shall shortly be your king.' Hemāchārya also gave Kumārāpāla a writing stating that he would succeed to the throne. Kumārāpāla acknowledged his obligations to Hemāchārya and promised to follow his advice. Udayana took him to his house and gave him food and clothes. Siddharāja came to know of this and sent his soldiers who began to search. Kumārāpāla returned to Hemāchārya who hid him in a cellar covering its door with manuscripts and palm leaves. The soldiers came but failed to search under the manuscripts and returned. Kumārāpāla acknowledged his obligations to Hemāchārya and said he owed him two great debts one for telling him the day on which he would come to the throne; the other for saving his life. Kumārāpāla left Cambay at midnight, the minister Udayana supplying him with provisions. From Cambay he went to Vāṭapadrapura probably Baroda, where feeling hungry he entered the shop of a Vānia named Katuka and asked for parched gram. The Vānia gave the gram and seeing that Kumārāpāla had no money accepted his promise of future payment. From Baroda he came to Bhṛigukachh or Broach where he saw a soothsayer and asked him his future. The soothsayer, seeing the bird *kālī-devī* perched on the temple flagstaff, said 'You will shortly be king.' Kumārāpāla shaved his matted hair and went from Broach to Ujjain where he met his family. But as here too the royal troops followed him he fled to Kolhāpura where he came across a Yogi who foretold his succession to a throne and gave him two spells or *mantras*. From Kolhāpura Kumārāpāla went to Kāñchī or Conjeveram and from there to the city of Kālabapattana.¹ The king of Kālabapattana Prātāpasimha received him like an elder brother and brought him into his city, built a temple of Sivananda Kumārāpālesvara in his honour, and even issued a coin called a Kumārāpāla. From Kālabapattana Kumārāpāla went to Chitrakūṭa or Chitor and from there to Ujjain whence he took his family to Siddhapura going on alone to Anahilapura to see his brother-in-law Kṛishnadeva. According to the Vichārasreṇī Siddharāja died soon after in A.D. 1143 on the 3rd of Kārttika Suddha Samvat 1199.

In the dissensions that followed the king's death Kumārāpāla's interests were well served by his brother-in-law Kṛishnadeva. Eventually the names of three candidates, Kumārāpāla and two others, were laid before the state nobles sitting in council to determine who should be king. Of the three candidates the two others were found wanting, and Kumārāpāla was chosen and installed according to the Vichārasreṇī on the 4th of Mārgaśīrsha Suddha and according to the Kumārāpālaprabandha on the 4th of Mārgaśīrsha Vadhya. At the time of his succession, according to the Prabandhachintāmaṇi and the Kumārāpālaprabandha, Kumārāpāla was about fifty years of age.

¹ The Kumārāpālaprabandha has Kelambapattana and Kolambapattana probably Kolan or Quilon.

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On his accession Kumārāpāla installed his wife Bhopaladevi his anointed queen or *pattarini*: appointed Udayana who had befriended him at Cambay minister; Bāhaḍa or Vāghhaṭa son of Udayana¹ chief councillor or *mahāmātya*; and Alinga second councillor or *mahāpradhīva*. Ahada or Arabhaṭṭa, apparently another son of Udayana, did not acknowledge Kumārāpāla and went over to Arjorāja Anāka or Anō king of Sapādalakṣha or the Sāmbhar territory who is probably the same as the Analladeva of the Hammīramahākāvya.²

The potter Sajjana was rewarded with a grant of seven hundred villages near Chitrakūṭa or Chitoda fort in Rājputāna, and the author of the Prābandhachintāmaṇi notices that in his time the descendants of the potter ashamed of their origin called themselves descendants of Sagara. Bhīmasimha who hid Kumārāpāla in the thorns was appointed head of the bodyguard; Devaśrī made the sister's mark on the royal forehead at the time of Kumārāpāla's installation and was granted the village of Devayo;³ and Katuka the Vānīā of Baroda, who had given Kumārāpāla parched gram was granted the village of Vaṭṣpadra or Baroda. Bosari Kumārāpāla's chief companion was given Lātamaydala, which seems to mean that he was appointed viceroy of Lāṭa or South Gujarāt.

Kanhada or Krishnadeva Kumārāpāla's brother-in-law and adviser overvaluing his great services became arrogant and disobedient insulting the king in open court. As remonstrance was of no avail the king had Krishnadeva waylaid and beaten by a band of athletes and taken almost dying to his wife the king's sister. From this time all the state officers were careful to show ready obedience.

The old ministry saw that under so capable and well served a ruler their power was gone. They accordingly planned to slay the king and place their own nominee on the throne. The king heard of the plot; secured the assassins; and employed them in murdering the conspirators. According to the Prābandhachintāmaṇi, Ahada or Arabhaṭṭa who had gone over to the Sāmbhar king and was in charge of the Sāmbhar infantry, bribed the local nobles as a preliminary to a war which he had planned against Kumārāpāla. He so far succeeded as to bring A'na or Anāka the Sāmbhar king with the whole of his army to the borders of Gujarāt to fight Kumārāpāla.⁴ Kumārāpāla went to meet Anāka. But, in consequence of intrigues, in the battle that followed the Gujarāt army did not obey orders. Kumārāpāla advanced in front on an elephant, and Bāhaḍa trying to climb on Kumārāpāla's elephant was thrown to the ground and slain. Anāka was also pierced with arrows and the Sāmbhar army was defeated and plundered of its horses.⁴

¹ The Kumārāpālaprabandha says that Udayana was appointed minister and Vāghhaṭa general. Soḷṭa the youngest son of Udayana did not take part in politics.

² Kirtane's Hammīramahākāvya, 13.

³ Dhavalakka or Dhalki according to the Kumārāpālaprabandha.

⁴ According to the Kumārāpālacharita Kumārāpāla's sister who was married to A'na having heard her husband speak slightly of the kings of Gujarāt took offence, resented the language, and bandied words with her husband who beat her. She came to her brother and incited him to make an expedition against her husband.

The Dvyāśraya, probably by the aid of the author's imagination, gives a fuller account of this war. One fact of importance recorded in the Dvyāśraya is that Anāka though defeated was not slain, and, to bring hostilities to an end, gave his daughter Jalhanā to Kumārapāla in marriage. The Kumārapālacharita calls the Sāmbar king Arnorāja and says that it was Kumārapāla who invaded the Sāmbar territory. According to this account Kumārapāla went to Chandrāvati near Abu and taking its Paramāra king Vikramasimha with him marched to Sākambhari or Sāmbar and fought Arnorāja who was defeated but not killed. Kumārapāla threatened to cut out Arnorāja's tongue but let him go on condition that his people wore a headress with a tongue on each side. Arnorāja is said to have been confined in a cage for three days and then reinstalled as Kumārapāla's feudatory. Vikramasimha of Chandrāvati, who in the battle had sided with Arnorāja, was punished by being disgraced before the assembled seventy-two feudatories at Anahilavāda and was sent to prison, his throne being given to his nephew Yasodhavalā. After his victory over Arnorāja Kumārapāla fought, defeated, and, according to the Kīrtikaumudī, beheaded Ballāla king of Mālwa who had invaded Gujarāt. The result of this contest seems to have been to reduce Mālwa to its former position of dependence on the Anahilavāda kings. More than one inscription of Kumārapāla's found in the temple of Udayāditya as far north as Udayapura near Bhilsa shows that he conquered the whole of Mālwa, as the inscriptions are recorded by one who calls himself Kumārapāla's general or *daṇḍandāyaka*.

Another of Kumārapāla's recorded victories is over Mallikārjuna said to be king of the Konkan who we know from published lists of the North Konkan Silāhāras flourished about A.D. 1160. The author of the Prabandhachintāmaṇi says this war arose from a bard of king Mallikārjuna speaking of him before king Kumārapāla as *Rājapitāmaha* or grandfather of kings.¹ Kumārapāla annoyed at so arrogant a title looked around. Āmbadā,² one of the sons of Udayana, divining the king's meaning, raised his folded hands to his forehead and expressed his readiness to fight Mallikārjuna. The king sent him with an army which marched to the Konkan without halting. At the crossing of the Kalāvinī³ it was met and defeated by Mallikārjuna. Āmbadā returned in disgrace and shrouding himself his umbrella and his tents in crape retreated to Anahilavāda. The king finding Āmbadā though humiliated ready to make a second venture gave him a larger and better appointed force. With this army Āmbadā again started for the Konkan, crossed the Kalāvinī, attacked Mallikārjuna, and in a hand-to-hand fight

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¹ The Dvyāśraya does not say that Kumārapāla's sister was married to A'na.

² This was a common title of the Silāhāra kings. Compare Bombay Gazetteer, XIII. 437 note 1.

³ Āmbadā is his proper name. It is found Sanskritised into Āmrabhaṭa and Ambaka.

⁴ This is the Kāverī river which flows through Chikhlī and Balasr. The name in the text is very like Karabēnā the name of the same river in the Nāśik cave inscriptions (Bom. Gaz. XVI. 571) Kalāvinī and Karabēnā being Sanskritised forms of the original Kāverī. Perhaps the Kāverī is the Akabaron of the Ptolemy (A.D. 247).

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climbed his elephant and cut off his head. This head cased in gold with other trophies of the war he presented to the king on his triumphant return to Anahilapura. The king was greatly pleased and gave Āmbadā the title of *Rājapitāmaha*. Of this Mallikārjuna two stone inscriptions have been found one at Chiplūn dated A.D. 1156 (Saka 1078) the other at Bassein dated A.D. 1160 (Saka 1082). If the story that Mallikārjuna was slain is true the war must have taken place during the two years between A.D. 1160 and 1162 (Saka 1082, 1084) which latter is the earliest known date of Mallikārjuna's successor Aparāditya.

The Kumārāpālacharita also records a war between Kumārāpāla and Samara king of Surāshtra or south Kāthiāvāda, the Gujarāt army being commanded by Kumārāpāla's minister Udayana. The Prabandhachintāmaṇi gives Sausara as the name of the Surāshtra king¹; possibly he was some Gohilvād Mehr chief. Udayana came with the army to Vadhwān, and letting it advance went to Pālitāna. While he was worshipping at Pālitāna, a mouse carried away the burning wick of the lamp. Reflecting on the risk of fire in a wooden temple Udayana determined to rebuild the temple of stone. In the fight with Sausara the Gujarāt army was defeated and Udayana was mortally wounded.² Before Udayana died he told his sons that he had meant to repair the temple of Ādiśvara on Satruñjaya and the Sakunikā Vihāra at Broach and also to build steps up the west face of Gīrnār. His sons Bāhada and Āmbadā promised to repair the two shrines. Subsequently both shrines were restored, Kumārāpāla and Hemāchārya and the council of Anahilapura attending at the installation of Suvṛittinātha in the Sakunikā Vihāra. The Gīrnār steps were also cut, according to more than one inscription in A.D. 1166 (S. 1222).³ This war and Udayana's death must have occurred about A.D. 1149 (S. 1205) as the temple of Ādinātha was finished in A.D. 1156-57 (S. 1211). Bāhada also established near Satruñjaya a town called Bāhadapura and adorned it with a temple called Tribhuvanapālavasati.⁴ After the fight with Sausara Kumārāpāla was threatened with another war by Karṇa⁵ king of Dāhala or Chedi. Spies informed the king of the

¹ Sausara or Sāsar seems the original form from which Samara was Sanskritised. Sāsar corresponds with the Mehr name Chāchar.

² The Kumārāpālacharita says that Samara was defeated and his son placed on the throne.

³ The translation of the inscription runs: Steps made by the venerable Āmbaka, Samvat 1222. According to the Kumārāpālprabandha the steps were built at a cost of a lakṣ of drammae a dramma being of the value of about 5 annas. According to the Prabandhachintāmaṇi an earthquake occurred when the king was at Gīrnār on his way to Īomanatha. The old ascent of Gīrnār was from the north called Chātravāṇi that is the umbrella or overhanging rocks. Hemāchārya said if two persons went up together the Chātravāṇi rocks would fall and crush them. So the king ordered Āmrahatta to build steps on the west or Junāgadh face at a cost of 63 lakhs of drammae.

⁴ The site of Bāhadapura seems to be the ruins close to the east of Pālitāna where large quantities of conch shell bangles and pieces of brick and tile have been found.

⁵ This would appear to be the Kalschuri king Gayā Karṇa whose inscription is dated 202 of the Chedi era that is A.D. 1152. As the earliest known inscription of Gayā Karṇa's son Narasimhadeva is dated A.D. 1167 (Chedi 907) the death of Gayā Karṇa falls between A.D. 1152 and 1167 in the reign of Kumārāpāla and the story of his being accidentally strangled may be true.

impending invasion as he was starting on a pilgrimage to Somanātha. Next day he was relieved from anxiety by the news that while sleeping on an elephant at night king Karna's necklacc became entangled in the branch of a banyan tree, and the elephant suddenly running away, the king was strangled.

The Prabandhachintāmaṇi records an expedition against Sāmbhar which was entrusted to Chāhāḍa a younger brother of Bāhāḍa. Though Chāhāḍa was known to be extravagant, the king liked him, and after giving him advice placed him in command. On reaching Sāmbhar Chāhāḍa invested the fort of Bābrānagar but did not molest the people as on that day 700 brides had to be married.¹ Next day the fort was entered, the city was plundered, and the supremacy of Kumārapāla was proclaimed. This Bābrānagar has not been identified. There appears to be some confusion and the place may not be in Sāmbhar but in Bābariāvāda in Kāthiāvāda. Chāhāḍa returned triumphant to Patan. The king expressed himself pleased but blamed Chāhāḍa for his lavish expenditure and conferred on him the title of *Rāja-gharatta* the King-grinder.

Though the Gujarāt chronicles give no further details an inscription in the name of Kumārapāla in a temple at Udepur near Bhilsa dated A.D. 1166 records that on Monday, *Akṣaya tritīyā* the 3rd of Vaiśākh Sud (S. 1222), Thakkara Chāhāḍa granted half the village of Sangavāda in the Raṅgarikā district or *bhukti*. Just below this inscription is a second also bearing the name of Kumārapāla. The year is lost. But the occasion is said to be an eclipse on Thursday the 15th of Paus̥h Sudi when a gift was made to the god of Ūdayapura by Yaśodhavalā the viceroy of Kumārapāla.²

¹ So many marriages on one day points to the people being either Kāvya Kunbis or Bhārvaḍa among whom the custom of holding all marriages on the same day still prevails.

² The text of the inscription is:

- (1)पौषसुदीगुरौ अयेह श्रीमदन-
- (2) हिलपादके [समस्त] राजावलीबिराजितपरमहारकमहा-
- (3) [राजाधिराजनिर्जित] साकमरीभूपालश्रीमदवन्तिनाथश्रीमत्कु-
- (4) [मारपाळ]नियुक्तमहामाल्यधीनतोषव-
- (5) छ श्रीकरणादौ समस्तमुद्राव्यापारान्परिपन्थयतांतिव-
- (6) काले [पवर्तमाने महाराजा] धिराजधीकुमारपाळदेवेन विज-
- (7)श्रीमदुदयपुरो ...शेखकान्वये महाराज-
- (8) पुत्रमहाराजपुत्रवसन्तपाळ एवं अन-
- (9)लिखिता यात्रा । अथ सोममहणपर्वणि
- (10)लयवने समाहृततीर्थोदके स्नात्वा जगद्गु-
- (11) सुखपुण्यजयवृद्धये उदयपुरकारि
- (12)कारापित देवश्री.....

Chapter II.

THE
CHAULUKYAS,
A.D. 961-1242
Kumārāpāla,
A.D. 1143-1174.

Chapter II.

THE
CHAUUKYAS,
A.D. 961-1242.
Kumārāpāla,
A.D. 1143-1174.

Similar inscriptions of Kumārāpāla's time and giving his name occur near the ruined town of Kerādu or Kirāta-Kūpa near Bālmer in Western Rājputāna. The inscriptions show that Kumārāpāla had another *Amātya* or minister there, and that the kings of the country round Kerādu had been subject to Gujarāt since the time of Siddharāja Jayasimha. Finally the inscription of Kumārāpāla found by Colonel Tod in a temple of Brahma on the pinnacle of Chitōda fort¹ shows that his conquests extended as far as Mewāda.

According to the Kumārāpālachintāmaṇi Kumārāpāla married one Padmāvati of Padmapura. The chronicler describes the city as to the west of the Indus. Perhaps the lady belonged to Padmapura a large town in Kashmīr. Considering his greatness as a king and conqueror the historical record of Kumārāpāla is meagre and incomplete. Materials may still come to light which will show his power to have been surprisingly widespread.

Mr. Forbes² records the following Brāhmanical tradition of a Mewāda queen of Kumārāpāla, which has probably been intentionally omitted by the Jain chroniclers.

Kumārāpāla, says the Brāhman tradition, had wedded a Sisodani Rāni, a daughter of the house of Mewāda. At the time that the sword went for her the Sisodani heard that the Rāja had made a vow that his wives should receive initiation into the Jain religion at Hemāchārya's convent before entering the palace. The Rāni refused to start for Patan until she was satisfied she would not be called on to visit the Āchārya's convent. Jayadeva Kumārāpāla's household bard became surety and the queen consented to go to Anahilapura. Several days after her arrival Hemāchārya said to the Rāja 'The Sisodani Rāni has never come to visit me.' Kumārāpāla told her she must go. The Rāni refused and fell ill, and the bard's wives went to see her. Hearing her story they disguised her as one of themselves and brought her privately home to their house. At night the bard dug a hole in the wall of the city, and taking the Rāni through the hole started with her for Mewāda. When Kumārāpāla became aware of the Rāni's flight he set off in pursuit with two thousand horse. He came up with the fugitives about fifteen miles from the fort of Idar. The bard said to the Rāni, 'If you can enter Idar you are safe. I have two hundred horse with me. As long as a man of us remains no one shall lay hands on you.' So saying he turned upon his pursuers. But the Rāni's courage failed and she slew herself in the carriage. As the fight went on and the pursuers forced their way to the carriage, the maids cried 'Why struggle more, the Rāni is dead.' Kumārāpāla and his men returned home.³

The Paramāra chiefs of Chandrāvati near A'bu were also feudatories of Kumārāpāla. It has been noted that to punish him for siding with Arnorāja of Sāmbar Kumārāpāla placed Vikrama Simha the Chandrāvati chief in confinement and set Vikrama's

¹ Annals of Rājasthān, I. 803.² Rās Malā (New Edition), 154.³ Rās Malā (New Edition), 154.

nephew Yaśodhavalā on his throne. That Kumārapāla conquered the chiefs of Sāmbhar and Mālwa is beyond question. Among his names is the proud title Avanti-nātha Lord of Mālwa.

The Kumārapālaprabandha gives the following limits of Kumārapāla's sway. The Turushikas or Turks on the north; the heavenly Ganges on the east; the Vindhya mountains on the south; the Sindhu river on the west.¹ Though in tradition Kumārapāla's name does not stand so high as a builder as the name of Siddharāja Jayasīma he carried out several important works. The chief of these was the restoring and rebuilding of the great shrine of Somasvara or Somanātha Patan. According to the Prabandhachintāmaṇi when Kumārapāla asked Devasūri the teacher of Hemachārya how best to keep his name remembered Devasūri replied: Build a new temple of Somanātha fit to last an age or yuga, instead of the wooden one which is ruined by the ocean billows. Kumārapāla approved and appointed a building committee or pañchakula headed by a Brāhman named Gaṇḍa Bhāva Brihaspati the state officer at Somanātha. At the instance of Hemachārya the king on hearing the foundations were laid vowed until the temple was finished he would keep apart from women and would take neither flesh nor wine. In proof of his vow he poured a handful of water over Nilakantha Mahādeva, probably his own royal god. After two years the temple was completed and the flag hoisted. Hemachārya advised the king not to break his vow until he had visited the new temple and paid his obeisance to the god. The king agreed and went to Somanātha, Hemachārya preceding him on foot and promising to come to Somanātha after visiting Satruñjaya and Gīrnār. On reaching Somanātha the king was received by Gaṇḍa-Brihaspati his head local officer and by the building committee, and was taken in state through the town. At the steps of the temple the king bowed his head to the ground. Under the directions of Gaṇḍa-Brihaspati he worshipped the god, made gifts of elephants and other costly articles including his own weight in coin, and returned to Anahilapura.

It is interesting to know that the present battered sea-shore temple of Somanātha, whose garbhāgāra or shrine has been turned into a mosque and whose spire has been shattered, is the temple of whose building and consecration the above details are preserved. This is shown by the style of the architecture and sculpture which is in complete agreement with the other buildings of the time of Kumārapāla.²

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¹ The text is: यः कैवेरीमा तुरुष्कमैन्द्रीमा त्रिदिवापगं

पान्थमा विन्द्यमा सिन्धुं पश्चिमा यो हाताभयत्

² It is also interesting, if there is a foundation of fact to the tale, that this is the temple visited by the Persian poet Saadi (A.D. 1200-1230) when he saw the ivory idol of Somanātha whose arms were raised by a hidden priest pulling a cord. According to Saadi on pretence of conversion he was admitted behind the shrine, discovered the cord-puller, throw him into a well, and fled. Compare Journal Royal Asiatic Society Bengal VII.2 pages 885-886. That Saadi ever visited Somanātha is doubtful. No ivory human image can ever have been the chief object of worship at Somanātha.

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Kumārāpāla's temple seems to have suffered in every subsequent Muhammadan invasion, in Alaf Khan's in A.D. 1300, in Mozaffar's in A.D. 1390, in Mahmūd Begada's about A.D. 1490, and in Muzaffar II.'s about A.D. 1530. Time after time no sooner had the invader passed than the work of repair began afresh. One of the most notable restorations was by Khengār IV. (A.D. 1279-1333) a Chudāsamā king of Junāgadh who is mentioned in two Gīrnār inscriptions as the repairer of Somanātha after its desecration by Ala-ud-din Khilji. The latest sacrilege, including the turning of the temple into a mosque, was in the time of the Ahmadābād king Muzaffar Shāh II. (A.D. 1511-1535). Since then no attempt has been made to win back the god into his old home.

In the side wall near the door of the little shrine of Bhadrakālī in Patan a broken stone inscription gives interesting details of the temple of Somanātha. Except that the right hand corners of some of the lines are broken, the inscription is clear and well preserved. It is dated A.D. 1169 (Valabhi 850). It records that the temple of the god Someśa was first of gold built by Soma; next it was of silver built by Rāvana; afterwards of wood built by Krishna; and last of stone built by Bhīmadeva. The next restoration was through Gaṇḍa-Brihaspati under Kumārāpāla. Of Gaṇḍa-Brihaspati it gives these details. He was a Kanyākubja or Kanoj Brāhman of the Pāsūpata school, a teacher of the Māva kings, and a friend of Siddharāja Jayasinha. He repaired several other temples and founded several other religious buildings in Somanātha. He also repaired the temple of Kedāres'vara in Kumaon on learning that the Khas'a king of that country had allowed it to fall into disrepair. After the time of Kumārāpāla the descendants of Gaṇḍa-Brihaspati remained in religious authority in Somanātha.

Kumārāpāla made many Jain benefactions.¹ He repaired the temple of Sāgala-Vasahikā at Stambha-tīrtha or Cambay where Hemāchārya received his initiation or *dīkshā*. In honour of the lady who gave him barley flour and curds he built a temple called the Karmabaka-Vihāra in Patan. He also built in Patan a temple called the Mouse or Mushaka-Vihāra to free himself from the impurity caused by killing a mouse while digging for treasure. At Dhandhuka Hemāchārya's birthplace a temple called the Jholikā-Vihāra or cradle temple was built. Besides these Kumārāpāla is credited with building 1444 temples.

Though Kumārāpāla was not a learned man, his ministers were men of learning, and he continued the practice of keeping at his court scholars especially Sanskrit poets. Two of his leading Pandits were Rāmachandra and Udayachandra both of them Jains. Rāmachandra is often mentioned in Gujarātī literature and appears to have been a great scholar. He was the author of a book called the Hundred Accounts or Prabandhas'ata. After Udayana's death Kumārāpāla's chief minister was Kapardi a man of learning skilled in Sanskrit poetry. And all through his reign his principal adviser

¹ From the Prabandhachintāmaṇi and the Kumārāpālacharita.

was Hemachandra or Hemacharya probably the most learned man of his time. Though Hemacharya lived during the reigns both of Siddharaja and of Kumarpala, only under Kumarpala did he enjoy political power as the king's companion and religious adviser. What record remains of the early Solankis is chiefly due to Hemachandra.

The Jain life of Hemacharya abounds in wonders. Apart from the magic and mystic elements the chief details are: Chachiga a Modh Vania of Dhandhuka¹ in the district of Ardhashtama had by his wife Pāhinī² of the Chāmunda gōtra, a boy named Chāngodeva who was born A.D. 1083 (Kartik fullmoon Samvat 1145). A Jain priest named Devachandra A'charya (A.D. 1078-1170; S. 1134-1226) came from Patan to Dhandhuka and when in Dhandhuka went to pay his obeisance at the Modh Vasahikā. While Devachandra was seated Chāngodeva came playing with other boys and went and sat beside the ācharya. Struck with the boy's audacity and good looks the ācharya went with the council of the village to Chachiga's house. Chachiga was absent but his wife being a Jain received the ācharya with respect. When she heard that her son was wanted by the council, without waiting to consult her husband, she handed the boy to the ācharya who carried him off to Karpavati and kept him there with the sons of the minister Udayana. Chachiga, disconsolate at the loss of his son, went in quest of him vowing to eat nothing till the boy was found. He came to Karpavati and in an angry mood called on the ācharya to restore him his son. Udayana was asked to interfere and at last persuaded Chachiga to let the boy stay with Devachandra.

In A.D. 1097, when Chāngodeva was eight years old Chachiga celebrated his son's consecration or *dikshā* and gave him the name of Somachandra. As the boy became extremely learned Devachandra changed his name to Hemachandra the Moon of gold. In A.D. 1110 (S. 1166) at the age of 21, his mastery of all the Sāstras and Siddhāntas was rewarded by the dignity of Sāri or sage. Siddharaja was struck with his conversation and honoured him as a man of learning. Hemachandra's knowledge wisdom and tact enabled him to adhere openly to his Jain rules and beliefs though Siddharaja's dislike of Jain practices was so great as at times to amount to insult. After one of their quarrels Hemacharya kept away from the king for two or three days. Then the king seeing his humility and his devotion to his faith repented and apologised. The two went together to Somanātha Patan and there Hemacharya paid his obeisance to the *linga* in a way that did not offend his own faith. During Siddharaja's reign Hemacharya wrote his well known grammar with aphorisms or *sūtras* and commentary or *vr̥tti* called Siddha-Hemachandra, a title compounded of the king's name and his own. As the Brāhmans found fault with the absence of any detailed references to the king in the work Hemachandra

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¹ The head-quarters of the Dhandhuka sub-division sixty miles south-west of Ahmadabad.

² Another reading is Lakhin.

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A.D. 1143-1174.

added one verse at the end of each chapter in praise of the king. During Siddharāja's reign he also wrote two other works, the *Haimināmamālā* "String of Names composed by Hema(chandra)" or *Abhidhānachintāmaṇi* and the *Anekārthanāmamālā* a Collection of words of more than one meaning. He also began the *Dvyaśrayakosha*¹ or Double Dictionary being both a grammar and a history. In spite of his value to Kumārāpāla, in the beginning of Kumārāpāla's reign Hemachārya was not honoured as a spiritual guide and had to remain subordinate to Brāhmins. When Kumārāpāla asked him what was the most important religious work he could perform Hemachārya advised the restoring of the temple of Somanātha. Still Hemachārya so far won the king to his own faith that till the completion of the temple he succeeded in persuading the king to take the vow of *ahimsā* or non-killing which though common to both faiths is a specially Jain observance. Seeing this mark of his ascendancy over the king, the king's family priest and other Brāhmins began to envy and thwart Hemachārya. On the completion of the temple, when the king was starting for Somanātha for the installation ceremony, the Brāhmins told him that Hemachārya did not mean to go with him. Hemachārya who had heard of the plot had already accepted the invitation. He said being a recluse he must go on foot, and that he also wanted to visit Girnār, and from Girnār would join the king at Somanātha. His object was to avoid travelling in a palanquin with the king or suffering a repetition of Siddharāja's insult for not accepting a *pālki*. Soon after reaching Somanātha Kumārāpāla asked after Hemachārya. The Brāhmins spread a story that he had been drowned, but Hemachārya was careful to appear in the temple as the king reached it. The king saw him, called him, and took him with him to the temple. Some Brāhmins told the king that the Jain priest would not pay any obeisance to Siva, but Hemachārya saluted the god in the following verse in which was nothing contrary to strict Jainism: 'Salutation to him, whether he be Brahma, Vishnu, Hara, or Jina, from whom have fled desires which produce the sprouts of the seed of worldliness.'² After this joint visit to Somanātha Hemachandra gained still more ascendancy over the king, who appreciated his calmness of mind and his forbearance. The Brāhmins tried to prevent the growth of his influence, but in the end Hemachandra overcame them. He induced the king to place in the sight of his Brāhminical family priests an image of Śāntinātha Tirthaṅkara among his family gods. He afterwards persuaded Kumārāpāla publicly to adopt the Jain faith by going to the hermitage of Hemachandra and giving

¹ *Prabandhachintāmaṇi*.² नववीनाइकुरनना रागायाः सवमुपायता यस्व ।

ब्रह्मा वा विष्णुर्वा हरो जिनो वा नमस्तस्मै ॥

यव तत्र समये यथा तथा योसि सोत्यभिधया यथा तथा ।

वीतदोषकल्पः स चेद्ववानेक एव भगवन्मोस्तु ते ॥

numerous presents to Jain ascetics. Finally under his influence Kumārapāla put away all Brāhmanical images from his family place of worship. Having gone such lengths Kumārapāla began to punish the Brāhmanas who insulted Hemachandra. A Brāhmana named Vamarāśi, a Pandit at the royal court, who composed a verse insulting Hemachandra, lost his annuity and was reduced to beggary, but on apologising to Hemachandra the annuity was restored. Another Brāhmanical officer named Bhava Brihaspati, who was stationed at Somanātha, was re-called for insulting Hemachandra. But he too on apologising to Hemachandra was restored to Somanātha. Under Hemachandra's influence Kumārapāla gave up the use of flesh and wine, ceased to take pleasure in the chase, and by beat of drum forbade throughout his kingdom the taking of animal life. He withdrew their licenses from hunters fowlers and fishermen, and forced them to adopt other callings. To what lengths this dread of life-taking was carried appears from an order that only filtered water was to be given to all animals employed in the royal army. Among the stories told of the king's zeal for life-saving is one of a Bania of Sāmbhar who having been caught killing a louse was brought in chains to Anahilavāda, and had his property confiscated and devoted to the building at Anahilavāda of a Louse Temple or Yūkā-Vihāra. According to another story a man of Nador in Mārwar was put to death by Kelhana the chief of Nador to appease Kumārapāla's wrath at hearing that the man's wife had offered flesh to a field-god or *kshetrapāla*. Hemachandra also induced the king to forego the claim of the state to the property of those who died without a son.

During Kumārapāla's reign Hemachandra wrote many well known Sanskrit and Prakrit works on literature and religion. Among these are the Adhyātmopanishad or Yogasāstra a work of 12,000 verses in twelve chapters called Prakāśas, the Trisāsthī-sālakāpurnabacharita or lives of sixty-three Jain saints of the Utsarpinī and Avasarpinī ages; the Parisiṣṭaparvan, a work of 3500 verses being the life of Jain Sthaviras who flourished after Mahāvira; the Prakṛita Śabdānuśāsana or Prakrit grammar; the Dvyāśraya¹ a Prakrit poem written with the double object of teaching grammar and of giving the history of Kumārapāla; the Chhandanuśāsana a work of about 8000 verses on prosody; the Līngānuśāsana a work on genders; the Deśināmamālā in Prakrit with a commentary a work on local and provincial words; and the Alākārachūḍāmaṇi a work on rhetoric. Hemachandra died in A.D. 1172 (S. 1229) at the age of 84. The king greatly mourned his loss and marked his brow with Hemachandra's ashes. Such crowds came to share in the ashes of the pyre that the ground was hollowed into a pit known as the Haima-Khadda or Hema's Pit.

Kumārapāla lived to a great age. According to the author of the Prabandhachintāmaṇi he was fifty when he succeeded to the

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¹ संवत् १२२९ वैशाखशुद्धि ३ सोमे अष्टमि धर्मदण्डिबलवडके समस्त राजावली वि-
खनिहमदाराजाधिराजपदमेश्वर अजयपालदेवकल्याणविजयराज्ये तत्सदस्योपनीविनि महा-
मात्यश्रीसोमेश्वरे श्रीकरणदी.

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Kumārāpāla,
A.D. 1143-1174.

Ajayapāla,
A.D. 1174-1177.

throne, and after ruling about thirty-one years died in A.D. 1174 (S. 1230). He is said to have died of *lūta* a form of leprosy. Another story given by the Kumārāpālaprabandha is that Kumārāpāla was imprisoned by his nephew and successor Ajayapāla. The Kumārāpālaprabandha gives the exact length of Kumārāpāla's reign at 30 years 8 months and 27 days. If the beginning of Kumārāpāla's reign is placed at the 4th Māgśar Sud Samvat 1299, the date of the close, taking the year to begin in Kārtika, would be Bhādrapada Suddha Samvat 1229. If with Gujarāt almanacs the year is taken to begin in Āśādhā, the date of the close of the reign would be Bhādrapada of Samvat 1230. It is doubtful whether either Samvat 1229 or 1230 is the correct year, as an inscription dated Samvat 1229 Vaishākha Suddha 3rd at Udayapura near Bhilsā describes Ajayapāla Kumārāpāla's successor as reigning at Anahilapura. This would place Kumārāpāla's death before the month of Vaishākha 1229 that is in A.D. 1173.¹

As Kumārāpāla had no son he was succeeded by Ajayapāla the son of his brother Mahipāla.² According to the Kumārāpālaprabandha Kumārāpāla desired to give the throne to his daughter's son Pratāpamalla, but Ajayapāla raised a revolt and got rid of Kumārāpāla by poison. The Jain chroniclers say nothing of the reign of Ajayapāla because he was not a follower of their religion. The author of the Sukritasānkīrtana notices a small silver canopy or pavilion shown in Ajayapāla's court as a feudatory's gift from the king of Sapādalakṣha³ or Sewālik. The author of the Kīrtikāumudī dismisses Ajayapāla with the mere mention of his name, and does not even state his relationship with Kumārāpāla. According to the Prabandhachintamānī Ajayapāla destroyed the Jain temples built by his uncle. He showed no favour to Ambādā and Kumārāpāla's other Jain ministers. Ajayapāla seems to have been of a cruel and overbearing temper. He appointed as his minister Kapardi because he was of the Brāhmanical faith.⁴ But considering his manners arrogant he ordered him to be thrown into a caldron of boiling oil. On another occasion he ordered the Jain scholar Rāmachandra to sit on a red-hot sheet of copper. One of his nobles Āmra-bhaṭa or Āmbādā refused to submit to

¹ Regarding the remarkable story that not long before their deaths both Hemacharya and Kumārāpāla inclined towards Islam if they did not become converts to Islam (Tod's Western India, 184) no fresh information has been obtained. Another curious saying of Tod's (Ibid. 182) also remains doubtful. Kumārāpāla expelled the tribe of Lār from his kingdom. That this tribe of Lār can have had to do either with Lāta or South Gujarāt or with the caste of Lād Vanis seems unlikely. The alternative is Parsis from Lār on the Persian Gulf whom Tod (Annals of Rajasthan, I. 235) notices as sending an expedition from Laristan to Gujarāt. In this connection it is worthy of note that Lār remained the seat of a Queber prince till A. D. 1600 the time of Shah Abas (D'Herbelot Bib. Or. II. 477). A repetition of the Parsi riots (Cambay Gazetteer, VI. 215) may have been the cause of their expulsion from Gujarāt.

² See the Dvādyāya. A Patan inscription lying at Varāval also calls Ajayapāla the brother's son of Kumārāpāla.

³ It is stated in a grant of Bhims II. dated S. 1233, that Ajayadeva, as he is there called, made the Sapādalakṣha or Sāmbar king tributary. Ind. Ant. VI. 199E.

⁴ The Udayapura inscription mentions Somesvara as the minister of Ajayapāla in Samvat 1229 (A.D. 1173). See above page 193.

the king, saying that he would pay obeisance only to Vitarāja or Tirthankara as god, to Hemachandra as guide, and to Kumārāpāla as king. Ajayapāla ordered the matter to be settled by a fight. Āmbadā brought some of his followers to the drum-house near the gate, and in the fight that followed Āmbadā was killed. In A.D. 1177 (S. 1233), after a short reign of three years, Ajayapāla was slain by a doorkeeper named Vijjaladeva who plunged a dagger into the king's heart.¹

Ajayapāla was succeeded by his son Mūlārāja II, also called Bāla Mūlārāja as he was only a boy when installed. His mother was Nāikidevi the daughter of Paramardi, apparently the Kādamba king Permādi or Siva Chitta who reigned from A.D. 1147 to 1175 (S. 1203-1231).² The authors of the Kīrtikaumudī³ and the Sukṛitasankīrtana say that even in childhood Mūlārāja II dispersed the Turushka or Muhammadan army.⁴ The Prabandha-chintāmaṇi states that the king's mother fought at the Gādarāraghatta and that her victory was due to a sudden fall of rain. Mūlārāja II. is said to have died in A.D. 1179 (S. 1235) after a reign of two years.

Mūlārāja II. was succeeded by Bhīma II. The relationship of the two is not clearly established. Mr. Forbes makes Bhīma the younger brother of Ajayapāla. But it appears from the Kīrtikaumudī and the Sukṛitasankīrtana that Bhīma was the younger brother of Mūlārāja. The Sukṛitasankīrtana after concluding the account of Mūlārāja,⁵ calls Bhīma 'asya bandhu' 'his brother, and the Kīrtikaumudī, after mentioning the death of Mūlārāja, says that Bhīma his younger brother 'anujanmānya' became king.⁶

Chapter II.

THE
CHAULUKYAS.
A.D. 961-1242.

Mūlārāja II.
A.D. 1177-1179.

¹ The abuse of Ajayapāla is explained if Tod's statement (Western India, 191) that he became a Muslim is correct.

² Fleet's Kāmarose Dynasties, 93.

³ Chapter II. Verse 57.

⁴ We know much less about this event than its importance deserves, for with the exception of a raid made in A.D. 1157 by one of the Ghori generals this victory secured Gujārat from any serious Muhammadan attack for more than a century. We learn from various grants made by Bhīmadeva II. (Ind. Ant VI. 195, 198, 200, 261) that Mūlārāja's regular epithet in the Prashasti was "He who overcame in battle the ruler of the Garjjanaka, who are hard to defeat"; and Dr. Bühler has pointed out (Ditto, 201) that Garjjanaka is a Sanskritising of the name Ghaznavi. As a matter of fact, however, the leader of the Muslim army was Muhammad of Ghori, and the battle took place in A.D. 1178 (H. 574). One of the two Muhammadan writers who mentions the invasion (Muhammad 'Ifti, who wrote at Delhi about A.D. 1211) says that Muhammad was at first defeated, but invaded the country a second time two years later "and punished the people for their previous misconduct." But this is only mentioned incidentally as part of an anecdote of Muhammad's equity, and there is some confusion with Muhammad's victory in the second battle of Narayan (in Jaipur territory) in A.D. 1192, as a better, though slightly later authority, Minhāj-us Sirāj, speaks of no second expedition to Gujārat led by Muhammad himself. Minhāj-us Sirāj's account of the defeat is as follows (Elliott, II. 294): He (Muhammad) conducted his army by way of Uch and Multan towards Nahrwālā. The Rājā of Nahrwālā, Bhīmdeo, was a minor, but he had a large army and many elephants. In the day of battle the Muhammadans were defeated and the Sultan was compelled to retreat. This happened in the year 574 H. (1178 A.D.). Further on we read (Elliott, II. 300): "In 593 H. (1197 A.D.) he (Muhammad's general Kutb-ul-din) went towards Nahrwālā, defeated Rājā Bhīmdeo, and took revenge on the part of the Sultan." As no conquest of the country is spoken of, this expedition was evidently a mere raid. The only inaccuracy in the account is the mention of Bhīma instead of Mūlārāja as the king who defeated the first invasion.—(A. M. T. J.)

⁵ Sarga II. Verse 47.

⁶ Sarga II. Verse 60.

Chapter II.

THE
CHALUKYAS,
A.D. 961-1242.
Bhīma II.
A.D. 1179-1242.

Mūlarāja we know came to the throne as a child. Of Bhīma also the Kīrtikaumudī says that he came to the throne while still in his childhood, and this agrees with the statements that he was the younger brother of Mūlarāja. Bhīma probably came to the throne in A.D. 1178 (S. 1234). There is no doubt he was reigning in A.D. 1179 (S. 1235), as an inscription in the deserted village of Kerālu near Bālmor of Anahilavāda dated A.D. 1179 (S. 1235) states that it was written 'in the triumphant reign of the illustrious Bhīmadeva.'¹ A further proof of his reigning in A.D. 1179 (S. 1235) and of his being a minor at that time is given in the following passage from the Tabakāt-i-Nāsiri: In A.D. 1178 (Hijri 574) the Rāi of Nahrwālā Bhīmdeo, was a minor, but he had a large army and many elephants. In the day of battle the Muhammadans were defeated and the Sultān was compelled to retreat.² Merutunga says that Bhīma reigned from A.D. 1179 (S. 1235) for sixty-three years that is up to A.D. 1242 (S. 1298), and this is borne out by a copperplate of Bhīma which bears date A.D. 1240 (S. 1296³ Mārgha Vadi 14th Sunday⁴).

Bhīma was nicknamed Bholo the Simpleton. The chroniclers of this period mention only the Vāghelās and almost pass over Bhīma. The author of the Kīrtikaumudī says 'the kingdom of the young ruler was gradually divided among powerful ministers and provincial chiefs'; and according to the Sukṛitasankīrtana 'Bhīma felt great anxiety on account of the chiefs who had forcibly eaten away portions of the kingdom.' It appears that during the minority, when the central authority was weak, the kingdom was divided among nobles and feudatories, and that Bhīma proved too weak a ruler to restore the kingly power. Manuscripts and copperplates show that Bhīmadeva was ruling at Anahilavāda in S. 1247, 1251, 1261, 1263, and 1264,⁵ and copperplates dated S. 1283, 1288, 1295, and 1296 have also been found. Though Bhīma in name enjoyed a long unbroken reign the verses quoted above show that power rested not with the king but with the nobles. It appears from an inscription that in A.D. 1224 (S. 1280) a Chālukya noble named Jayantasimha was supreme at Anahilavāda though he mentions Bhīma and his predecessors with honour and respect.⁶

It was probably by aiding Bhīma against Jayantasimha that the Vāghelās rose to power. According to the chroniclers the Vāghelās succeeded in the natural course of things. According to the Sukṛitasankīrtana Kumārāpāla appeared to his grandson Bhīma and directed him to appoint as his heir-apparent Virādhavala son of Lavanaprasāda and grandson of Arjorāja the son of Dhavala king of Bhīmapallī. Next day in court, in the presence of his nobles, when Lavanaprasāda and Virādhavala entered the king said to

¹ The Vichitrāśreṇī also gives S. 1235 as the beginning of his reign.

² Elliot's History of India, II. 294. This event properly belongs to the reign of Mūlarāja. See above page 195 note 5.

³ Ind. Ant. VI. 207.

⁴ Chapter II. Verse 61.

⁵ Kielhorn's and Petersen's Reports on Sanskrit Manuscripts.

⁶ Ind. Ant. VI. 197.

Lavanaprasāda : Your father Arnorāja seated me on the throne : you should therefore uphold my power : in return I will name your son Viradhavala my heir-apparent.¹ The author of the Kīrtikaumudī notes that Arnorāja son of Dhavala, opposing the revolution against Bhīma, cleared the kingdom of enemies, but at the cost of his own life. The author then describes Lavanaprasāda and Viradhavala as kings. But as he gives no account of their rise to supremacy, it seems probable that they usurped the actual power from Bhīma though till A.D. 1242 (S. 1295) Bhīma continued to be nominal sovereign.

Bhīma's queen was Lalādevī the daughter of a Chohān chief named Samarasimha.²

Chapter II.

THE
CHAULUKYAS,
A.D. 961-1242.
Bhīma II.
A.D. 1179-1242.

¹ The text is दन्वास्मै दौष्यते युवराज्यं राज्यं विरं कुः.

² The text is चाहु राग that is चाहुनाग रागक. The term Rāgaka would show him to be a Chohān chief.

CHAPTER III.

THE VĀGHELĀS

(A.D. 1219-1304).

Chapter III.

THE VĀGHELĀS,
A.D. 1219-1304.Arnorāja,
A.D. 1170-1200.

WHILE Bhīmadeva II. (A.D. 1178-1241) struggled to maintain his authority in the north, the country between the Śābarmatī and the Narbadā in the south as well as the districts of Dholkā and Dhandhukā in the south-west passed to the Vāghelās a branch of the Solāṅkis sprung from Anāka or Arnorāja, the son of the sister of Kumārāpāla's (A.D. 1143-1173) mother. In return for services to Kumārāpāla,¹ Anāka, with the rank of a noble or Sāmanta, had received the village of Vyāghrapalli or Vāghelā, the Tiger's Lair, about ten miles south-west of Anahilavāda. It is from this village that the dynasty takes its name of Vāghela.

Lavanaprasāda,
A.D. 1200-1233.

Anāka's son Lavanaprasāda, who is mentioned as a minister of Bhīmadeva II. (A.D. 1179-1242)² held Vāghelā and probably Dhavalagadha or Dholkā about thirty miles to the south-west. The Kīrtikaumudī or Moonlight of Glory, the chief cotemporary chronicle,³ describes Lavanaprasāda as a brave warrior, the slayer of the chief of Nadulā the modern Nāndol in Mārwar. "In his well-ordered realm, except himself the robber of the glory of hostile kings, robbers were unknown. The ruler of Mālava invading the kingdom turned back before the strength of Lavanaprasāda. The southern king also when opposed by him gave up the idea of war." The ruler of Mālava or Mālwa referred to was Sohaja or Subhatavarman.⁴ The southern king was the Devagiri Yādava Singhaya II. (A.D. 1209-1247).⁵

Lavanaprasāda married Madanarājī and by her had a son named Viradhavala. As heir apparent Viradhavala, who was also called Vira Vāghelā or the Vāghelā hero,⁶ rose to such distinction as a warrior that in the end Lavanaprasāda abdicated in his favour. Probably to reconcile the people to his venturing to oppose his sovereign Bhīmadeva, Lavanaprasāda gave out that in a dream the Luck of Anahilavāda

¹ Anāka survived Kumārāpāla and served also under Bhīmadeva II. Seeing the kingdom of his weak sovereign divided among his ministers and chiefs Anāka strove till his death to re-establish the central authority of the Solāṅki dynasty. Kātharāt's Kīrtikaumudī, xiii.

² Rās Mālā (New Edition), 200.

³ Kīrtikaumudī, Bombay Sanskrit Series Number XXV.

⁴ Ind. Ant. VI. 188 footnote. According to Meruttunga a cotemporary chronicler an epigram of Bhīma's minister turned back Subhatavarman.

⁵ Ind. Ant. VI. 188.

⁶ According to one story Madanarājī left her husband's house taking Viradhavala with her, and went to live with Deva Rāja Pattakila the husband of her deceased sister. On growing up Viradhavala returned to his father's house. Rās Mālā (New Edition), 201.

appeared bewailing her home with unlighted shrines, broken walls, and jackal-haunted streets, and called on him to come to her rescue.¹ Though he may have gone to the length of opposing Bhimadeva by force of arms, Lavaprasāda was careful to rule in his sovereign's name. Even after Lavaprasāda's abdication, though his famous minister Vastupāla considered it advisable, Viradhavala refused to take the supreme title. It was not until the accession of Viradhavala's son Visaladeva that the head of the Vaghelas took any higher title than Rājaka or chieftain. Lavaprasāda's religious adviser or Guru was the poet Someśvara the author of the *Kirtikaumudī* and of the *Vastupālacharita* or Life of Vastupāla, both being biographical accounts of Vastupāla. The leading supporters both of Lavaprasāda and of Viradhavala were their ministers the two Jain brothers Vastupāla and Tejapāla the famous temple-builders on Abu, Satruñjaya, and Girnār. According to one account Tejapāla remained at court, while Vastupāla went as governor to Stambhatirtha or Cambay where he redressed wrongs and amassed wealth.²

One of the chief times of peril in Lavaprasāda's reign was the joint attack of the Devagiri Yadava Singha or Singha from the south and of four Mārwar chiefs from the north. Lavaprasāda and his son Viradhavala in joint command marched south to meet Singha at Broach. While at Broach the Vaghelas' position was made still more critical by the desertion of the Godhra or Godhrā chief to Malwa and of the Lāja or south Gujarāt chief to Singha. Still Lavaprasāda pressed on, attacked Singha, and gave him so crushing a defeat, that, though Lavaprasāda had almost at once to turn north to meet the Malwa army, Singha retired without causing further trouble.³ Someśvara gives no reason for Singha's withdrawal beyond the remark 'Deer do not follow the lion's path even when the lion has left it.' The true reason is supplied by a Manuscript called *Forms of Treaties*.⁴ The details of a treaty between Singha and Lavaprasāda under date Samvat 1288 (A.D. 1232) included among the *Forms* seem to show that the reason why Singha did not advance was that Lavaprasāda and his son submitted and concluded an alliance.⁵ In this copy of the treaty Singha is called the great king of kings or paramount sovereign *Maharājādhirāja*, while Lavaprasāda, Sanskritised into Lavanyaprasāda is called a Rāna and a tributary chief *Mahāmandales'vara*. The place where the treaty was concluded

Chapter III.

THE VAGHELAS,
A.D. 1219-1264.
Lavaprasāda,
A.D. 1200-1232.

¹ Dr. Bühler in *Ind. Ant.* VI. 189.

² According to the *Kirtikaumudī*, Kathavate's Ed. XIV. note 1, under Vastupāla low people ceased to earn money by base means; the wicked turned pale; the righteous prospered. All honestly and securely plied their calling. Vastupāla put down piracy, and, by building platforms, stopped the mingling of castes in milk-shops. He repaired old buildings, planted trees, sank wells, laid out parks, and rebuilt the city. All castes and creeds he treated alike.

³ Kathavate's, *Kirtikaumudī*, xv.

⁴ The use of the date Monday the fullmoon of Vaisākha, Samvat 1288 (A.D. 1232) in the second part of the *Forms* seems to show that the work was written in A.D. 1232.

⁵ Though the object is to give the form of a treaty of alliance, the author could not have used the names Singha and Lavaprasāda unless such a treaty had been actually concluded between them. Apparently Singha's invasion of Gujarāt took place but a short time before the book of treaties was compiled. Bhandarkar's *Search for Sanskrit Manuscripts* (1892-93), 40-41.

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THE VAGHELAS,
A.D. 1219-1304.
Lavanaprasāda,
A.D. 1200-1233.

is styled "the victorious camp," and the date is Monday the fullmoon of Vaisākha in the year Samvat 1288 (A.D. 1232). The provisions are that, as before, each of the belligerents should confine himself to his own territory; neither of them should invade the possessions of the other; if a powerful enemy attacked either of them, they should jointly oppose him; if only a hostile general led the attack, troops should be sent against him; and if from the country of either any noble fled into the territory of the other taking with him anything of value he should not be allowed harbourage and all valuables in the refugee's possession should be restored.¹ His good fortune went with Lavanaprasāda in his attack on the Mārwar chiefs whom he forced to retire. Meanwhile S'ankha² who is described as the son of the ruler of Sindh but who seems to have held territory in Broach, raised a claim to Cambay and promised Vastupāla Lavanaprasāda's governor, that, if Vastupāla declared in his favour³, he would be continued in his government. Vastupāla rejected S'ankha's overtures, met him in battle outside of Cambay, and forced him to retire. In honour of Vastupāla's victory the people of Cambay held a great festival when Vastupāla passed in state through the city to the shrine of the goddess Ekalla Vira outside of the town.⁴

Another of the deeds preserved in the Forms is a royal copperplate grant by Lavanaprasāda or Lavanaprasāda of a village, not named, for the worship of Somanātha. Lavanaprasāda is described as the illustrious Rāpaka,⁵ the great chief, the local lord or *Mandaleśvara*, the son of the illustrious Rāpaka Anādi born in the illustrious pedigree of the Chaulukya dynasty. The grant is noted as executed in the reign of Bhīmadēva II.⁶ while one Bhābhuya was his great minister. Though Bhīmadēva was ruling in A.D. 1232 (Samvat 1288) Lavanaprasāda apparently had sufficient influence to make grants of villages and otherwise to act as the real ruler of Gujārāt. It was apparently immediately after this grant (A.D. 1232?) that Lavanaprasāda abdicated in favour of Viradhavala.⁷

Viradhavala,
A.D. 1233-1233.

Soon after his accession Viradhavala, accompanied by his minister Tejapāla, started on an expedition against his wife's brothers Sāngaya and Chamunda the rulers of Vāmanasthali or Vantali near Junāgadh. As in spite of their sister's advice Sāngaya and Chamunda refused to pay tribute the siege was pressed. Early in the fight the cry arose 'Viradhavala is slain.' But on his favourite horse Uparavata, Viradhavala put himself at the head of his troops, slew both the brothers, and gained the

¹ Bhandarkar's Search for Sanskrit Manuscripts (1882-83), 40.

² According to other accounts S'ankha, a Broach chieftain, took up the cause of a certain Sayad or Muslim merchant with whom Vastupāla had quarrelled. In the fight Lunapāla a Gola, one of Vastupāla's chief supporters, was slain and in his honour Vastupāla raised a shrine to the Lord Lunapāla. Rās Mālā (New Edition), 201-202.

³ Kāthavate's Kirtikāumudī, xv.-xvi.

⁴ Kāthavate's Kirtikāumudī, xv.-xvi.

⁵ The modern Gujarātī Rāpā.

⁶ Bhīmadēva's name is preceded by the names of his ten Chaulukya predecessors in the usual order. The attributes of each are given as in published Chaulukya copperplates. Ind. Ant. VI. 180-213.

⁷ Bhandarkar's Search for Sanskrit Manuscripts (1882-83), 32.

boarded treasure of Vanthali.¹ In an expedition against the chief of Bhadresvara, probably Bhadresar in Kacch, Viradhavala was less successful and was forced to accept the Kacch chief's terms. The chroniclers ascribe this reverse to three Rājput brothers who came to Viradhavala's court and offered their services for 3,00,000 drammās (about £7500). "For 3,00,000 drammās I can raise a thousand men" said Viradhavala, and the brothers withdrew. They went to the court of the Bhadresar chief, stated their terms, and were engaged. The night before the battle the brothers sent to Viradhavala saying 'Keep ready 3000 men, for through a triple bodyguard we will force our way.' The three brothers kept their word. They forced their way to Viradhavala, dismounted him, carried off his favourite steed Uparavaṭa, but since they had been his guests they spared Viradhavala's life.²

Another of Viradhavala's expeditions was to East Gujarāt. Ghughula, chief of Godraha or Godhrā, plundered the caravans that passed through his territory to the Gujarāt ports. When threatened with punishment by Viradhavala, Ghughula in derision sent his overlord a woman's dress and a box of cosmetics. The minister Tejahpāla, who was ordered to avenge this affront, dispatched some skirmishers ahead to raid the Godhra cattle. Ghughula attacked the raiders and drove them back in such panic that the main body of the army was thrown into disorder. The day was saved by the prowess of Tejahpāla who in single combat unhorsed Ghughula and made him prisoner. Ghughula escaped the disgrace of the woman's dress and the cosmetic box with which he was decorated by biting his tongue so that he died. The conquest of Ghughula is said to have spread Viradhavala's power to the borders of Mahārāshtra.³ The chroniclers relate another success of Viradhavala's against Muizz-ud-dīn apparently the famous Muhammad Gori Sultan Muizz-ud-dīn Bahramshāh, the Sultan of Delhi (A.D. 1191-1205)⁴ who led an expedition against Gujarāt. The chief of Aba was instructed to let the Musalmān force march south unmolested and when they were through to close the defiles against their return. The Gujarāt army met the Musalmāns and the Aba troops hung on their rear. The Musalmāns fled in confusion and cartloads of heads were brought to Viradhavala in Dholkā. The chroniclers give the credit of this success to Vastupāla. They also credit Vastupāla with a stratagem which induced the Sultān to think well of Viradhavala and prevented him taking steps to wipe out the disgrace of his defeat. Hearing that the Sultān's mother, or, according to another story, the Sultān's religious adviser, was going from Cambay to Makka Vastupāla ordered his men to attack and plunder the vessels in which the pilgrimage was to be made. On the captain's complaint Vastupāla had the pirates arrested and the property restored. So grateful was the owner, whether mother or guide, that Vastupāla was taken to Delhi and arranged a friendly treaty between his master and the Sultān.⁵

Chapter III.

THE VAGHELAS,
A.D. 1219-1304Viradhavala,
A.D. 1233-1235¹ Kāthavate's Kirtikaumudī, xviii.² Kāthavate's Kirtikaumudī, xxiii.³ Kāthavate's Kirtikaumudī, xxiii, xxiv.⁴ Elliot and Dowson, II. 209.⁵ Kāthavate's Kirtikaumudī, xxiv, xxv.

Chapter III.

THE VAGHELAS,
A.D. 1219-1304.Viradhavala,
A.D. 1233-1238.

Their lavish expenditure on objects connected with Jain worship make the brothers Vastupála and Tejahpála the chief heroes of the Jain chronicles. They say when the Musalmán trader Sayad was arrested at Cambay his wealth was confiscated. Viradhavala claimed all but the dust which he left to Vastupála. Much of the dust was gold dust and a fire turned to dust more of the Sayad's gold and silver treasure. In this way the bulk of the Sayad's wealth passed to Vastupála. This wealth Vastupála and his brother Tejahpála went to bury in Hadálaka in Káthiaváda. In digging they chanced to come across a great and unknown treasure. According to the books the burden of their wealth so preyed on the brothers that they ceased to care for food. Finding the cause of her husband Tejahpála's anxiety Anupamá said 'Spend your wealth on a hill top. All can see it; no one can carry it away.' According to the chronicles it was this advice, approved by their mother and by Vastupála's wife Lalitádevi, that led the brothers to adorn the summits of Abu, Girnár, and Satruñjaya with magnificent temples.

The Satruñjaya temple which is dedicated to the twenty-third Tirthāṅkara Neminátha is dated A.D. 1232 (Samvat 1288) and has an inscription by Someśvara, the author of the Kirtikaumudī telling how it was built. The Girnár temple, also dedicated to Neminátha, bears date A.D. 1232 (Samvat 1288). The Abu temple, surpassing the others and almost every building in India in the richness and delicacy of its carving, is dedicated to Neminátha and dated A.D. 1231 (Samvat 1287). Such was the liberality of the brothers that to protect them against the cold mountain air each of their masons had a fire near him to warm himself and a hot dinner cooked for him at the close of the day. The finest carvers were paid in silver equal in weight to the dust chiselled out of their carvings.¹

The author Someśvara describes how he twice came to the aid of his friend Vastupála. On one occasion he saved Vastupála from a prosecution for peculation. The second occasion was more serious. Simha the maternal uncle of king Visaladeva whipped the servant of a Jain monastery. Enraged at this insult to his religion Vastupála hired a Rájput who cut off Simha's offending hand. The crime was proved and Vastupála was sentenced to death. But according to the Jains the persuasions of Someśvara not only made the king set Vastupála free, but led him to upbraid his uncle for beating the servant of a Jain monastery. Soon after his release Vastupála was seized with fever. Feeling the fever to be mortal he started for Satruñjaya but died on the way. His brother Tejahpála and his son Jayantapála burned his body on the holy hill, and over his ashes raised a shrine with the name Svargárohansprásáda The shrine of the ascent into Heaven.²

¹ Káthavate's Kirtikaumudī, xx.; J. E. R. A. S. XVIII. Number XLVIII. 38. The Jain writers delight in describing the magnificence of the pilgrimages which Vastupála conducted to the holy places. The details are 4500 carts, 700 palanquins, 1800 camels, 2900 writers, 12,100 white-robed and 1100 naked or sky-clad Jains, 1450 singers, and 3300 bands. Káthavate's Kirtikaumudī, xvi.

² Káthavate's Kirtikaumudī, xviii. - xix.

In A.D. 1238 six years after his father's withdrawal from power Viradhavala died. One hundred and eighty-two servants passed with their lord through the flames, and such was the devotion that Tejapāla had to use force to prevent further sacrifices.¹

Of Viradhavala's two sons, Virama Visala and Pratāpamalla, Vastupāla favoured the second and procured his succession according to one account by forcing the old king to drink poison and preventing by arms the return to Anahilavāda of the elder brother Virama who retired for help to Jābālipura (Jabalpur). Besides with his brother's supporters Visala had to contend with Tribhuvanapāla the representative of the Anahilavāda Solankis. Unlike his father and his grandfather Visala refused to acknowledge an overlord. By A.D. 1243 he was established as sovereign in Anahilavāda. A later grant A.D. 1261 (Samvat 1317) from Kadi in North Gujarāt shows that Anahilavāda was his capital and his title *Maharājādhirāja* King of Kings. According to his copperplates Visaladeva was a great warrior, the crusher of the lord of Mālwa, a hatchet at the root of the turbulence of Mewād, a volcanic fire to dry up Singhana of Devagiri's ocean of men.² Visaladeva is further described as chosen as a husband by the daughter of Karpāta³ and as ruling with success and good fortune in Anahilavāda with the illustrious Nāgada as his minister.⁴ The bards praise Visaladeva for lessening the miseries of a three years famine,⁵ and state that he built or repaired the fortifications of Visalanagara in East and of Darbhavati or Dābhoi in South Gujarāt.

During Visaladeva's reign Vāghela power was established throughout Gujarāt. On Visaladeva's death in A.D. 1261 the succession passed to Arjunadeva the son of Visaladeva's younger brother Pratāpamalla.⁶ Arjunadeva proved a worthy successor and for thirteen years (A.D. 1262-1274; Samvat 1318-1331) maintained his supremacy. Two stone inscriptions one from Verāval dated A.D. 1264 (Samvat 1320) the other from Kacch dated A.D. 1272 (Samvat 1328) show that his territory included both Kacch and Kāthiavāda, and an inscription of his successor Śaraṅgadeva shows that his power passed as far east as Mount Abu.

The Verāval inscription of A.D. 1264 (Samvat 1320), which is in the temple of the goddess Harsutā,⁷ describes Arjunadeva as the king

Chapter III.

THE VAGHELAS.
A.D. 1219-1304.

Visaladeva.
A.D. 1243-1261.

Arjunadeva.
A.D. 1262-1274.

¹ Rās Mālā, 302.

² Ind. Ant. VI. 191. The word for Mewād is Madapdia the Meel or Mher land.

³ The Karpāta king would probably be Somesvara (A.D. 1252) or his son Narasimha III. (A.D. 1254) of the Hoysala Ballalas of Dvārasamudra. Fleet's *Kanarese Dynasties*, 64, 69.

⁴ These details are mentioned in a grant of land in Māndal in Ahmadābād to Brāhmins to fill a drinking fountain, repair temples, and supply offerings. Ind. Ant. VI. 210-213.

⁵ Rās Mālā (New Ed.), 312. A Jaina Pattāvali or succession list of High-priests notices that the famine lasted for three years from Samvat 1315 (A.D. 1259). The text may be translated as follows: Vikrama Samvat 1315, three years' famine the king (being) Visaladeva. Bhandarkar's *Search for Sanskrit Manuscripts for 1883-84*, 18, 323.

⁶ See Ep. Ind. I.

⁷ The inscription was first noticed by Colonel Tod; *Rajasthan*, I. 705; *Western India*, 506.

Chapter III.

THE VACHELAR,
A.D. 1219-1304.Arjunadeva,
A.D. 1262-1274.

of kings, the emperor (*chakravartin*) of the illustrious Chanukya race, who is a thorn in the heart of the hostile king Nihisankamalla, the supreme lord, the supreme ruler, who is adorned by a long line of ancestral kings, who resides in the famous Anahillapataka. The grant allots certain income from houses and shops in Somanatha Patan to a mosque built by Piroz a Muhammadan shipowner of Ormuz which is then mentioned as being under the sway of Amir Rukn-ud-din.¹ The grant also provides for the expenses of certain religious festivals to be celebrated by the Shiite sailors of Somanatha Patan, and lays down that under the management of the Musalman community of Somanatha any surplus is to be made over to the holy districts of Makka and Madina. The grant is written in bad Sanskrit and contains several Arabic Persian and Gujarati words. Its chief interest is that it is dated in four eras, "in 662 of the Prophet Muhammad who is described as the teacher of the sailors, who live near the holy lord of the Universe that is Somanatha; in 1320 of the great king Vikrama; in 945 of the famous Valabhi; and in 151 of the illustrious Simha." The date is given in these four different eras, because the Muhammadan is the donor's era, the Samvat the era of the country, the Valabhi of the province, and the Simha of the locality.² The Kacch inscription is at the village of Rav about sixty miles east of Bhuj. It is engraved on a memorial slab at the corner of the courtyard wall of an old temple and bears date A.D. 1272 (Samvat 1328). It describes Arjunadeva as the great king of kings, the supreme ruler, the supreme lord. It mentions the illustrious Maladeva as his chief minister and records the building of a step-wall in the village of Rav.³

Sarangadeva,
A.D. 1275-1300.

Arjunadeva was succeeded by his son Sarangadeva. According to the Vicharasreni Sarangadeva ruled for twenty-two years from A.D. 1274 to 1296 (Samvat 1331-1353). Inscriptions of the reign of Sarangadeva have been found in Kacch and at Abu. The Kacch inscription is on a *plāta* or memorial slab now at the village of Khokhar near Kanthkot which was brought there from the holy village of Bhadresar about thirty-five miles north-east of Mandvi. It bears date A.D. 1275 (Samvat 1332) and describes Sarangadeva as the great king of kings, the supreme ruler, the supreme lord ruling at Anahillapataka with the illustrious Maladeva as his chief minister.⁴ The Abu inscription dated A.D. 1294 (Samvat 1350) in the temple of Vastupala regulates certain dues payable to the Jain temple and mentions Sarangadeva as sovereign of Anahillapataka and as having for vassal Visaladeva ruler of the old capital of Chandravati about twelve miles south of Mount Abu.⁵ A third inscription dated A.D.

¹ This is not Sultan Rukn-ud-din of the slave kings, who ruled from A.D. 1234 to A.D. 1255. Elliot and Dowson, II.

² All four dates tally. The middle of A.D. 1264 (Samvat 1320) falls in Hijra 662. As the Valabhi era begins in A.D. 318-319 and the Simha era in A.D. 1113, 945 of Valabhi and 151 of Simha tally with A.D. 1264.

³ Bombay Government Selections CLIII, New Series, 71.

⁴ From an unpublished copy in the possession of Rao Sahib Dattatram Pranjivan Khakhar, late Educational Inspector, Kacch. Only the upper six lines of the inscription are preserved.

⁵ Asiatic Researches, XVI. 311; Rās Malā, 213.

1287 (Samvat 1343), originally from Somanátha, is now at Cintra in Portugal. It records the pilgrimages and religious benefactions of one Tripurántaka, a follower of the Nakulísá Párupata sect, in the reign of Śáraṅgadeva, whose genealogy is given. A manuscript found in Ahmadábád is described as having been finished on Sunday the 3rd of the dark fortnight of Jyeshtha in the Samvat year 1350, in the triumphant reign of Śáraṅgadeva the great king of kings, while his victorious army was encamped near Káśpalli (Ahmadábád).¹

Śáraṅgadeva's successor Karnaḍeva ruled for eight years A.D. 1296 - 1304 (Samvat 1352 - 1360). Under this weak ruler, who was known as Ghelo or the Insane, Gujarát passed into Musalmán hands. In A.D. 1297 Alaf Khán the brother of the Emperor Ala-u-din Khilji (A.D. 1296 - 1317) with Nasrat Khán led an expedition against Gujarát. They laid waste the country and occupied Anahilaváda. Leaving his wives, children, elephants, and baggage Karnaḍeva fled to Ramadeva the Yádava chief of Devagiri.² All his wealth fell to his conquerors. Among the wives of Karnaḍeva who were made captive was a famous beauty named Kauládevi, who was carried to the harem of the Sultán. In the plunder of Cambay Nasrat Khán took a merchant's slave Malik Káfur who shortly after became the Emperor's chief favourite. From Cambay the Muhammadans passed to Káthiaváda and destroyed the temple of Somanátha. In 1304 Alaf Khán's term of office as governor of Gujarát was renewed. According to the Mirát-i-Ahmadí after the renewal of his appointment, from white marble pillars taken from many Jain temples, Alaf Khán constructed at Anahilaváda the Jáma Masjid or general mosque.

In A.D. 1306 the Cambay slave Káfur who had already risen to be Sultán Ala-u-din's chief favourite was invested with the title of Malik Naib and placed in command of an army sent to subdue the Dakhan. Alaf Khán, the governor of Gujarát, was ordered to help Malik Káfur in his arrangements. At the same time Kauládevi persuaded the Emperor to issue orders that her daughter Devaladevi should be sent to her to Delhi. Devaladevi was then with her father the unfortunate Karnaḍeva in hiding in Báglán in Násik. Malik Káfur sent a messenger desiring Karnaḍeva to give up his daughter. Karnaḍeva refused and Alaf Khán was ordered to lead his army to the Báglán hills and capture the princess. While for two months he succeeded in keeping the Muhammadan army at bay, Karnaḍeva received and accepted an offer for the hand of Devaladevi from the Devagiri Yádava chief Śankaradeva. On her way to Devagiri near Elura Devaladevi's escort was attacked by a party of Alaf Khán's troops, and the lady seized and sent to Delhi where she was married to prince Khizar Khán.

¹ Professor Bhandarkar's Report for 1883-84, 17-18.

² The hardie story is that king Karua had two Nágara Brahman ministers Mádhava and Keśava. He slew Keśava and took Mádhava's wife from her husband. In revenge Mádhava went to Delhi and brought the Muhammadans. After the Muhammadan conquest Mádhava presented Ala-u-din with 360 horses. In return Mádhava was appointed civil minister with Alaf Khán as military governor commanding a lákh of horsemen, 1500 elephants, 20,000 foot soldiers and having with him forty-five officers entitled to use kettle-drums. Rás Mála, 314.

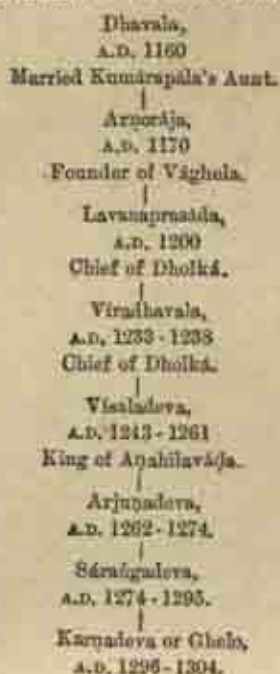
Chapter III.

THE VÁGHELÁS,
A.D. 1219-1304.

Nothing more is known of Karpadeva who appears to have died a fugitive.

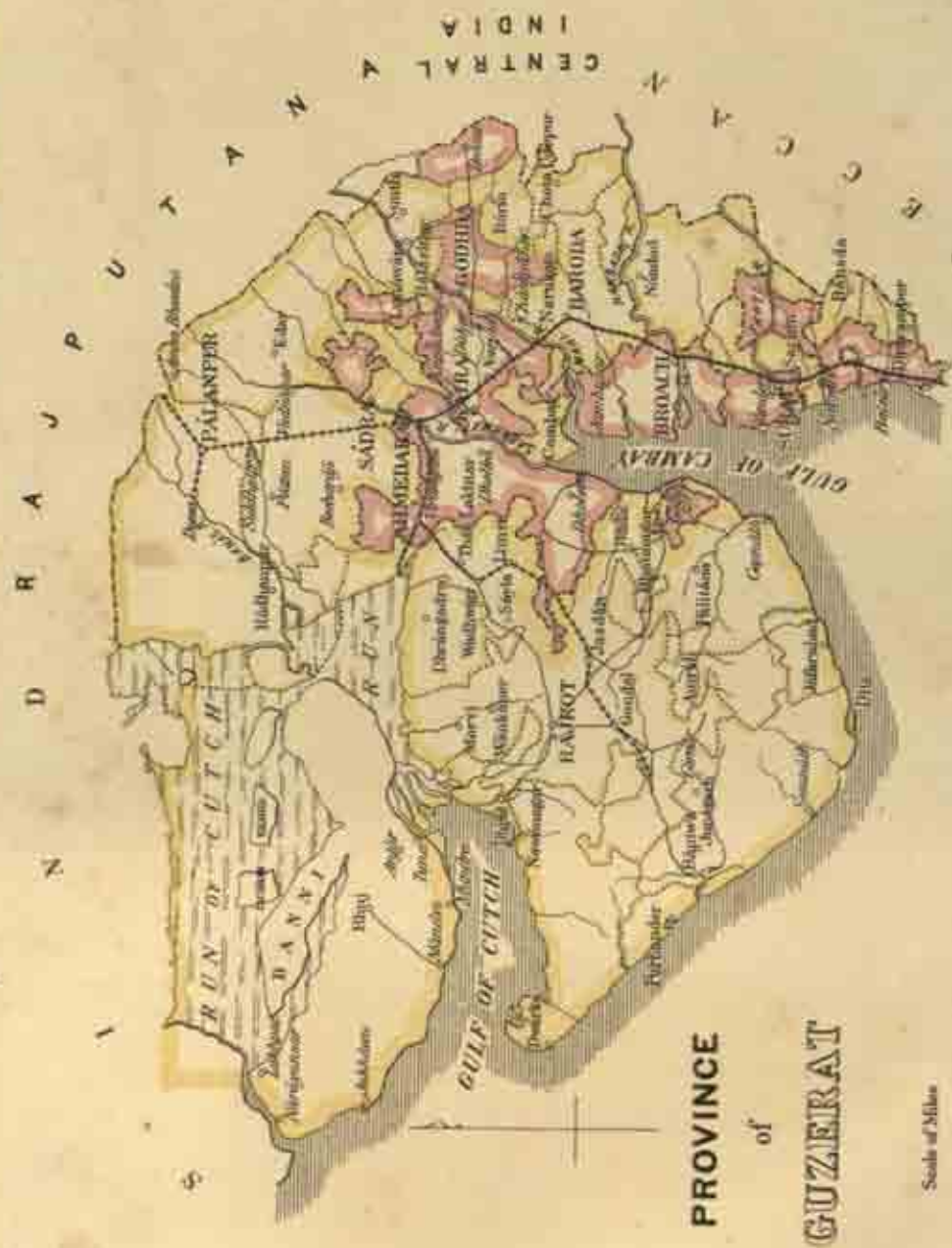
Though the main cities and all central Gujarát passed under Muslimán rule a branch of the Vághelás continued to hold much of the country to the west of the Sábarmati, while other branches maintained their independence in the rugged land beyond Ambá Bhawání between Virpur on the Mahí and Posiná at the northmost verge of Gujarát.¹

GENEALOGY OF THE VÁGHELÁS.



¹ Rás Málá, 222. The Jhálás were firmly fixed in the plains between the Lesser Ran of Kacch and the Gulf of Cambay. The Koli branches of these clans with other tribes of pure or of adulterated aboriginal descent, spread over the Chanvá near Virangám and appeared in many remote and inaccessible tracts of hill or forest. On the east, under the protection of a line of Rájput princes, the banner of the goddess Káli floated from the hill of Pávagad; while in the west the descendants of Khengar held their famous fortress of Junágadh from within its walls controlling much of the peninsula over which they had maintained undisputed sway. Chiefs of Junágadh origin were scattered over the rest of the peninsula among whom were the Gohils of Gogo and Piran, and of the sea-washed province which from them derived its name of Gohilvád.



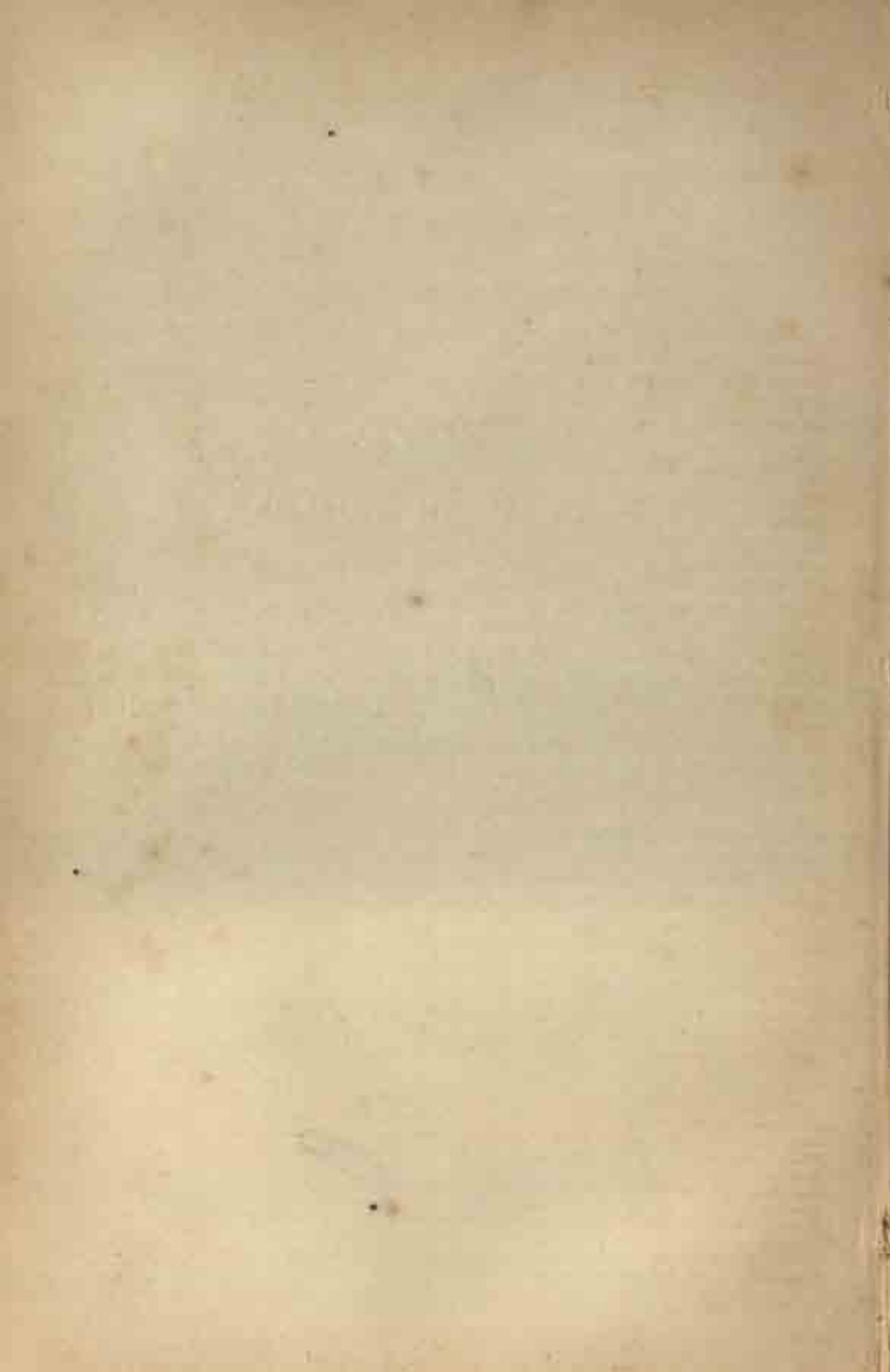


PART II.

MUSALMAN GUJARAT.

A.D. 1297 - 1760.

THIS history of Musalmán Gujarát is based on translations of the *Mirát-i-Sikandari* (A.D. 1611) and of the *Mirát-i-Ahmedi* (A.D. 1756) by the late Colonel J. W. Watson. Since Colonel Watson's death in 1889 the translations have been revised and the account enriched by additions from the Persian texts of *Farishtah* and of the two *Miráts* by Mr. Fazl Latfulláh Faridi of Surat. A careful comparison has also been made with other extracts in Elliot's *History of India* and in Bayley's *History of Gujarát*.



MUSALMÁN GUJARÁT.

A.D. 1297-1760.

INTRODUCTION.

MUHAMMADAN rule in Gujarát lasted from the conquest of the province by the Delhi emperor Alá-ud-din Khilji (A.D. 1295-1315), shortly before the close of the thirteenth century A.D., to the final defeat of the Mughal viceroy Momin Khán by the Maráthás and the loss of the city of Ahmedábád at the end of February 1758.

This whole term of Musalmán ascendancy, stretching over slightly more than four and a half centuries, may conveniently be divided into three parts. The First, the rule of the early sovereigns of Delhi, lasting a few years more than a century, or, more strictly from A.D. 1297 to A.D. 1403; the Second, the rule of the Ahmedábád kings, a term of nearly a century and three-quarters, from A.D. 1403 to A.D. 1573; the Third, the rule of the Mughal Emperors, when, for little less than two hundred years, A.D. 1573-1760, Gujarát was administered by viceroys of the court of Delhi.

In the course of these 450 years the limits of Gujarát varied greatly. In the fourteenth century the territory nominally under the control of the Musalmán governors of Patan (Anahilaváda) extended southwards from Jhálór, about fifty miles north of Mount Abu, to the neighbourhood of Bombay, and in breadth from the line of the Málwa and Khándesh hills to the western shores of peninsular Gujarát.¹ The earlier kings of Ahmedábád (A.D. 1403-1450), content with establishing their power on a firm footing, did not greatly extend the limits of their kingdom. Afterwards, during the latter part of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth centuries (A.D. 1450-1530), the dominions of the Ahmedábád kings gradually spread till they included large tracts to the east and north-east formerly in the possession of the rulers of Khándesh and Málwa. Still later, during the years of misrule between A.D. 1530 and A.D. 1573, the west of Khándesh and the north of the Konkan ceased to form part of the kingdom of Gujarát. Finally, under the arrangements introduced by the emperor Akbar in A.D. 1583, more lands were restored to Málwa and Khándesh. With the exception of Jhálór and Sirohi on the north, Dungarpur and Bānsaváda on the north-east, and Alirájpur on

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GUJARÁT.
A.D. 1297-1760.

Territorial Limits.

¹ The first notice of the exercise of sovereignty by the Musalmán rulers of Gujarát over lands further south than the neighbourhood of Surat is in A.D. 1425, when king Ahmed I. (A.D. 1412-1443) contested with the Dakhan sovereign the possession of Edinim (north latitude 19° 40'; east longitude 72° 47'). As no record remains of a Musalmán conquest of the coast as far south as Danda Rajapuri or Janjira, about fifty miles south of Bombay, it seems probable that the North Konkan fell to the Musalmáns in A.D. 1297 as part of the recognised territories of the lords of Anahilapura (Patan). Rās Mālā, I. 350. One earlier reference may be noted. In A.D. 1422 among the leading men slain in the battle of Sarangpur, about fifty miles north-east of Ujjain in Central India, was Savant chief of Danda Rajapuri that is Janjira: Mirat-i-Mandari (Persian Text), 40, and Farishtah (Persian Text), II. 468.

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GUJARAT,
A.D. 1297-1760.

Sorath.

the east, since handed to Rājputāna and Central India, the limits of Gujarāt remain almost as they were laid down by Akbar.

Though, under the Musalmāns, peninsular Gujarāt did not bear the name of Kāthiāvāda, it was then, as at present, considered part of the province of Gujarāt. During the early years of Musalmān rule, the peninsula, together with a small portion of the adjoining mainland, was known as Sorath, a shortened form of Saurāshtra, the name originally applied by the Hindus to a long stretch of sea-coast between the banks of the Indus and Daman.¹ Towards the close of the sixteenth century the official use of the word Sorath was confined to a portion, though by much the largest part, of the peninsula. At the same time, the name Sorath seems then, and for long after, to have been commonly applied to the whole peninsula. For the author of the *Mirāt-i-Ahmedi*, writing as late as the middle of the eighteenth century (A.D. 1753 : A.H. 1170), speaks of Sorath as divided into five districts or *zillās*, Hālār, Kāthiāvāda, Gohilvāda, Bābriāvāda, and Jetvāda, and notices that though Navānagar was considered a separate district, its tribute was included in the revenue derived from Sorath.² In another passage the same writer thus defines Saurāshtra :

Saurāshtra or Sorath comprehends the Sarkar of Sorath the Sarkar of Islāmānagar or Navānagar and the Sarkar of Kachh or Bhujnagar. It also includes several *zillās* or districts, Naiyad which they call Jatwār, Hālār or Navānagar and its vicinity, Kāthiāvāda, Gohilvāda, Bābriāvāda, Chervār, Panchāl, Okhāgir in the neighbourhood of Jagat otherwise called Dwārca, Prabhas Khetr or Pātan Sonmāth and its neighbourhood, Nāghir also called Sālgogha, and the Nalkantha.³

¹ The details of Akbar's settlement in A.D. 1583 show Sorath with sixty-three subdivisions and Navānagar (Islāmānagar) with seventeen. Similarly in the *A'in-i-Akbari* (A.D. 1590) Sorath with its nine divisions includes the whole peninsula except Jhalāvāda in the north, which was then part of Ahmedābād. Gladwin, II. 64 and 66-71.

² Bird's History of Gujarāt, 418.

³ Naiyad is the present Naiyadkāntha about ten miles south-west of Rādhanpur containing Jatwār and Varāhi in the west near the Ran and spreading east to Sand and Munjpur thirty to forty miles south-west of Pātan. Hālār is in the north-west of the peninsula; Kāthiāvāda in the centre; Gohilvāda in the south-east; Bābriāvāda south-west of Gohilvāda; Chervār or Uhorvār north-west of Vistāl; Panchāl in the north-east centre; Okhāgir or Okhāmandal in the extreme west. Nalkantha is the hollow between Kāthiāvāda and the mainland. Besides these names the author of the *Mirāt-i-Ahmedi* gives one more district in Sorath and others in Gujarāt. The name he gives in Sorath is Nāghir or Nāghir which he says is also called Sālgogha. Sālgogha is apparently Sālbet and its neighbourhood, as Kōdinār, Mādhdipūr, Chingaria, and Pātan in south Kāthiāvāda are still locally known as Nāghir, a tract famous for its fruitfulness. The *Mirāt-i-Ahmedi* contains the following additional local names: For Kadi thirty-five miles north-west of Ahmedābād, Dandai; for Dholka twenty-five miles south-west of Ahmedābād, Prāth-Nagri; for Cambay, Tāmshānagī; for Vīrangām, forty miles north-west of Ahmedābād, Jhalāwar; for Mūnjpur twenty-two miles south-east of Rādhanpur and some of the country between it and Pātan, Pāpasa; for the tract ten miles south-east of Rādhanpur to the neighbourhood of Pātan, Kākra; for the town of Rādhanpur in the Pātan Political Superintendency and its neighbourhood, Vāgadh; for the town of Pātanpur and its neighbourhood, up to Dasa and Dāntivāda, Dhāndār; for Bālāsinnor forty-two miles east of Ahmedābād with a part of Kapadvanj in the Kālm district, Masālwā; for Baroda, Pārkhay; for the subdivision of Jamādnar in the Broach district fifteen miles north-west of Broach city, Kānna; for Alimohan that is Chota Udepur and the rough lands east of Godhrī, Palwāra.

The present Sorath stretches no further than the limits of Jūnāgadh, Bāntwa, and a few smaller holdings.

The name Kāthiāvāda is of recent origin. It was not until after the establishment of Mussalmān power in Gujarāt that any portion of the peninsula came to bear the name of the tribe of Kāthis. Even as late as the middle of the eighteenth century, the name Kāthiāvāda was applied only to one of the sub-divisions of the peninsula. In the disorders which prevailed during the latter part of the eighteenth century, the Kāthis made themselves conspicuous. As it was from the hardy horsemen of this tribe that the tribute-exacting Marāthīs met with the fiercest resistance, they came to speak of the whole peninsula as the land of the Kāthis. This use was adopted by the early British officers and has since continued.

Under the Ahmedābād kings, as it still is under British rule, Gujarāt was divided politically into two main parts; one, called the *khilāṣ* or crown domain administered directly by the central authority; the other, on payment of tribute in service or in money, left under the control of its former rulers. The amount of tribute paid by the different chiefs depended, not on the value of their territory, but on the terms granted to them when they agreed to become feudatories of the kings of Ahmedābād. Under the Gujarāt Sultāns this tribute was occasionally collected by military expeditions headed by the king in person and called *mulkīrī* or country-seizing circuits.

The internal management of the feudatory states was unaffected by their payment of tribute. Justice was administered and the revenue collected in the same way as under the Anahilapur kings. The revenue consisted, as before, of a share of the crops received in kind, supplemented by the levy of special cesses, trade, and transit dues. The chief's share of the crops differed according to the locality; it rarely exceeded one-third of the produce, it rarely fell short of one-sixth. From some parts the chief's share was realised directly from the cultivator by agents called *mutāḍis*; from other parts the collection was through superior landowners.¹

The Ahmedābād kings divided the portion of their territory which was under their direct authority into districts or *sarkārs*. These districts were administered in one of two ways. They were either assigned to nobles in support of a contingent of troops, or they were set apart as crown domains and managed by paid officers. The officers placed in charge of districts set apart as crown domains were called *mukhtāḍ*.² Their chief duties were to preserve the peace and to collect the revenue. For the maintenance of order, a body of soldiers from the army head-quarters at Ahmedābād was detached for service in each of these divisions, and placed under the command of the district governor. At the same time, in addition to the presence of this detachment of regular troops, every district contained certain

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MUSALMAN
GUJARAT
A.D. 1297-1709.
Kāthiāvāda.

UNDER THE
KINGS.
1102-1573.

States.

Districts.

Crown Lands.

¹ Rās Māla, I. 241.

² *Mukhtāḍ* and *ṭāḍ*, the district administered by a *mukhtāḍ*, come from the Arabic root *ṭāḍ*, to cut, in allusion to the public revenue or the lands cut and apportioned for the pay of the officers and their establishments.

Introduction.

UNDER THE
KING,
A.D. 1403-1573.

fortified outposts called *thānis*, varying in number according to the character of the country and the temper of the people. These posts were in charge of officers called *thānadārs* subordinate to the district governor. They were garrisoned by bodies of local soldiery, for whose maintenance, in addition to money payments, a small assignment of land was set apart in the neighbourhood of the post. On the arrival of the tribute-collecting army the governors of the districts through which it passed were expected to join the main body with their local contingents. At other times the district governors had little control over the feudatory chiefs in the neighbourhood of their charge.

Fiscal.

For fiscal purposes each district or *sarkār* was distributed among a certain number of sub-divisions or *parganāhs*, each under a paid official styled *āmīl* or *tahsildār*. These sub-divisional officers realised the state demand, nominally one-half of the produce, by the help of the headmen of the villages under their charge. In the sharehold and simple villages of North Gujarāt these village headmen were styled *patels* or according to Musalmān writers *sukhādāms* and in the simple villages of the south they were known as *desāis*. They arranged for the final distribution of the total demand in joint villages among the shareholders, and in simple villages from the individual cultivators.¹ The sub-divisional officer presented a statement of the accounts of the villages in his sub-division to the district officer, whose record of the revenue of his whole district was in turn forwarded to the head revenue officer at court. As a check on the internal management of his charge, and especially to help him in the work of collecting the revenue, with each district governor was associated an accountant. Further that each of these officers might be the greater check on the other, king Ahmed I. (A.D. 1412-1443) enforced the rule that when the governor was chosen from among the royal slaves the accountant should be a free man, and that when the accountant was a slave the district governor should be chosen from some other class. This practise was maintained till the end of the reign of Muzaffar Shāh (A.D. 1511-1525), when, according to the *Mirāt-i-Ahmedi*, the army became much increased, and the ministers, condensing the details of revenue, farmed it on contract, so that many parts formerly yielding one rupee now produced ten, and many others seven eight or nine, and in no place was there a less increase than from ten to twenty per cent. Many other changes occurred at the same time, and the spirit of innovation creeping into the administration the wholesome system of checking the accounts was given up and mutiny and confusion spread over Gujarāt.²

Assigned Lands.

The second class of directly governed districts were the lands assigned to nobles for the maintenance of contingents of troops. As in other parts of India, it would seem that at first these assignments were for specified sums equal to the pay of the contingent. When such assignments were of long standing, and were large enough to swallow the whole revenue of a district, it was natural to simplify the

¹ Further particulars regarding these village headmen are given below.

² Bird's History of Gujarāt, 192; *Mirāt-i-Sikandari*, Persian Text, 44.

arrangement by transferring the collection of the revenue and the whole management of the district to the military leader of the contingent. So long as the central power was strong, precautions were doubtless taken to prevent the holder of the grant from unduly rackrenting his district and appropriating to himself more than the pay of the troops, or from exercising any powers not vested in the local governors of districts included within the crown domains. As in other parts of India, those stipulations were probably enforced by the appointment of certain civil officers directly from the government to inspect the whole of the noble's proceedings, as well in managing his troops as in administering his lands.¹ The decline of the king's power freed the nobles from all check or control in the management of their lands. And when, in A.D. 1536, the practice of farming was introduced into the crown domains, it would seem to have been adopted by the military leaders in their lands, and to have been continued till the annexation of Gujarât by the emperor Akbar in A.D. 1573.

It was the policy of Akbar rather to improve the existing system than to introduce a new form of government. After to some extent contracting the limits of Gujarât he constituted it a province or *sûbah* of the empire, appointing to its government an officer of the highest rank with the title of *sûbahdâr* or viceroy. As was the case under the Ahmedâbâd kings, the province continued to be divided into territories managed by feudatory chiefs, and districts administered by officers appointed either by the court of Dehli or by the local viceroy. The head-quarters of the army remained at Ahmedâbâd, and detachments were told off and placed under the orders of the officers in charge of the directly administered divisions. These district governors, as before, belonged to two classes, paid officers responsible for the management of the crown domains and military leaders in possession of lands assigned to them in pay of their contingent of troops. The governors of the crown domains, who were now known as *faujdar*s or commanders, had, in addition to the command of the regular troops, the control of the outposts maintained within the limits of their charge. Like their predecessors they accompanied the viceroy in his yearly circuit for the collection of tribute.

As a check on the military governors and to help them in collecting the revenue, the distinct class of account officers formerly established by king Ahmed I. (A.D. 1412-1443) was again introduced. The head of this branch of the administration was an officer, second in rank to the viceroy alone, appointed direct from the court of Dehli with the title of *diwân*. Besides acting as collector-general of the revenues of the province, this officer was also the head of its civil administration. His title *diwân* is generally translated minister. And though the word minister does not express the functions of the office, which corresponded more nearly with those of a chief secretary, it represents with sufficient accuracy the relation in which the holder of the office of *diwân* generally stood to the viceroy.

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UNDER THE
KING.
A.D. 1403-1573.

Assigned Lands.

UNDER THE
MUGHALS.
A.D. 1573-1760.
Administration.

Crown Lands.

¹ Elphinstone's History, 76.

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UNDER THE
MUGHALS,
A.D. 1573-1700.

Revenue
Officials.

For its revenue administration each district or group of districts had its revenue officials called *amins* who corresponded to the collector of modern times. There were also *amins* in the customs department separate from those whose function was to control and administer the land revenue. Beneath the *amin* came the *amil*¹ who carried on the actual collection of the land revenue or customs in each district or *pargandh*, and below the *amil* were the *fāils*, *musharifs*, or *kārkāns* that is the revenue clerks. The *amil* corresponded to the modern *māmlatdār*, both terms meaning him who carries on the *amal* or revenue management. In the leading ports the *amil* of the customs was called *mutasaddi* that is civil officer.

Village
Officers.

The *amil* or *māmlatdār* dealt directly with the village officials, namely with the *mukaddam* or headman, the *patcāsi* or lease manager, the *kāringo* or accountant, and the *havāldār* or grain-yard guardian. The *havāldār* superintended the separation of the government's share of the produce; apportioned to the classes subject to forced labour their respective turns of duty; and exercised a general police superintendence by means of subordinates called *pasūtās* or *vartanās*. In ports under the *mutasaddi* was a harbour-master or *shāh-bandar*.

Desāis.

Crown sub-divisions had, in addition, the important class called *desāis*. The *desāi's* duty appears at first to have been to collect the *satimi* or tribute due by the smaller chiefs, landholders, and *vāntādārs* or sharers. For this, in Akbar's time, the *desāi* received a remuneration of 2½ per cent on the sum collected. Under the first viceroy Mirza Aziz Kokaltash (A.D. 1573-1575) this percentage was reduced to one-half of its former amount, and in later times this one-half was again reduced by one-half. Though the Muhammadan historians give no reason for so sweeping a reduction, the cause seems to have been the inability of the *desāis* to collect the tribute without the aid of a military force. Under the new system the *desāi* seems merely to have kept the accounts of the tribute due, and the records both of the amount which should be levied as tribute and of other customary rights of the crown. In later times the *desāis* were to a great extent superseded by the district accountants or *majmudārs*, and many *desāis*, especially in south Gujarāt, seem to have sunk to *patels*.

Land Tax.

Up to the viceroyalty of Mirza Isā Tarkhān (A.D. 1642-1644), the land-tax appears to have been levied from the cultivator in a fixed sum, but he was also subject to numerous other imposts. Land grants in *wāzifah* carried with them an hereditary title and special exemption from all levies except the land tax. The levy in kind appears to have ceased before the close of Mughal rule. In place of a levy in kind each village paid a fixed sum or *jama* through the district accountant or *majmudār* who had taken the place of the *desāi*. As in many cases the *jama* really meant the lump sum at which the crown villages were assessed and farmed to the chiefs and *patels*, on the collapse of the empire many villages thus farmed to chiefs and landlords were

¹ In Mārwar and in the north and north-east this official was styled *tahsildār* and in the Dakhan *kamdvāddar*.

retained by them with the connivance of the *mujmuddars devais* and others.

The administration of justice seems to have been very complete. In each *kashah* or town *kasis*, endowed with gable lands in addition to a permanent salary, adjudicated disputes among Muhammadans according to the laws of Islam. Disputes between Muhammadans and unbelievers, or amongst unbelievers, were decided by the department called the *saddrat*, the local judge being termed a *sadr*. The decisions of the local *kasis* and *sadrs* were subject to revision by the *kazi* or *sadr* of the *sabak* who resided at Ahmedabad. And as a last resort the Ahmedabad decisions were subject to appeal to the *Kazi-ul-Kuzdat* and the *Sadr-us-Sudur* at the capital.

The revenue appears to have been classed under four main heads: 1. The *Khazannah-i-A'mirah* or imperial treasury which comprehended the land tax received from the crown *parganahs* or districts, the tribute, the five per cent customs dues from infidels, the import dues on stuffs, and the *sayer* or land customs including transit dues, slave market dues, and miscellaneous taxes. 2. The treasury of arrears into which were paid government claims in arrear either from the *amil* or from the farmers of land revenue; *tabdars* advances due by the *rayats*; and tribute levied by the presence of a military force. 3. The treasury of charitable endowments. Into this treasury was paid the 2½ per cent levied on customs dues from Muhammadans.¹ The pay of the religious classes was defrayed from this treasury. 4. The treasury, into which the *jaziah* or capitation tax levied from *zimmi*s or infidels who acknowledged Muhammadan rule, was paid. The proceeds were expended in charity and public works. After the death of the emperor Farrukhsiyar (A.D. 1713-1719), this source of revenue was abolished. The arrangements introduced by Akbar in the end of the sixteenth century remained in force till the death of Aurangzib in A.D. 1707. Then trouble and perplexity daily increased, till in A.D. 1724-25, Hamid Khan usurped the government lands, and, seeking to get rid of the servants and assignments, gradually obtained possession of the records of the registry office. The keepers of the records were scattered, and yearly revenue statements ceased to be received from the districts.²

Akbar continued the system of assigning lands to military leaders in payment of their contingents of troops. Immediately after the annexation in A.D. 1573, almost the whole country was divided among the great nobles.³ Except that the revenues of certain tracts were

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¹ *Zakat*, literally purification or cleansing, is the name of a tax levied from Muslims for charitable purposes or religious uses. In the endowments-treasury the customs dues from Muslims at 2½ per cent (the technical 1 in 40) as contrasted with the five per cent levied from infidels (the technical 2 in 40) were entered. Hence in these accounts *zakat* corresponds with customs dues, and is divisible into two kinds *Ekasakki zakat* or land customs and *hari zakat* or sea customs.

² Bird's History of Gujarat, 23. Though under the Mughal viceroys the state demand was at first realized in grain, at the last the custom was to assess each sub-division, and probably each village, at a fixed sum or *jama*. The total amount for the sub-division was collected by an officer called *mujmuddar*, literally keeper of collections, the village headmen, *patels* or *sarkaddars*, being responsible each for his own village.

³ Bird's History of Gujarat, 325.

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set aside for the imperial exchequer the directly governed districts passed into the hands of military leaders who employed their own agents to collect the revenue. During the seventeenth century the practice of submitting a yearly record of their revenues, and the power of the viceroy, to bring them to account for misgovernment, exercised a check on the management of the military leaders. And during this time a yearly surplus revenue of £300,000 (Rs. 60,00,000) from the assigned and crown lands was on an average forwarded from Gujarāt to Delhi. In the eighteenth century the decay of the viceroy's authority was accompanied by the gradually increased power of the military leaders in possession of assigned districts, till finally, as in the case of the Nawābs of Broach and Surat, they openly claimed the position of independent rulers.¹

Minor Officers.

Of both leading and minor officials the Mirāt-i-Ahmedi supplies the following additional details. The highest officer who was appointed under the seal of the minister of the empire was the provincial *divān* or minister. He had charge of the fiscal affairs of the province and of the revenues of the *khāṭa* or crown lands, and was in some matters independent of the viceroy. Besides his personal salary he had 150 *sawārs* for two provincial *thānās* Arjanpur and Khambālia. Under the *divān* the chief officers were the *pīshkār divān* his first assistant, who was appointed under imperial orders by the patent of the *divān*, the *dawoghah* or head of the office, and the *sharf* or *mushrif* and *tehwildār* of the *daftar khināhs*, who presided over the accounts with *mushis* and *muharrirs* or secretaries and writers. The *kāzis*, both town and city, with the sanction of the emperor were appointed by the chief law officer of the empire through the chief law officer of the province. They were lodged by the state, paid partly in cash partly in land, and kept up a certain number of troopers. In the *kāzi's* courts *wakils* or pleaders and *muftis* or law officers drew 8 as. to Rs. 1 a day. Newly converted Musalmāns also drew 8 as. a day. The city censor or *mukhtash* had the supervision of morals and of weights and measures. He was paid in cash and land, and was expected to keep up sixty troopers. The news-writer, who was sometimes also *bakhshi* or military paymaster, had a large staff of news-writers called *wākīh-nigār* who worked in the district courts and offices as well as in the city courts. He received his news-reports every evening and embodied them in a letter which was sent to court by camel post. A second staff of news-writers called *sawānkh-nigār* reported rumours. A third set were the *harkārdas* on the viceroy's staff. Postal *chaukis* or stations extended from Ahmedābād to the Ajmīr frontier, each with men and horse ready to carry the imperial post which reached Shah Jehānābād or Delhi in seven days. A line of posts also ran south through Broach to the Dakhan. The *faujdar*s or military police, who were sometimes commanders of a thousand and held estates, controlled both the city and the district police. The *ketwal* or head of the city night-watch was appointed by the viceroy. He had fifty troopers and a hundred foot. In the treasury department were the *amin* or chief, the *dāroghah*, the

¹ Bird's History of Gujarat, 341.

mushrif, the treasurer, and five messengers. In the medical department were a Yúnání or Greek school and a Hindu physician, two under-physicians on eight and ten annas a day, and a surgeon. The yearly grant for food and medicine amounted to Rs. 2000.¹

Besides the class of vernacular terms that belong to the administration of the province, certain technical words connected with the tenure of land are of frequent occurrence in this history. For each of these, in addition to the English equivalent which as far as possible has been given in the text, some explanation seems necessary. During the period to which this history refers, the superior holders of the land of the province belonged to two main classes, those whose claims dated from before the Musalmán conquest and those whose interest in the land was based on a Musalmán grant. By the Musalmán historians, landholders of the first class, who were all Hindus, are called *zamindárs*, while landholders of the second class, Musalmáns as a rule, are spoken of as *jágirdárs*. Though the term *zamindár* was used to include the whole body of superior Hindu landholders, in practice a marked distinction was drawn between the almost independent chief, who still enjoyed his Hindu title of *rāja*, *rāval*, *rāv*, or *jām*, and the petty claimant to a share in a government village, who in a Hindu state would have been known as a *garásia*.²

The larger landholders, who had succeeded in avoiding complete subjection, were, as noticed above, liable only for the payment of a certain fixed sum, the collection of which by the central power in later times usually required the presence of a military force. With regard to the settlement of the claims of the smaller landholders of the superior class, whose estates fell within the limits of the directly administered districts, no steps seem to have been taken till the reign of Ahmed Sháh I. (A.D. 1411-1443). About the year A.D. 1420 the peace of his kingdom was so broken by agrarian disturbances, that Ahmed Sháh agreed, on condition of their paying tribute and performing military service, to re-grant to the landholders of the *zamindár* class as hereditary possessions a one-fourth share of their former village lands. The portion so set apart was called *vinta* or share, and the remainder retained as state land, was called *talpat*. This agreement continued till, in the year A.D. 1545, during the reign of Mahmúd Sháh II. (A.D. 1536-1553), an attempt was made to annex these private shares to the crown. This measure caused much discontent and disorder. It was reversed by the emperor Akbar who, as part of the settlement of the province in A.D. 1583, restored their one-fourth share to the landholders, and, except that the Maráthás

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¹ Mirát-i Áhmedi Persian Text page 115.

² The title *rāja* is applicable to the head of a family only. The payment of tribute to the Mughals or Maráthás does not affect the right to use this title. *Rāva* and *vā* seem to be of the same dignity as *rāja*. *Rāval* is of lower rank. The sons of *rājās*, *rāvals*, *vās*, and *vāvals* are called *khāns* and their sons (*khāns*). The younger sons of *khāns* became *khāns* that is landowners or *garásias*, that is owners of *garas* or a mouthful. *Jām* is the title of the chiefs of the Jádaja tribe both of the elder branch in Kachh and of the younger branch in Navdnagar, or Little Kachh in Káthiáwár. Rájá Mála, II. 277.

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afterwards levied an additional quit-rent from these lands, the arrangements then introduced have since continued in force.¹

During the decay of Musalmán rule in Gujarát in the first half of the eighteenth century, shareholders of the *garásia* class in government villages, who were always ready to increase their power by force, levied many irregular exactions from their more peaceful neighbours, the cultivators or inferior landholders. These levies are known as *col* that is a forced contribution or *pál* that is protection. All have this peculiar characteristic that they were paid by the cultivators of crown lands to petty marauders to purchase immunity from their attacks. They in no case partook of the nature of dues imposed by a settled government on its own subjects. *Tora garás*, more correctly *toda garás*, is another levy which had its origin in eighteenth century disorder. It was usually a readymoney payment taken from villages which, though at the time crown or *khátes*, had formerly belonged to the *garásia* who exacted the levy. Besides a readymoney payment contributions in kind were sometimes exacted.

Service Lands.

The second class of superior landholders were those whose title was based on a Musalmán grant. Such grants were either assignments of large tracts of land to the viceroy, district-governors, and nobles, to support the dignity of their position and maintain a contingent of troops, or they were allotments on a smaller scale granted in reward for some special service. Land granted with these objects was called *jágir*, and the holder of the land *jágirdár*. In theory, on the death of the original grantee, such possessions were strictly resumable; in practice they tended to become hereditary. No regular payments were required from holders of *jágirs*. Only under the name of *peashkash* occasional contributions were demanded. These occasional contributions generally consisted of such presents as a horse, an elephant, or some other article of value. They had more of the nature of a freewill offering than of an enforced tribute. Under the Musalmáns contributions of this kind were the only payments exacted from proprietors of the *jágirdár* class. But the Maráthás, in addition to contributions, imposed on *jágirdárs* a regular tribute, similar to that paid by the representatives of the original class of superior Hindu landholders.

Under Musalmán rule great part of Gujarát was always in the hands of *jágirdárs*. So powerful were they that on two occasions under the Ahmedábád kings, in A.D. 1554 and A.D. 1572, the leading

¹ Under the Maráthás the title *zamidár* was bestowed on the farmers of the land revenue, and this practice was adopted by the earlier English writers on Gujarát. In consequence of this change small landholders of the superior class, in directly administered districts, came again to be called by their original Hindu name of *garásia*. Mr. Elphinstone (History, 79 and note 13) includes under the term *zamidár*: (1) half-subdued chieftains, (2) independent governors of districts, and (3) farmers of revenue. He also notices that until Aurangzeb's time such chiefs as enjoyed some degree of independence were alone called *zamidárs*. But in Colonel Walker's time, A.D. 1765, at least in Gujarát (Bombay Government Selections, XXXIX, 25) the term *zamidár* included *darás*, *majmúddars* (district accountants), *patels*, and *talúddis* (village clerks).

nobles distributed among themselves the entire area of the kingdom.¹ Again, during the eighteenth century, when Mughal rule was on the decline, the *jagirdars* by degrees won for themselves positions of almost complete independence.²

The changes in the extent of territory and in the form of administration illustrate the effect of the government on the condition of the people during the different periods of Musalman rule. The following summary of the leading characteristics of each of the main divisions of the four-and-a-half centuries of Musalman ascendancy may serve as an introduction to the detailed narrative of events.

On conquering Gujarāt in A.D. 1297 the Musalmāns found the country in disorder. The last kings of Anahilapur or Pātan, suffering under the defects of an incomplete title, held even their crown lands with no firmness of grasp, and had allowed the outlying territory to slip almost entirely from their control. Several of the larger and more distant rulers had resumed their independence. The Bhils and Kolis of the hills, forests, and rough river banks were in revolt. And stranger chiefs, driven south by the Musalman conquests in Upper India, had robbed the central power of much territory.³ The records of the early Musalman governors (A.D. 1297-1391) show suspicion on the side of the Dehli court and disloyalty on the part of more than one viceroy, much confusion throughout the province, and little in the way of government beyond the exercise of military force. At the same time, in spite of wars and rebellions, the country, in parts at least, seems to

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¹ Details of A.D. 1571 given in the *Mirāt-i-Ahmedi* show that the chief nobles were bound to furnish cavalry contingents varying from 4000 to 25,000 horse, and held lands estimated to yield yearly revenues of £160,000 to £1,620,000. Bird's *Gujarāt*, 109-127.

² According to the European travellers in India, during the seventeenth century, provincial governors, and probably to some extent all large holders of service lands, employed various methods for adding to the profits which the assigned lands were meant to yield them. Of these devices two seem to have been specially common, the practice of supporting a body of horse smaller than the number agreed for, and the practice of purveyance that is of levying supplies without payment. Sir Thomas Roe, from A.D. 1615 to 1618 English ambassador at the court of the emperor Jahāngir, gives the following details of these irregular practices: 'The Patan (that is Patna in Bengal) viceroy's government was estimated at 5000 horse, the yearly pay of each trooper being £20 (Rs. 200), of which he kept only 1500, being allowed the surplus as dead pay. On one occasion this governor wished to present me with 100 leaves of the finest sugar, as white as snow, each leaf weighing fifty pounds. On my declining, he said, 'You refuse these leaves, thinking I am poor; but being made in my government the sugar costs me nothing, as it comes to me gratis.' Sir Thomas Roe in *Kerr's Voyages*, IX. 282-284. The same writer, the best qualified of the English travellers of that time to form a correct opinion, thus describes the administration of the Musalman governors of the seventeenth century: 'They practice every kind of tyranny against the natives under their jurisdiction, oppressing them with continual exactions, and are exceedingly averse from any way being opened by which the king may be informed of their infamous proceedings. They grind the people under their government to extract money from them, often hanging men up by the heels to make them confess that they are rich, or to ransom themselves from faults merely imputed with a view to fleece them.' Sir Thomas Roe in *Kerr's Voyages*, IX. 338.

³ Of these settlements the principal was that of the Rathod chief who in the thirteenth century established himself at Ilār, now one of the states of the Mahi Kantha. In the thirteenth century also, Gohils from the north and Sodha Parmārs and Kathis from Sindh entered Gujarāt. Rao Māh, II. 269.

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have been well cultivated, and trade and manufactures to have been flourishing.¹

The period of the rule of the Ahmedābād kings (A.D. 1403-1573) contains two divisions, one lasting from A.D. 1403 to A.D. 1530, on the whole a time of strong government and of growing power and prosperity; the other the forty-three years from A.D. 1530 to the conquest of the province by the emperor Akbar in A.D. 1573, a time of disorder and misrule. In A.D. 1403 when Gujarāt separated from Dehli the new king held but a narrow strip of plain. On the north were the independent chiefs of Sirohi and Jhālor, from whom he occasionally levied contributions. On the east the Rāja of Idar, another Rājput prince, was in possession of the western skirts of the hills and forests, and the rest of that tract was held by the mountain tribes of Bhils and Kolis. On the west the peninsula was in the hands of nine or ten Hindu tribes, probably tributary, but by no means obedient.² In the midst of so unsettled and warlike a population, all the efforts of Muzaffar I., the founder of the dynasty, were spent in establishing his power. It was not until the reign of his successor Ahmed I. (A.D. 1412-1443) that steps were taken to settle the different classes of the people in positions of permanent order. About the year A.D. 1420 two important measures were introduced. Of these one assigned lands for the support of the troops, and the other recognised the rights of the superior class of Hindu landholders to a portion of the village lands they had formerly held. The effect of these changes was to establish order throughout the districts directly under the authority of the crown. And though, in the territories subject to feudatory chiefs, the presence of an armed force was still required to give effect to the king's claims for tribute, his increasing power and wealth made efforts at independence more hopeless, and gradually secured the subjection of the greater number of his vassals. During the latter part of the fifteenth and the first quarter of the sixteenth century the power of the Ahmedābād kings was at its height. At that time their dominions included twenty-five divisions or *sarkārs*. Among nine of these namely Pātan, Ahmedābād, Sūnth, Godhra, Chāmpāner, Baroda, Broach, Nāndod or Rājpipla, and Surat the central plain was distributed. In addition in the north were four divisions, Sirohi, Jhālor, Jodhpur, and Nāgor now in south-west and central Rājputāna; in the north-east two, Dūngarpur and Bānsyāda, now in the extreme

¹ Gujarāt of about the year A.D. 1300 is thus described: 'The air of Gujarāt is healthy, and the earth picturesque; the vineyards bring forth blue grapes twice a year, and the strength of the soil is such that the cotton plants spread their branches like willow and plane trees, and yield produce for several years successively. Besides Cambay, the most celebrated of the cities of Hind in population and wealth, there are 70,000 towns and villages, all populous, and the people abounding in wealth and luxuries.' Elliot's History of India, III. 31, 32, and 43. Marco Polo, about A.D. 1292, says: 'In Gujarāt there grows much pepper and ginger and indigo. They have also a great deal of cotton. Their cotton trees are of very great size, growing full six paces high, and attaining to an age of twenty years.' Yule's Edition, II. 328. The cotton referred to was probably the variety known as *derbunda* *Gossypium religiosum* or *peruvianum*, which grows from ten to fifteen feet high, and bears for several years. Royle, 149-150.

² Elphinstone's History, 762.

south of Rājputāna; in the east and south-east three, Nandurbār now in Khāndesh, Mulher or Bāglān now in Nāsik, and Rām Nagar or Dharampur now in Surat; in the south four, Dandā-Rājapuri or Janjira, Bombay, Bassein, and Daman now in the Konkan; in the west two, Sorath and Navānagar now in Kathiāvāda; and Kachh in the north-west. Besides the revenues of these districts, tribute was received from the rulers of Ahmednagar, Burchānpur, Berār, Golkonda, and Bijāpur, and customs dues from twenty-five ports on the western coast of India and from twenty-six foreign marts, some of them in India and others in the Persian Gulf and along the Arabian coast.¹ The total revenue from these three sources is said in prosperous times to have amounted to a yearly sum of £11,460,000 (Rs. 11,46,00,000). Of this total amount the territorial revenue from the twenty-five districts yielded £5,840,000 (Rs. 5,84,00,000), or slightly more than one-half. Of the remaining £5,620,000 (Rs. 5,62,00,000) about one-fifth part was derived from the Dakhan tribute and the rest from customs-dues.²

The buildings at Ahmedābād, and the ruins of Chāmpāner and Mehmedābād, prove how much wealth was at the command of the sovereign and his nobles, while the accounts of travellers seem to show that the private expenditure of the rulers was not greater than the kingdom was well able to bear. The Portuguese traveller Duarte Barbosa, who was in Gujarāt between A.D. 1511 and A.D. 1514, found the capital Chāmpāner a great city, in a very fertile country of abundant provisions, with many cows sheep and goats and plenty of fruit, so that it was full of all things.³ Ahmedābād was still larger, very rich and well

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¹ Bird's History of Gujarāt, 110, 129, and 130.

² The passage from the Mirāt-i-Ahmedī, Bird 109, is: 'A sum of 25 *lakh* of *hans* and one *avar* of *ibrahims*, that were two parts greater, being altogether nearly equal to 5 *krors* and 62 *lakh* of rupees, was collected from the Dakhan tribute and the customs of the European and Arab ports.' The word *hans*, from an old Karnatak word for gold, is the Musalman name for the coin known among Hindus as *panchās* or the wild-bear coin, and among the Portuguese as the *pagoda* or temple coin. Prinsep Ind. Ant. Thomas' Ed. II. C. T. 18. The old specimens of this coin weigh either 60 grains the *sadda* or half *pagoda*, or 120 grains the *hans* or full *pagoda*. Thomas, Chron. Pat. Ks. II. 224, note. The star *pagoda*, in which English accounts at Madras were formerly kept, weighs 52-55 grains, and was commonly valued at 8s. or Rs. 4 (Prinsep as above). At this rate in the present sum the 25 *lakh* of *hans* would equal one *avar* (100 *lakh*) of rupees. The *ibrahims*, 'two parts greater than the *hans*,' would seem to be a gold coin; perhaps a variety of the Persian *ashraf* (worth about 6s. English. Marsden, N. O. 155). Taking the two parts of a *hans* as *finans* or sixteenth, this would give the *ibrahims* a value of Rs. 41, and make a total customs revenue of 425 *lakh* of rupees. This statement of the revenues of the kingdom is, according to the author of the Mirāt-i-Ahmedī, taken from such times as the power of the Gujarāt kings continued to increase. The total revenue of the twenty-five districts (£5,840,000) is the amount recovered in the year A.D. 1571. But the receipts under the head of Tribute must have been compiled from accounts of earlier years. For, as will be seen below, the neighbouring kings ceased to pay tribute after the end of the reign of Bahadur (A.D. 1536). Similarly the customs-revenues entered as received from Daman and other places must have been taken from the accounts of some year previous to A.D. 1560.

³ The remains at Chāmpāner in the British district of the Panch Mahāls are well known. Of Mehmedābād, the town of that name in the district of Kaira, eighteen miles south of Ahmedābād, a few ruins only are left. In A.D. 1590 this city is said to have contained many grand edifices surrounded with a wall eleven miles (7 *kos*) square with at every 1 mile (1 *kos*) a pleasure house, and an enclosure for deer and other game. (Āin-i-Akhbari: Ghadwin, II. 84.) The Mirāt-i-Ahmedī makes no special reference to the sovereign's share of the revenue. The greater part of the £5,620,000 derived from

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supplied, embellished with good streets and squares, with houses of stone and cement. It was not from the interior districts of the province that the Ahmedābād kings derived the chief part of their wealth, but from those lying along the coast, which were enriched by manufactures and commerce.¹ So it was that along the shores of the gulf of Cambay and southward as far as Bombay the limit of the Gujarāt kingdom, besides many small sea-ports, Barbosa chooses out for special mention twelve 'towns of commerce, very rich and of great trade.' Among these was Diu, off the south coast of Kāthiāvāda, yielding so large a revenue to the king as to be 'a marvel and amazement.' And chief of all Cambay, in a goodly, fertile, and pretty country full of abundant provisions; with rich merchants and men of great prosperity; with craftsmen and mechanics of subtle workmanship in cotton, silk, ivory, silver, and precious stones; the people well dressed, leading luxurious lives, much given to pleasure and amusement.²

The thirty-eight years between the defeat of King Bahādur by the emperor Humāyūn in A.D. 1535 and the annexation of Gujarāt by Akbar in A.D. 1573 was a time of confusion. Abroad, the superiority of Gujarāt over the neighbouring powers was lost, and the limits of the kingdom shrank; at home, after the attempted confiscation (A.D. 1545) of their shares in village lands the disaffection of the superior landowners became general, and the court, beyond the narrow limits of the crown domains, ceased to exercise substantial control over

tribute and customs would probably go to the king, besides the lands specially set apart as crown domains, which in A.D. 1571 were returned as yielding a yearly revenue of 2900,000 (900,000,000 *fanaks*). This would bring the total income of the crown to a little more than 6½ millions sterling.

¹ So Sikandar Lodī emperor of Delhi, A.D. 1488-1517, is reported to have said: 'The magnificence of the kings of Delhi rests on wheat and barley; the magnificence of the kings of Gujarāt rests on coral and pearls.' Bird, 132.

² The twelve Gujarāt ports mentioned by Barbosa are: On the south coast of the peninsula, two: Patnaxī (Pātan-Somnāth, now Veraval), very rich and of great trade; Surāt-Mangalor (Mangrūl), a town of commerce, and Diu. On the shores of the gulf of Cambay four: Gogari (Gogha), a large town; Barbesy (Broach); Guzdarī or Gandār (Gandhār), a very good town; and Cambay. On the western coast five: Ravel (Rānder), a rich place; Surāt, a city of very great trade; Derry (Gandevī), a place of great trade; Baxsy (Bassein), a good seaport in which much goods are exchanged; and Tanamayamba (Thāna-Māhim), a town of great Moorish mosques, but of little trade. (Stanley's Barbosa, 59-68). The only one of these ports whose identification seems doubtful is Ravel, described by Barbosa (page 67) as a pretty town of the Moors on a good river, twenty leagues south of Gandhār. This agrees with the position of Rānder on the Tāptī, nearly opposite Surāt, which appears in Al Birūnī (A.D. 1030) as Rāharor one of the capitals of south Gujarāt and is mentioned under the name Rānir, both in the *Al-i-Akhbarī* (A.D. 1590) and in the *Mirāt-i-Ahmedī* for the year A.D. 1671, as a place of trade, 'in ancient times a great city.' In his description of the wealth of Cambay, Barbosa is supported by the other European travellers of the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. According to Nicolo de Conti (A.D. 1420-1444), the town, including its suburbs, was twelve miles in circuit abounding in epikenard, lac, indigo, myrobolans, and silk. Athanasios Nikotin (A.D. 1468-1474) found it a manufacturing place for every sort of goods as long gowns damasks and blankets; and Varthema (A.D. 1503-1508) says it abounds in grain and very good fruits, supplying Africa, Arabia and India with silk and cotton stuffs; it is impossible to describe its excellence. Barbosa's account of Ahmedābād is borne out by the statement in the *Al-i-Akhbarī* (Gladwin, II. 63) that the whole number of the suburbs (*qasbs*) of the city was 360, and in the *Mirāt-i-Ahmedī*, that it once contained 380 suburbs each of considerable size, containing good buildings and markets filled with everything valuable and rare, so that each was almost a city. Bird, 311.

either its chief nobles or the more turbulent classes. In spite of these forty years of disorder, the province retained so much of its former prosperity, that the boast of the local historians that in A.D. 1573 Gujarāt was in every respect allowed to be the finest country in Hindustān is supported by the details shortly afterwards (A.D. 1590) given by Abul Fazl in the *Ain-i-Akbari*. The high road from Pātan to Baroda was throughout its length of 150 miles (100 *kos*) lined on both sides with mango trees; the fields were bounded with hedges; and such was the abundance of mango and other fruit trees that the whole country seemed a garden. The people were well housed in dwellings with walls of brick and mortar and with tiled roofs; many of them rode in carriages drawn by oxen: the province was famous for its painters, carvers, inlayers, and other craftsmen.¹

Like the period of the rule of the Ahmedābād kings, the period of Mughal rule contains two divisions, a time of good government lasting from A.D. 1573 to A.D. 1700, and a time of disorder from A.D. 1700 to A.D. 1760. Under the arrangements introduced by the emperor Akbar in A.D. 1583, the area of the province was considerably curtailed. Of its twenty-five districts nine were restored to the states from which the vigour of the Ahmedābād kings had wrested them; Jalor and Jodhpur were transferred to Rājputāna; Nāgor to Ajmīr; Mulher and Nandurbar to Khāndesh; Bombay, Bassin, and Daman were allowed to remain under the Portuguese; and Danda-Rājipuri (Jinjira) was made over to the Nizāmshāhi (A.D. 1490-1595) rulers of the Dakhan Ahmednagar. Of the remaining sixteen, Sirohi, Dungarpur, and Bānsvāda now in Rājputāna, Kachh, Sūnth in Rewa Kānth, and Rāmnagar (Dharampur) in Surat were, on the payment of tribute, allowed to continue in the hands of their Hindu rulers. The ten remaining districts were administered directly by imperial officers. But as the revenues of the district of Surat had been separately assigned to its revenue officer or *mutasaddi*, only nine districts with 184 sub-divisions or *parganās* were entered in the collections from the viceroy of Gujarāt. These nine districts were in continental Gujarāt, Pātan with seventeen sub-divisions, Ahmedābād with thirty-three, Godhra with eleven, Chāmpāner with thirteen, Baroda with four, Broach with fourteen, and Rājpipla (Nāndod) with twelve. In the peninsula were Sorath with sixty-two and Navanagar with seventeen sub-divisions. This lessening of area seems to have been accompanied by even more than a corresponding reduction in the state demand. Instead of £5,840,050 (Rs. 5,84,00,500), the revenue recovered in A.D. 1571, two years before the province was annexed, under the arrangement introduced by the emperor Akbar, the total amount, including the receipts from Surat and the tribute of the six feudatory

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¹ Gladwin's *Ain-i-Akbari*, II. 62-63. Compare Terry (*Voyage*, 80, 131) in 1615: Gujarāt a very goodly large and exceeding rich province with, besides its most spacious populous and rich capital Ahmedābād, four fair cities Cambay Baroda Broach and Surat with great trade to the Red Sea, Achin, and other places. At the same time (Ditto, 173-180) though the villages stood very thick, the houses were generally very poor and base, all set close together some with earthen walls and flat roofs, most of them cottages miserably poor little and base set up with sticks rather than timber.

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districts, is returned at £1,999,113 (Rs. 1,99,91,130) or little more than one-third part of what was formerly collected.¹

According to the Mirāt-i-Ahmedi this revenue of £1,999,113 (Rs. 1,99,91,130) continued to be realised as late as the reign of Muhammad Shah (A.D. 1719-1748). But within the next twelve years (A.D. 1748-1762) the whole revenue had fallen to £1,235,000 (Rs. 1,23,50,000). Of £1,999,113 (Rs. 1,99,91,130), the total amount levied by Akbar on the annexation of the province, £520,501 (Rs. 52,05,010), or a little more than a quarter, were set apart for imperial use and royal expense; £55,000 (Rs. 5,50,000) were assigned for the support of the viceroy and the personal estates of the nobles, and the remainder was settled for the pay of other officers of rank and court officials. Nearly £30,000 (Rs. 3,00,000) were given away as rewards and pensions to religious orders and establishments.²

¹ The decrease in the Mughal collections from Gujarat compared with the revenues of the Ahmedabad kings may have been due to Akbar's moderation. It may also have been due to a decline in prosperity. Compare Roe's (1817) account of Toda about fifty miles south-east of Ajmir. It was the best and most populous country Roe had seen in India. The district was level with fertile soil abounding in corn cotton and cattle and the villages were so numerous and near together as hardly to exceed a *kos* from each other. The town was the best built Roe had seen in India tiled two-storied houses good enough for decent shopkeepers. It had been the residence of a Rajput Raja before the conquests of Akbar Shah and stood at the foot of a good and strong rock about which were many excellent works of hewn stone, well cut, with many tanks arched over with well-turned vaults and large and deep descents to them. Near it was a beautiful grove two miles long and a quarter of a mile broad all planted with mangroves tamarinds and other fruit trees, divided by shady walks and interspersed with little temples and idol altars with many fountains wells and summer houses of carved stone curiously arched so that a poor banished Englishman might have been content to dwell there. This observation may serve universally for the whole country that ruin and devastation operate everywhere. For since the property of all has become vested in the king no person takes care of anything so that in every place the spoil and devastations of war appear and nowhere is anything repaired. Roe in Kerr's Voyages, IX, 320-331.

² Bird's History of Gujarat. Another detailed statement of the revenue of Gujarat given in the Mirāt-i-Ahmedi, apparently for the time when the author wrote (A.D. 1760) gives: Revenue from crown lands £2,107,518; tribute-paying divisions or *sarkars* £12,700; Malī Kantha tribute £178,741; Waktak Kantha tribute £159,768; and Sefar Kantha tribute £121,151; in all £2,579,878; adding to this £20,000 for Kachhi, £40,000 for Dungarpur, and £3000 for Sirohi, gives a grand total of £2,644,878. According to a statement given by Bird in a note at page 108 of his History, the revenue of Gujarat under Jehāngir (A.D. 1605-1627) averaged £1,260,000; under Aurangzib (A.D. 1658-1707) £1,519,622; and under Muhammad Shah (A.D. 1719-1748) £1,218,300. In this passage the revenue under the emperor Akbar (A.D. 1556-1605) is given at £66,845. This total is taken from Gladwin's *Am-i-Akbari*. But at vol. II, page 73 of that work there would seem to be some miscalculation; for while the total number of *dārs* (½ of a rupee) is 43,68,02,301, the conversion into rupees is Rs. 10,96,323 instead of Rs. 1,09,20,057. The corresponding returns given by Mr. Thomas (Rev. of the Mog. Emp. page 82) are under Akbar, A.D. 1594, £1,092,412; under Shah Jahan, A.D. 1648, £1,320,000; and under Aurangzib, A.D. 1658-£2,173,220, A.D. 1663-1666 £1,309,500, A.D. 1697 £2,320,500, and A.D. 1707 £1,519,623. The varieties in the currency employed in different parts of the accounts cause some confusion in calculating the Gujarat revenue. Under the Ahmedabad kings the accounts were kept in *tanikas* or ½ of rupees, while under the Mughals *dimas* or ¼ of a rupee took the place of *tanikas*. The revenues from Surat Baroda Broach and other districts south of the Malī were returned in *changizi*, a coin varying in value from something over ½ of a rupee to slightly less than ¼; the revenues from Rādhanpur and Morvi were entered in *mahmudiya*, a coin nearly identical in value with the *changizi*, while, as noticed above, the tribute and customs dues are returned in a gold currency, the tribute in *Annas* of about 5s. (Rs. 4) and the customs in *ibrahims* of Rs. (Rs. 4).

Besides lightening the state demand the emperor Akbar introduced three improvements: (1) The survey of the land; (2) The payment of the headmen or *mukaddams* of government villages; and (3) The restoration to small superior landholders of the share they formerly enjoyed in the lands of government villages. The survey which was entrusted to Rājā Todar Mal, the revenue minister of the empire, was completed in A.D. 1575. The operations were confined to a small portion of the whole area of the province. Besides the six tributary districts which were unaffected by the measure, Godhra in the east, the western peninsula, and a large portion of the central strip of directly governed lands were excluded, so that of the 184 sub-divisions only 84 were surveyed. In A.D. 1575, of 7,261,849 acres (12,360,594 *bighās*), the whole area measured, 4,920,818 acres (8,374,498 *bighās*) or about two-thirds were found to be fit for cultivation, and the remainder was waste. In those parts of the directly governed districts where the land was not measured the existing method of determining the government share of the produce either by selecting a portion of the field while the crop was still standing, or by dividing the grain heap at harvest time, was continued. In surveyed districts the amount paid was determined by the area and character of the land under cultivation. Payment was made either in grain or in money, according to the instructions issued to the revenue-collectors, 'that when it would not prove oppressive the value of the grain should be taken in ready money at the market price.' The chief change in the revenue management was that, instead of each year calculating the government share from the character of the crop, an uniform demand was fixed to run for a term of ten years.

Another important effect of this survey was to extend to cultivators in simple villages the proprietary interest in the soil formerly enjoyed only by the shareholders of joint villages. By this change the power of the military nobles to make undue exactions from the cultivators in their assigned lands was to some extent checked. It was, perhaps, also an indirect effect of this more definite settlement of the crown demand that the revenue agents of government and of the holders of assigned lands, finding that the revenues could be realised without their help, refused to allow to the heads of villages certain revenue dues which, in return for their services, they had hitherto enjoyed. Accordingly, in A.D. 1589-90, these heads of villages appealed to government and Akbar decided that in assigned districts as well as in the crown domains from the collections of government lands two-and-a-half per cent should be set apart as a perquisite for men of this class.*

* *Āin-i-Akbarī* (Glasgow), I. 305. The *Āin-i-Akbarī* mentions four ways of calculating the state share in an unsurveyed field: (1) to measure the land with the crops standing and make an estimate; (2) to reap the crops, collect the grain in barns, and divide it according to agreement; (3) to divide the field as soon as the seed is sown; and (4) to gather the grain into heaps on the field and divide it there.

* The men to whom this $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent was granted are referred to in the *Mirāt-i-Ahmadi* as *desdās*. Whatever doubt may attach to the precise meaning of the term *desdā* it seems clear that it was as village headmen that the *desdās* petitioned for and received this grant. These *desdās* were the heads of villages with whom, as noticed above, the government agent for collecting the revenue dealt, and who, agreeing for the

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When the heads of villages laid their own private grievance before government, they also brought to its notice that the Koli and Rājput landowners, whose shares in government villages had been resumed by the crown in A.D. 1545, had since that time continued in a state of discontent and revolt and were then causing the ruin of the subjects and a deficiency in the government collections. An inquiry was instituted, and, to satisfy the claims of landowners of this class, it was agreed that, on furnishing good security for their conduct and receiving the government mark on their contingent of cavalry, they should again be put in possession of a one-fourth share of the land of government villages. While the province was managed agreeably to these regulations, says the author of the *Mirāt-i-Ahmedi*, its prosperity continued to increase.¹

Though these measures did much to check internal disorder, Gujarat, for several years after it came under Mughal control, continued disturbed by insurrections among the nobles, and so imperfectly protected from the attacks of foreign enemies that between the years A.D. 1573 and 1600 each of its three richest cities, Ahmedabad, Cambay and Surat, was in turn taken and plundered.² During the rest

whole village contribution; themselves carried out the details of allotment and collection from the individual cultivators. In the sharehold villages north of the Nerbada, the headman who would be entitled to this 2½ per cent was the representative of the body of village shareholders. South of the Nerbada, in villages originally colonised by officers of the state, the representatives of these officers would enjoy the 2½ per cent. In south Gujarat the *desais* or heads of villages also acted as district hereditary revenue officers; but it was not as district hereditary revenue officers, but as heads of villages, that they received from Akbar this 2½ per cent assignment. In north Gujarat there were *desais* who were only district revenue officers. These men would seem to have received no part of Akbar's grant in 1589-90, for as late as A.D. 1706 the emperor Aurangzib, having occasion to make inquiries into the position of the *desais*, found that hitherto they had been supported by cesses and illegal exactions, and ordered that a stop should be put to all such exactions, and a fixed assignment of 2½ per cent on the revenues of the villages under their charge should be allowed them. It does not appear whether the Surat *desais* succeeded in obtaining Aurangzib's grant of 2½ per cent as district revenue officers in addition to Akbar's (A.D. 1589) assignment of 2½ per cent as heads of villages.

¹ *Ibid.*'s History of Gujarat, 400.

² Ahmedabad (A.D. 1589) by Muzaffar Shāh the last king of Gujarat; Cambay (A.D. 1573) by Muhammad Hussain Mīrza; and Surat (A.D. 1609) by Malik Ambar the famous general of the king of Ahmednagar. In such unsettled times it is not surprising that the European travellers of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, between Ahmedabad and Cambay found native merchants marching in large weekly caravans which rested at night within a space barricaded by carts. (Kerr, IX, 127 and 201.) The English merchants, on their way from one factory to another, were accompanied by an escort, and, in spite of their guard, were on more than one occasion attacked by large bands of Rājputs. (Kerr, IX, 197, 187, 201, 203.) As regards the state of the different parts of the province, Nicholas Uffet, who went from Agra to Surat about 1610, describes the north, from Jhūl to Ahmedabad, as throughout the whole way a sandy and woody country, full of thievish boasty men, and savage beasts such as lions and tigers; from Ahmedabad to Cambay the road was through sands and woods much infested by thieves; from Cambay to Broach it was a woody and dangerous journey; but from Broach to Surat the country was goodly, fertile, and full of villages, abounding in wild date trees. (Kerr, VIII, 303.) Passing from the mouth of the Tapi to Surat Mr. Copland (24th Dec. 1615) was delighted to see at the same time the goodliest spring and harvest he had ever seen. 'Often of two adjoining fields, one was as green as a fine meadow, and the other waving yellow like gold and ready to be cut down, and all along the roads were many goodly villages.' (Kerr, IX, 119.) At that time the state of north-east Gujarat was very different. Terry, 1617 (Voyage, 401), describes the passage of sixteen days from Mānda near Dhār to Ahmedabad as short journeys in

of the seventeenth century, though the country was from time to time disturbed by Koli and Rājput risings, and towards the end of the century suffered much from the raids of the Marāthās, the viceroys were, on the whole, able to maintain their authority, repressing the outbreaks of the disorderly classes, and enforcing the imperial claims for tribute on the more independent feudatory chiefs. Throughout the greater part of the seventeenth century the general state of the province seems to have been prosperous. Its cities were the wonder of European travellers. Surat, which only since the transfer of Gujarāt to the Mughal empire had risen to hold a place among its chief centres of trade, was, in A.D. 1684, when taken by Shivājī, rich enough to supply him with plunder in treasure and precious stones worth a million sterling¹; and at that time Camlay is said to have been beyond comparison greater than Surat, and Ahmedābād much richer and more populous than either.²

From the beginning of the eighteenth century disorder increased. Unable to rely for support on the imperial court, the viceroys failed to maintain order among the leading nobles, or to enforce their tribute from the more powerful feudatories. And while the small Koli and Rājput landholders, freed from the control of a strong central power, were destroying the military posts, taking possession of the state share of village lands, and levying dues from their more peaceful neighbours, the burden of the Marāthā tribute was year by year growing heavier. During the last ten years of Musalman rule so entirely did the viceroy's authority forsake him, that, according to the author of the *Mirāt-i-Ahmedi*, when the great landholders refused to pay their tribute, the viceroy had no power to enforce payment. And so faithless had the great landowners become that the viceroy could not pass the city gate without an escort.³

a wilderness where a way had to be cut and made even and the great spaces required for the Mughal's camp rid and made plain by grubbing up trees and bushes. And between Camlay and Ahmedābād De la Valle, A.D. 1628 (*Travels*, Hakluyt Ed. I. 92), resolved to go with the kafila since the insecurity of the ways did not allow him to go alone. Still at that time Gujarāt as a whole (see above page 220 note 2) was an exceeding rich province, a description which twenty years later (1638) is borne out by Mandelslo (*Travels*, French Edition, 56): No province in India is more fertile; none yields more fruit or victuals. With the boast of the author of the *Mirāt-i-Ahmedi* (A.D. 1756) that Gujarāt was the richest province in India compare Khāfi Khān's (A.D. 1719) remark (*Elliot*, VII. 530): This rich province which no other province in India can equal.

¹ Orme's *Historical Fragments*, 12.

² The following are some of the notices of Ahmedābād and Camlay by the European travellers of the seventeenth century: Camlay, 1598, trade so great that if he had not seen it he would not have believed it possible (Cassar Frederick); 1633, indifferent large with sufficiently spacious suburbs and a great concourse of vessels (De la Valle, Hakluyt Edition, I. 66-67); 1638, beyond comparison larger than Surat (Mandelslo, 101-108); 1663-1671, twice as big as Surat (Baldass in Churchill, III. 506). Ahmedābād, 1598, a very great city and populous (Cassar Frederick); 1632, competently large with great suburbs, a goodly and great city, with large fair and straight but daily dusty streets (De la Valle, Hakluyt Edition, I. 95); 1627, large and beautiful with many broad and comely streets, a rich and uniform bazar, and shops redundant with gums perfumes spices silks cottons and calicoes (Herbert's *Travels*, 3rd Edition, 66); 1638, great manufactures, satin and velvet, silk and cotton (Mandelslo, 80); 1695, the greatest city in India, nothing inferior to Venice for rich silks and gold stuffs (Gemelli Casari in Churchill, IV. 188).

³ Bird, 411.

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CONDITION OF
GUJARAT,
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Self-governed
Zamindars.

The above summary contains frequent references to three classes of *zamindars*: (1) The *zamindars* of the self-governed states; (2) The greater *zamindars* of the crown districts; and (3) The lesser *zamindars* of the crown districts.

In the case of the *zamindars* of self-governed states the principle was military service and no tribute. The author of the *Mirāt-i-Ahmedi* says that finally the *zamindars* of the self-governed states ceased to do service. In spite of this statement it seems probable that some of this class served almost until the complete collapse of the empire, and that tribute was rarely levied from them by an armed force. In the *Mirāt-i-Ahmedi* account of the office of *sābahdār* or *nāzim sābah* the following passage occurs: When occasion arose the *nāzims* used to take with their armies the contingents of the Rānās of Udepar Dāngarpur and Bānsvāda, which were always permanently posted outside their official residences (in Ahmedābād). This shows that these great *zamindars* had official residences at the capital, where probably their contingents were posted under *wahils* or agents. It therefore seems probable that their tribute too would be paid through their representatives at the capital and that a military force was seldom sent against them. Accordingly notices of military expeditions in the tributary *sarkārs* are rare though they were of constant occurrence in the crown districts.

Crown
Zamindars.

The position of the *zamindars* of the *khālṣa* or crown districts was very different from that of the *zamindars* of self-governed territories. The *khālṣa zamindars* had been deprived of the greater portion of their ancestral estates which were administered by the viceregal revenue establishment. In some instances their capitals had been annexed. Even if not annexed the capital was the seat of a *faujdār* who possessed the authority and encroached daily on the rights and privileges of the chieftain. The principal chiefs in this position were those of Rājpipla and Idar in Gujarāt and the Jām of Navānagar in Kāthiāwāda. Of the three, Rājpipla had been deprived of his capital Nāndod and of all the fertile districts, and was reduced to a barren sovereignty over rocks, hills and Bhils at Rājpipla. Idar had suffered similar treatment and the capital was the seat of a Muhammadan *faujdār*. Navānagar, which had hitherto been a tributary *sarkār*, was during the reign of Aurangzib made a crown district. But after Aurangzib's death the Jām returned to his capital and again resumed his tributary relations.

Smaller
Zamindars.

The lesser holders, including *grāviās wāntādārs* and others, had suffered similar deprivation of lands and were subject to much encroachment from the government officials. Throughout the empire widespread discontent prevailed among subordinate holders of this description as well as among all the *zamindars* of the crown districts, so that the successes of Shivaji in the Dakhan found ardent sympathisers even in Gujarāt. When the *zamindars* saw that this Hindu rebel was strong enough to pillage Surat they began to hope that a day of deliverance was near. The death of Aurangzib (A.D. 1707) was the signal for these restless spirits to bestir themselves. When the Marāṭhās began regular inroads they were hailed as deliverers from the yoke

of the Mughal. The Rájpipla chief afforded them shelter and a passage through his country. The encouragement to anarchy given by some of the Rájput viceroys who were anxious to emancipate themselves from the central control further enabled many chieftains *girásiás* and others to absorb large portions of the crown domains, and even to recover their ancient capitals. Finally disaffected Muhammadan *faujdar*s succeeded in building up estates out of the possessions of the crown and founding the families which most of the present Muhammadan chieftains of Gujarat represent.

When the imperial power had been usurped by the Marátha leaders, the chiefs who had just shaken off the more powerful Mughal yoke were by no means disposed tamely to submit to Marátha domination. Every chief resisted the levy of tribute and Momin Khán reconquered Ahmedábad. In this struggle the Maráthas laboured under the disadvantage of dissensions between the Peshwa and the Gaikwár. They were also unaware of the actual extent of the old imperial domain and were ignorant of the amount of tribute formerly levied. They found that the *faujdar*s, who, in return for Marátha aid in enabling them to absorb the crown *parganáhs*, had agreed to pay tribute, now joined the *samindars* in resisting Marátha demands, while with few exceptions the *desáis* and *majmudars* either openly allied themselves with the *samindars* or were by force or fraud deprived of their records. So serious were the obstacles to the collection of the Marátha tribute that, had it not been for the British alliance in A.D. 1802, there seems little doubt that the Gaikwár would have been unable to enforce his demands in his more distant possessions. The British alliance checked the disintegration of the Gaikwár's power, and the permanent settlement of the tribute early in this century enabled that chief to collect a large revenue at a comparatively trifling cost. Not only were rebels like Malhárrio and Kánóji suppressed, but powerful servants like Vithalráv Deváji, who without doubt would have asserted their independence, were confirmed in their allegiance and the rich possessions they had acquired became part of the Gaikwár's dominions.

It must not be supposed that while the larger chiefs were busy absorbing whole *parganáhs* the lesser chiefs were more backward. They too annexed villages and even Mughal posts or *thánáhs*, while *wántidars* or sharers absorbed the *talpat* or state portion, and, under the name of *tora garás*,¹ daring spirits imposed certain rights over crown villages once their ancient possessions, or, under the name of *pál* or *eol*, enforced from neighbouring villages payments to secure immunity from pillage. Even in the Baroda district of the thirteen Mughal posts only ten now belong to the Gaikwár, two having been conquered by *girásiás* and one having fallen under Broach. In Sauráshtra except Ránpur and Gogha and those in the Amreli district, not a single Mughal post is in the possession either of the British Government or of the

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GUJARAT,
A.D. 1297-1760.

Marátha
Ascendancy,
1760-1802.

Gaikwár Saved
by British
Alliance,
1802.

Power of Chiefs.

¹ The usual explanation of *tora garás* is the word *tora* meaning the beam-end above each house door. The sense being that it was a levy exacted from every house in the village. A more likely derivation is *toda* a heap or money-bag with the sense of a ready-money levy. *Toda* differed from *eol* in being exacted from the *garás* or land once the property of the levier's ancestors.

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CONQUEST OF
GUJARAT.
A.D. 1297-1802.

Power of
Local Chiefs.

Gáikwár. A reference to the Mughal posts in other parts of Gujarát shows that the same result followed the collapse of Musalmán power.

Since the introduction of Musalmán rule in A.D. 1297 each successive government has been subverted by the ambition of the nobles and the disaffection of the chiefs. It was thus that the Gujarát Sultáns rendered themselves independent of Dehli. It was thus that the Sultán's territories became divided among the nobles, whose dissensions reduced the province to Akbar's authority. It was thus that the chiefs and local governors, conniving at Marátha inroads, subverted Mughal rule. Finally it was thus that the Gáikwár lost his hold of his possessions and was rescued from ruin solely by the power of the British.

CHAPTER I.

EARLY MUSALMAN GOVERNORS.

A.D. 1297-1403.

EXCEPT the great expedition of Mahmūd Ghaznawi against Somnāth in A.D. 1024¹; the defeat of Muhammad Muiz-ud-dīn or Shahab-ud-dīn Ghori by Bhīm Dev II. of Anahilāvāda about A.D. 1178²; and the avenging sack of Anahilāvāda and defeat of Bhīm by Kutb-ud-dīn Aibak in A.D. 1194, until the reign of Alā-ud-dīn Khilji in A.D. 1295-1315, Gujarāt remained free from Muhammadan interference.³ In A.D. 1297, Ulugh Khān, general of Alā-ud-dīn and Nasrat Khān Wazīr were sent against Anahilāvāda. They took the city expelling Karan Waghela, usually called *Ghelo* The Mad, who took refuge at Devgad with Rāmdēva the Yādav sovereign of the north Dakhan.⁴ They next seized Khambāt (the modern Cambay), and, after appointing a local governor, returned to Delhi. From this time Gujarāt remained under Muhammadan power, and Ulugh Khān, a man of great energy, by repeated expeditions consolidated the conquest and established Muhammadan rule. The Kānādjeva Rāsa says that he plundered Somnāth, and there is no doubt that he conquered Jhālor (the ancient Jhālindar) from the Songarha Chohāns.⁵ After Ulugh Khān had governed Gujarāt for about twenty years, at the instigation of Malik Kāfur, he was recalled and put to death by the emperor Alā-ud-dīn.⁶

Ulugh Khān's departure shook Muhammadan power in Gujarāt, and Kamāl-ud-dīn, whom Mubārak Khilji sent to quell the disturbances, was slain in battle. Sedition spread till Ain-ul-Mulk Multāni arrived

Chapter I.

Early Muslim Governors.

Ala-ud-din
Khilji
Emperor,
1295-1315.
Ulugh Khān,
1297-1317.

Ain-ul-Mulk
Governor,
1318.

¹ Somnath (north latitude 19° 55'; east longitude 70° 23'), the temple of Mahādev Lord of the Moon, near the southern extremity of the peninsula of Kathiāvāda.

² Anahilāvāda (north latitude 23° 48'; east longitude 72° 2'), Nehirwāla or Pātan, on the south bank of the Saraswati river, sixty-five miles north-east of Ahmedābād, was from A.D. 746 to A.D. 1298 the capital of the Rājput dynasties of Gujrat. As a result of Muhammad Ghori's defeat the *Tārīkh-i-Somnath* (Burgess, 112-113) states that the Turkish Afghan and Meghal prisoners, according to the rule of the Kurān (XXIV, 25) were distributed, the wicked women to the wicked men and the good women to the good men. Of the male prisoners the better class after having their heads shaved were enrolled among the Chakwāl and Wadhel tribes of Rājputs. The lower class were allotted to the Kōlis, Khānts, Babrias, and Mers. All were allowed to keep their wedding and funeral ceremonies and to remain aloof from other classes.

³ The *Mirāt-i-Ahmedi* gives an account of an expedition by one Alifkhān a noble of Sultan Sanjar against Anahilāvāda in A.D. 1257. He is said to have built the large stone mosque without the city. Alifkhān returned unsuccessful, but not without levying tribute.

⁴ Devgad near Daulatabad in the Dakhan, about ten miles north-west of Aurangābād (north latitude 19° 57'; east longitude 75° 18'). The *Mirāt-i-Ahmedi* has Devgad Chaudah, which is in the Central Provinces.

⁵ Jhālor (north latitude 25° 23'; east longitude 72° 40') in the Rājput state of Jodhpur, seventy miles south-west by south from the city of Jodhpur.

⁶ Bayley (Gujarat, 39 note) shows strong ground for holding that, though Gujarāt was conquered by Ulugh Khān a brother of Alā-ud-dīn, its first governor was not Ulugh Khān but Alp Khān a brother-in-law of Alā-ud-dīn. According to this account Ulugh Khān died in A.D. 1300 and Alp Khān at Malik Kāfur's instigation was killed in A.D. 1313. Zia Barni (Hilob, III, 169) supports this account.

Chapter I.

Early
Musalmán
Governors.

AIN-UL-MULK
Governor,
1318.
Order
Established,
1318.

Muhammad
Tughlak
Emperor,
1325-1351.
Taj-UL-MULK
Governor,
1320.

The Emperor
Quells an
Insurrection,
1347.

with a powerful army, defeated the rebels and restored order. He was succeeded by Zafar Khán, who after completing the subjection of the country was recalled, and his place supplied by Hisám-ud-din Parmár.¹ This officer, showing treasonable intentions, was imprisoned and succeeded by Malik Wajid-ud-din Kuraishi, who was afterwards ennobled by the title of Taj or Sadr-ul-Mulk. Khusrav Khán Parmár was then appointed governor, but it is not clear whether he ever joined his appointment. The next governor to whom reference is made is Taj-ul-Mulk, who about A.D. 1320, was, for the second time, chosen as governor by Sultán Ghiás-ud-din Tughlak. He was succeeded by Malik Mukbil, who held the titles of Khán Jahán and Nāib-i-Mukhtár, and who was appointed by Sultán Muhammad Tughlak, A.D. 1325-1351. Subsequently the same emperor granted the government of Gujarát to Ahmad Ayáz, Malik Mukbil continuing to act as his deputy. Afterwards when Ahmad Ayáz, who received the title of Khwájah Jahán, proceeded as governor to Gujarát, Malik Mukbil acted as his minister. And about A.D. 1338, when Khwájah Jahán was sent against the emperor's nephew Karshásp and the Rája of Kampila² who had sheltered him, Malik Mukbil succeeded to the post of governor. On one occasion between Baroda and Dabhoi Malik Mukbil, who was escorting treasure and a caravan of merchants to Delhi, was plundered by some bands of the Amírání Sadah or Captains of Hundreds freelances and freebooters, most of them New Musalmáns or Mughal converts, and the rest Turk and Afghan adventurers. This success emboldened these banditti and for several years they caused loss and confusion in Gujarát. At last, about A.D. 1346, being joined by certain Muhammadan nobles and Hindu chieftains, they broke into open rebellion and defeated one Aziz, who was appointed by the emperor to march against them. In the following year, A.D. 1347, Muhammad Tughlak, advancing in person, defeated the rebels, and sacked the towns of Cambay and Surat. During the same campaign he drove the Gohil chief Mokheráji out of his stronghold on Piram Island near Gogha on the Gulf of Cambay, and then, landing his forces, after a stubborn conflict, defeated the Gohils, killing Mokheráji and capturing Gogha. Afterwards Muhammad Tughlak left for Daulatabad in the Dakhan, and in his absence the chiefs and nobles under Malik Tughán, a leader of the Amírání Sadah, again rebelled, and, obtaining possession of Pátan, imprisoned Muizza-ud-din the viceroy. The insurgents then plundered Cambay, and afterwards laid siege to Broach. Muhammad Tughlak at once marched for Gujarát and relieved Broach, Malik Tughán retreating to Cambay, whither he was followed by Malik Yúsauf, whom the emperor sent in pursuit of him. In the battle that ensued near Cambay, Malik Yúsauf was defeated and slain, and

¹ According to Zúh Barni (Elliot, III. 218) Hisám-ud-din was the mother's brother, according to others he was the brother of Hasan afterwards Khusrav Khán Parmár the favourite of Mubarak Sháh. On coming to Gujarát Hisám-ud-din collected his Parmár kindred and revolted, but the nobles joining against him seized him and sent him to Delhi. To their disgust Mubarak in his infatuation for Hisám-ud-din's nephew or brother, after slapping Hisám-ud-din on the face set him at liberty.

² In the Kurnaták, probably on the Tungabhadra near Vijayanagar. Briggs' Muhammadan Power in India, I. 418 and 428. Briggs speaks of two Kampilas one on the Gauges and the other on the Tungabhadra near Bijanagar.

all the prisoners, both of this engagement and those who had been previously captured, were put to death by Malik Tughán. Among the prisoners was Muizz-ud-din, the governor of Gujarát. Muhammad Tughlak now marched to Cambay in person, whence Malik Tughán retreated to Pátan, pursued by the emperor, who was forced by stress of weather to halt at Asiwal.¹ Eventually the emperor came up with Malik Tughán near Kadi and gained a complete victory, Malik Tughán fleeing to Thatha in Sindh. To establish order throughout Gujarát Muhammad Tughlak marched against Gírnár,² reduced the fortress,³ and levied tribute from the chief named Khengar. He then went to Kachh, and after subduing that country returned to Sorath. At Gondal he contracted a fever, and before he was entirely recovered, he advanced through Kachh into Sindh with the view of subduing the Sumra chief of Thatha, who had sheltered Malik Tughán. Before reaching Thatha he succumbed to the fever, and died in the spring of A.D. 1351. Shortly before his death he appointed Nizám-ul-Mulk to the government of Gujarát.

In A.D. 1351, Firúz Tughlak succeeded Muhammad Tughlak on the throne of Dehli. Shortly after his accession the emperor marched to Sindh and sent a force against Malik Tughán. About A.D. 1360 he again advanced to Sindh against Jám Bábania. From Sindh he proceeded to Gujarát, where he stayed for some months. Next year, on leaving for Sindh for the third time, he bestowed the government of Gujarát on Zafar Khán in place of Nizám-ul-Mulk. On Zafar Khán's death, in A.D. 1373 according to Farishtah and A.D. 1371 according to the Mirát-i-Ahmedi, he was succeeded by his son Daryá Khán who appears to have governed by a deputy named Shams-ud-din Anwar Khán. In A.D. 1376, besides presents of elephants horses and other valuables, one Shams-ud-din Dámghání offered a considerable advance on the usual collections from Gujarát. As Daryá Khán would not agree to pay this sum he was displaced and Shams-ud-din Dámghání was appointed governor. Finding himself unable to pay the stipulated amount this officer rebelled and withheld the revenue. Firúz Tughlak sent an army against him, and by the aid of the chieftains and people, whom he had greatly oppressed, Shams-ud-din was slain. The government of the province was then entrusted to Farhat-ul-Mulk Rásti Khán. In about A.D. 1388, a noble named Sikandar Khán was sent to supersede Farhat-ul-Mulk, but was defeated and slain by him. As the emperor Firúz Tughlak died shortly after no notice was taken of Farhat-ul-Mulk's conduct and in the short reign of Firúz's successor Ghiás-ud-din Tughlak, no change was made in the government of Gujarát. During the brief rule of Abu Bakr, Farhat-ul-Mulk continued

Chapter I.

Early
Musalmán
Governors.

Muhammad
Tughlak
Emperor,
1325-1351.

TÁZ-UL-MULK
Governor,
1320.

Sabágha
Gírnár and
Kachh,
1350.

Firáz Tughlak
Emperor,
1351-1388.

ZAFAR KHÁN
Governor,
1371.

FARHAT-UL-
MULK
Governor,
1376-1391.

¹ Asiwal (north latitude 23° 0'; east longitude 73° 36'), a town of some size, afterwards, A.D. 1413, made the capital of the Musalmán kings of Gujarát and called Ahmedabad.

² Gírnár (north latitude 21° 30'; east longitude 70° 42'), in the Sorath sub-division of the peninsula of Kathiáwár.

³ Both the Mirát-i-Ahmedi and the Tárikh-i-Firáz Sháhi say that the fortress was taken. The Gírnár or citadel of Junágarh, in the plain about two miles west of M'cent Gírnár, is probably meant.

Chapter I.

Early
Musalmán
Governors.

Muhammad
Tughlak II.
Emperor,
1391-1393.

undisturbed. But in A.D. 1391, on the accession of Násir-ud-din Muhammad Tughlak II., a noble of the name of Zafar Khán was appointed governor of Gujarát, and despatched with an army to recall or, if necessary, expel Farhat-ul-Mulk.

This Zafar Khán was the son of Wajih-ul-Mulk, of the Tánk tribe of Rájputs who claim to be of Suryavansi descent and together with the Gurjjaras appear from very early times to have inhabited the plains of the Punjab. Of Wajih-ul-Mulk's rise to power at the Delhi court the following story is told. Before he sat on the throne of Delhi, Firúz Tughlak, when hunting in the Punjab, lost his way and came to a village near Thánesar, held by chieftains of the Tánk tribe. He was hospitably entertained by two brothers of the chief's family named Saháran and Sádhu, and became enamoured of their beautiful sister. When his hosts learned who the stranger was, they gave him their sister in marriage and followed his fortunes. Afterwards Firúz persuading them to embrace Islám, conferred on Saháran the title of Wajih-ul-Mulk, and on Sádhu the title of Shamsihir Khán. Finally, in A.D. 1351, when Firúz Tughlak ascended the throne, he made Shamsihir Khán and Zafar Khán, the son of Wajih-ul-Mulk, his cup-bearers, and raised them to the rank of nobles.

ZAFAR KHÁN
Governor,
1391-1403.

Battle of Jitpur;
Farhat-ul-Mulk
Slain,
1391.

In A.D. 1391, on being appointed viceroy, Zafar Khán marched without delay for Gujarát. In passing Nágor¹ he was met by a deputation from Cambay, complaining of the tyranny of Rásti Khán. Consoling them, he proceeded to Pátan, the seat of government, and thence marched against Rásti Khán. The armies met near the village of Khambhoi,² a dependency of Pátan, and Farhat-ul-Mulk Rásti Khán was slain and his army defeated. To commemorate the victory, Zafar Khán founded a village on the battle-field, which he named Jitpur (the city of victory), and then, starting for Cambay, redressed the grievances of the people.

Zafar Khán
Attacks Idar,
1393.

Zafar Khán's first warlike expedition was against the Ráv of Idar,³ who, in A.D. 1393, had refused to pay the customary tribute, and this chief he humbled. The contemporary histories seem to show that the previous governors had recovered tribute from all or most of the chiefs of Gujarát except from the Ráv of Júnágadh⁴ and the Rája of Rájpipla,⁵ who had retained their independence. Zafar Khán now planned an expedition against the celebrated Hindu shrine of Somnáth, but, hearing that Adil Khán of Asir-Burhánpur had invaded Sultánpur and Nandurbar,⁶ he moved his troops in that direction, and Adil Khán retired to Asir.⁷

¹ Nágor (north latitude 27° 10'; east longitude 73° 50'), in the Ráthod state of Jodhpur, eighty miles north-east of Jodhpur city.

² The Tabakát-i-Akbari has Khánpur or Kánpur. The place is Khambhoi about twenty miles west of Pátan.

³ Idar is the principal state of the Malí Kántha. The town of Idar is in north latitude 23° 50' and east longitude 73° 3'.

⁴ Júnágadh in the Sorath sub-division of Kathiáwád. This is Briggs' Hál of Jehvend. Júnágadh was formerly called Jirangad, both names meaning ancient fortress.

⁵ Rájpipla is in the Bera Kántha division of Gujarát.

⁶ Sultánpur and Nandurbar now form part of the British district of Khandesh.

⁷ Asir, now Nairga (north latitude 21° 26'; east longitude 76° 26'), beyond the north-eastern frontier of Khandesh.

In A.D. 1394, he marched against the Rāv of Jūnāgaḍh and exacted tribute. Afterwards, proceeding to Somnāth, he destroyed the temple, built an Assembly Mosque, introduced Islām, left Musalmān law officers, and established a *thāna* or post in the city of Pātan Somnāth or Deva Pātan. He now heard that the Hindus of Mānda¹ were oppressing the Muslims, and, accordingly, marching thither, he beleaguered that fortress for a year, but failing to take it contented himself with accepting the excuses of the Rāja. From Mānda he performed a pilgrimage to Ajmīr.² Here he proceeded against the chiefs of Sāmbhar and Dandwāna, and then attacking the Rājputs of Delvāda and Jhālāvāda,³ he defeated them, and returned to Pātan in A.D. 1396. About this time his son Tātār Khān, leaving his baggage in the fort of Pānīpat,⁴ made an attempt on Delhi. But Ikhāl Khān took the fort of Pānīpat, captured Tātār Khān's baggage, and forced him to withdraw to Gujarāt. In A.D. 1397, with the view of reducing Idar, Zafar Khān besieged the fort, laying waste the neighbouring country. Before he had taken the fort Zafar Khān received news of Timūr's conquests, and concluding a peace with the Idar Rāja, returned to Pātan.⁵ In A.D. 1398, hearing that the Somnāth people claimed independence, Zafar Khān led an army against them, defeated them, and established Islām on a firm footing.

Chapter I.

Early
Musalmān
Governors.

ZAFAR KHĀN
Governor,
1391-1403.

Exacte Tribute
from Junagadh,
1394.

Lays Siege to
Idar Fort,
1397.

Establishes
Islām at
Somnāth,
1398.

¹ Mānda (north latitude 22° 20' ; east longitude 75° 27'), one of the most famous forts in India, the capital of the Patbān dynasty of Malwa, A.D. 1404-1561, stands on the crest of the Vindhya about twenty-five miles south of Dhār. During a considerable part of the fifteenth century Mānda was either directly or indirectly under Gujarāt. An account of Mānda is given in the Appendix.

² Ajmīr (north latitude 26° 29' ; east longitude 74° 43'), the chief town of the district of the same name to which Sāmbhar and Dandwāna belong.

³ Delvāda and Jhālāvāda are somewhat difficult. The context suggests either Jhālār in Māwate or Jhālāvāda in the extreme south-east of Rajputāna south of Kotah. The combination Delvāda and Jhālāvāda seems to favour Kāthiāwāda since there is a Delvāda in the south of the peninsula near Dīu and a Jhālāvāda in the north-east. But the Delvāda of the text can hardly be near Dīu. It apparently is Delvāda near Eklingji about twenty miles north of Udepar. The account of Ahmed Shah's expedition to the same place in A.D. 1431 (below page 239) confirms this identification.

⁴ Pānīpat (north latitude 29° 23' ; east longitude 77° 2'), seventy-eight miles north of Delhi.

⁵ Fariashah (II, 365) calls the Idar chief Rāshad.

CHAPTER II.

AHMEDĀBĀD KINGS.

A.D. 1403-1573.

Chapter II.

Ahmedābād
Kings.

A.D. 1403-1573.

THE rule of the Ahmedābād kings extends over 170 years and includes the names of fifteen sovereigns. The period may conveniently be divided into two parts. The first, lasting for a little more than a century and a quarter, when, under strong rulers, Gujarāt rose to consequence among the kingdoms of Western India; the second, from A.D. 1536 to A.D. 1573, an evil time when the sovereigns were minors and the wealth and supremacy of Gujarāt were wasted by the rivalry of its nobles.

The date on which Zafar Khān openly threw off his allegiance to Dehli is doubtful. Farishtah says he had the Friday prayer or *khutbah* repeated in his name after his successful campaign against Jhalāvāda and Delvāda in A.D. 1396. According to the Mirāt-i-Sikandari he maintained a nominal allegiance till A.D. 1403 when he formally invested his son Tātār Khān with the sovereignty of Gujarāt, under the title of Nāsir-ud-dīn Muhammad Shāh.

Muhammad I.
1403-1404.

On ascending the throne in A.D. 1403, Muhammad Shāh made Asāwal his capital, and, after humbling the chief of Nāndod or Nādot in Rājputra, marched against Dehli by way of Pātan. On his way to Pātan the king sickened and died. His body was brought back to Pātan, and the expedition against Dehli came to nothing. It seems probable that this is a courtly version of the tale; the fact being that in A.D. 1403 Tātār Khān imprisoned his father at Asāwal, and assumed the title of Muhammad Shāh, and that Tātār Khān's death was caused by poison administered in the interest, if not at the suggestion, of his father Zafar Khān.¹

Zafar Khān
reigns as
Muzaffar,
1407-1419.

After the death of Muhammad Shāh, Zafar Khān asked his own younger brother Shams Khān Dandāni to carry on the government, but he refused. Zafar Khān accordingly sent Shams Khān Dandāni to Nāgor in place of Jalāl Khān Khokhar, and in A.D. 1407-8, at Bīrpur, at the request of the nobles and chief men of the country, himself formally mounted the throne and assumed the title of Muzaffar Shāh. At this time Alp Khān, son of Dilāwar Khān of Mālwa, was rumoured to have poisoned his father and ascended the throne with the title of Sultān Hushang Ghorī. On hearing this Muzaffar Shāh marched against

¹ Compare Farishtah, II. 355-356. After his death Muhammad was known as Khudāigān-i-Shahid, Our Lord the Martyr, according to the custom of the Sultans of Dehli, all of whom had three names, their family name, their throne name, and their after-death name whose letters contain the date of the monarch's decease. Thus the emperor Akbar's after-death title is 'Arsh Aḥlāmī, The Holder of the Heavenly Throne; the emperor Jahāngīr's is Jannat Makānī, The Dweller in Heaven; the emperor Shāh Jahān's is Firdaus Makānī, He Whose Home is Paradise; and the emperor Aurangzeb's is Khuld Makānī, The Occupier of the Eternal Residence. Similarly the after-death title of Muzaffar Shāh, Tātār Khān's father, is Khudāigān-i-Kabir, The Great Lord.

Chapter II.

Ahmedabad
Kings.

A.D. 1403-1473.

Muzaffar,
1407-1419.

Hushang and besieged him in Dhār.¹ On reducing Dhār Muzaffar handed Hushang to the charge of his brother Shams Khān, on whom he conferred the title of Nasrat Khān. Hushang remained a year in confinement, and Mūsa Khān one of his relations usurped his authority. On hearing this, Hushang begged to be released, and Muzaffar Shāh not only agreed to his prayer, but sent his grandson Ahmed Khān with an army to reinstate him. This expedition was successful; the fortress of Māndu was taken and the usurper Mūsa Khān was put to flight. Ahmed Khān returned to Gujarāt in A.D. 1409-10. Meanwhile Muzaffar advancing towards Dehli to aid Sultān Mahmūd (A.D. 1393-1413), prevented an intended attack on that city by Sultān Ibrahim of Jaunpūr. On his return to Gujarāt Muzaffar led, or more probably despatched, an unsuccessful expedition against Kambhakot.² In the following year (A.D. 1410-11), to quell a rising among the Kolis near Asāval, Muzaffar placed his grandson Ahmed Khān in command of an army. Ahmed Khān camped outside of Pātan. He convened an assembly of learned men and asked them whether a son was not bound to exact retribution from his father's murderer. The assembly stated in writing that a son was bound to exact retribution. Armed with this decision, Ahmed suddenly entered the city, overpowered his grandfather, and forced him to drink poison. The old Khān said: 'Why so hasty, my boy. A little patience and power would have come to you of itself.' He advised Ahmed to kill the evil counsellors of murder and to drink no wine. Remorse so embittered Ahmed's after-life that he was never known to laugh.

Ahmed I.
1411-1441.

On his grandfather's death, Ahmed succeeded with the title of Nāsir-ud-dunya Wad-din Abū fateh Ahmed Shāh. Shortly after Ahmed Shāh's accession, his cousin Moid-ud-din Firūz Khān, governor of Baroda, allying himself with Hisām or Nizām-ul-Mulk Bhandāri and other nobles, collected an army at Nadiād in Kaira, and, laying claim to the crown, defeated the king's followers. Jivandās, one of the insurgents, proposed to march upon Pātan, but as the others refused a dispute arose in which Jivandās was slain, and the rest sought and obtained Ahmed Shāh's forgiveness. Moid-ud-din Firūz Khān went to Cambay and was there joined by Masti Khān, son of Muzaffar Shāh, who was governor of Surat: on the king's advance they fled from Cambay to Broach, to which fort Ahmed Shāh laid siege. As soon as the king arrived, Moid-ud-din's army went over to the king, and Masti Khān also submitted. After a few days Ahmed Shāh sent for and forgave Moid-ud-din, and returned to Asāval victorious and triumphant.

Builds
Ahmedabad,
1413.

In the following year (A.D. 1413-14)³ Ahmed Shāh defeated Asa Bhil, chief of Asāval, and, finding the site of that town suitable for his capital, he changed its name to Ahmedābād, and busied himself

¹ Dhār (north latitude 22° 35'; east longitude 75° 20'), the capital of the state of Dhār thirty-three miles west of Mhow in Central India.

² The Tahakāt-i-Akbārī has Kanthkot a dependency of Kachh. This is probably correct.

³ The date is doubtful: Farihtab (II, 630) gives A.D. 1413, the Ain-i-Akbārī (Blochman's Edition, I, 507) A.D. 1411.

Chapter II.

Ahmedabad
Kings.

A.D. 1403-1573.

Ahmed I.

1411-1441.

Defeats the
Idar Chief,
1414.Suppresses
a Revolt,
1414.Spread of Islām,
1414.

in enlarging and fortifying the city.¹ During this year Moid-ud-din Firūz Khān and Masti Khān again revolted, and, joining the Idar Rāja, took shelter in that fortress. A force under Patch Khān was despatched against the rebels, and finally Firūz Khān and the Idar Rāja were forced to flee by way of Kherādu a town in the district of Kadi. Moid-ud-din now persuaded Rukn Khān governor of Modāsa, fifty miles north of Ahmedābād, to join. They united their forces with those of Badri-ūlā, Masti Khān, and Ranmal Rāja of Idar and encamped at Rangpura an Idar village about five miles from Modāsa and began to strengthen Modāsa and dig a ditch round it. The Sultān camped before the fort and offered favourable terms. The besieged bent on treachery asked the Sultān to send Nizām-ul-Mulk the minister and certain other great nobles. The Sultān agreed, and the besieged imprisoned the envoys. After a three days' siege Modāsa fell. Badri-ūlā and Rukn Khān were slain, and Firūz Khān and the Rāja of Idar fled. The imprisoned nobles were released unharmed. The Rāja seeing that all hope of success was gone, made his peace with the king by surrendering to him the elephants horses and other baggage of Moid-ud-din Firūz Khān and Masti Khān, who now fled to Nāgor, where they were sheltered by Shams Khān Dandāni. Ahmed Shāh after levying the stipulated tribute departed. Moid-ud-din Firūz Khān was afterwards slain in the war between Shams Khān and Rāna Mokal of Chitor. In A.D. 1414-15 Uthmān Ahmed and Sheikh Malik, in command at Pātan, and Sulaimān Afghān called Azam Khān, and Isa Salār rebelled, and wrote secretly to Sultān Hushang of Mālwa, inviting him to invade Gujarāt, and promising to seat him on the throne and expel Ahmed Shāh. They were joined in their rebellion by Jhālā Satarsālji² of Pātli and other chiefs of Gujarāt. Ahmed Shāh despatched Latif Khān and Nizām-ul-Mulk against Sheikh Malik and his associates, while he sent Imād-ul-Mulk against Sultān Hushang, who retired, and Imād-ul-Mulk, after plundering Mālwa, returned to Gujarāt. Latif Khān, pressing in hot pursuit of Satarsāl and Sheikh Malik, drove them to Sorath. The king returned with joyful heart to Ahmedābād.

Though, with their first possession of the country, A.D. 1297-1318, the Muhammadans had introduced their faith from Pātan to Broach, the rest of the province long remained unconverted. By degrees, through the efforts of the Ahmedābād kings, the power of Islām became more directly felt in all parts of the province. Many districts, till then all but independent, accepted the Musalmān faith at the hands of Ahmed Shāh, and agreed to the payment of a regular tribute. In A.D. 1414 he led an army against the Rāv of Jūnāgaḍh and defeated him. The Rāv retired to the hill fortress of Gīrnār. Ahmed Shāh, though unable to capture the hill, gained the fortified citadel of Jūnāgaḍh. Finding further resistance vain, the chief tendered his submission, and Jūnāgaḍh was admitted among the tributary states.

¹ Poor Ahmeds who had never missed the afternoon prayer helped to build Ahmedābād: Saint Sheikh Ahmed Khattin, Sultān Ahmed, Sheikh Ahmed, and Mulla Ahmed. Compare Bombay Gazetteer, IV. 249 note 5.

² Called in the Tatakāt-i-Akbari the Rāja of Mandal.

This example was followed by the greater number of the Sorath chiefs, who, for the time, resigned their independence. Sayad Aból Khair and Sayad Kasim were left to collect the tribute, and Ahmed Sháh returned to Ahmedábád. Next year he marched against Sidhpur,¹ and in A.D. 1415 advanced from Sidhpur to Dhár in Málwa. At this time the most powerful feudatories were the Ráy of Junágadh, the Ráy of Chámpáner,² the Rája of Nándod, the Ráy of Idar, and the Rája of Jháláváda. Trimbakdás of Chámpáner, Púnja of Idar, Siri of Nándod, and Mandlik of Jháláváda, alarmed at the activity of Ahmed Sháh and his zeal for Islám, instigated Sultán Hushang of Málwa to invade Gujarát. Ahmed Sháh promptly marched to Modása,³ forced Sultán Hushang of Málwa to retire, and broke up the conspiracy, reproving and pardoning the chiefs concerned. About the same time the Sorath chiefs withheld their tribute, but the patience and unwearied activity of the king overcame all opposition. When at Modása Ahmed heard that, by the treachery of the son of the governor, Násir of Asír and Gheirát or Ghazni Khán of Málwa had seized the fort of Thálner in Sirpur in Khándesh, and, with the aid of the chief of Nándod, were marching against Sultánpur and Nandurbár. Ahmed sent an expedition against Nasir of Asir under Malik Mahmúd Barki or Turki. When the Malik reached Nándod he found that Gheirát Khán had fled to Málwa and that Nasir had retired to Thálner. The Malik advanced, besieged and took Thálner, capturing Nasir whom Ahmed forgave and dignified with the title of Khán.⁴

After quelling these rebellions Ahmed Sháh despatched Nizám-ul-Mulk to punish the Rája of Mandal near Viramgáur, and himself marched to Málwa against Sultán Hushang, whom he defeated, capturing his treasure and elephants. In A.D. 1418, in accordance with his policy of separately engaging his enemies, Ahmed Sháh marched to chastise Trimbakdás of Chámpáner, and though unable to take the fortress he laid waste the surrounding country. In A.D. 1419 he ravaged the lands round Sankheda⁵ and built a fort there and a mosque within the fort; he also built a wall round the town of Mángni,⁶ and then marched upon Mándu. On the way ambassadors from Sultán Hushang met him suing for peace, and Ahmed Sháh, returning towards Chámpáner, again laid waste the surrounding country. During the following year (A.D. 1420) he remained in Ahmedábád bringing his own dominions into thorough subjection by establishing fortified posts and by humbling the chiefs and destroying their strongholds. Among other works he built the forts of Dohad⁷ on the

Chapter II.

Ahmedábád

Kings.

A.D. 1403-1573.

Ahmed I.
1411-1441.Ahmed I.
Quells a Second
Revolt,
1416.Expedition
against Málwa,
1417.Attacks
Chámpáner,
1418.

¹ Sidhpur (north latitude 23° 50'; east longitude 72° 20'), on the Sarasvati, fifty-eight miles north of Ahmedábád.

² Chámpáner (north latitude 23° 30'; east longitude 73° 30'), in the British district of the Panch Mahals, from A.D. 1483 to A.D. 1560 the chief city of Gujarát, now in ruins.

³ Modása (north latitude 23° 27'; east longitude 73° 21'), fifty miles north-east of Ahmedábád.

⁴ Mirat-i-Sikandari Persian Text, 34, 35; Farishtah, II, 363, 364.

⁵ Sankheda is on the left bank of the Or river about twenty miles south-east of Baroda.

⁶ Mángni Mánani or Mánki, famous for its witches, eight miles east of Sankheda.

⁷ Dohad (north latitude 22° 50'; east longitude 74° 15'), seventy-seven miles north-east of Baroda, now the chief town of the sub-division of the same name in the British district of the Panch Mahals. Mr. J. Pollen, I.C.S., LL.D.

Chapter II.

Ahmedabad
Kings.

A.D. 1403-1573.

Ahmed I.
1411-1441.War with Málwa,
1422.

Málwa frontier and of Jitpur in Lónávāja.¹ In A.D. 1421 he repaired the fort in the town of Kahrēth, otherwise called Meimūn in Lónávāja, which had been built by Ulugh Khān Sanjar in the reign of Sultān Alā-ud-dīn (A.D. 1295-1315) and changed the name to Sultānpur. He next advanced against Málwa and took the fort of Mesar. After an unsuccessful siege of Māndu he went to Ujjain.² From Ujjain he returned to Māndu, and failing to capture Māndu, he marched against Sārangpur.³ Sultān Hushang sent ambassadors and concluded a peace. In spite of the agreement, while Ahmed Shāh was returning to Gujarāt, Sultān Hushang made a night attack on his army and caused much havoc. Ahmed Shāh, collecting what men he could, waited till dawn and then fell on and defeated the Málwa troops, who were busy plundering. Sultān Hushang took shelter in the fort of Sārangpur to which Ahmed Shāh again laid siege. Failing to take the fort Ahmed retreated towards Gujarāt, closely followed by Sultān Hushang, who was eager to wipe out his former defeat. On Hushang's approach, Ahmed Shāh, halting his troops, joined battle and repulsing Hushang returned to Ahmedabad.

Defeats the
Idar Chief,
1425.

In A.D. 1425 Ahmed Shāh led an army against Idar, defeating the force brought to meet him and driving their leader to the hills. Idar was always a troublesome neighbour to the Ahmedabad kings and one difficult to subdue, for when his country was threatened, the chief could retire to his hills, where he could not easily be followed. As a permanent check on his movements, Ahmed Shāh, in A.D. 1427, built the fort of Ahmednagar,⁴ on the banks of the Hāthmati, eighteen miles south-west of Idar. In the following year the Idar chief, Rāv Pūnja, attacked a foraging party and carried off one of the royal elephants. He was pursued into the hills and brought to bay in a narrow pathway at the edge of a steep ravine. Pūnja was driving back his pursuers when the keeper of the Sultān's elephant urged his animal against the Rāv's horse. The horse swerving lost his foothold and rolling down the ravine destroyed himself and his rider.⁵

During the two following years Ahmed Shāh abstained from foreign conquests, devoting himself to improving his dominions and to working out a system of paying his troops. The method he finally adopted was payment half in money and half in land. This arrangement attached the men to the country, and, while keeping them dependent on the state, enabled them to be free from debt. Further to keep his officials in check he arranged that the treasurer should be one of the king's slaves while the actual paymaster was a native of the particular locality. He also appointed *āmils* that is sub-divisional revenue officers. After Rāv Pūnja's death Ahmed Shāh marched upon Idar, and did not return until Rāv Pūnja's son agreed to pay an annual tribute of £300 (Rs. 3000). In the following year, according to Farishtah (II. 362) in spite of the young chief's promise

¹ Jitpur about twelve miles north-east of Bilsānūr.² Ujjain (north latitude 23° 10'; east longitude 76° 47'), at different times the capital of Málwa.³ Sārangpur about fifty miles north-east of Ujjain.⁴ Ahmednagar (north latitude 23° 34'; east longitude 73° 1') in the native state of Idar.

Mirāt-i-Sikandari Persian Text, 43.

to pay tribute, Ahmed Sháh attacked Idar, took the fort, and built an assembly mosque. Fearing that their turn would come next the chief of Jhaláwáda and Kánha apparently chief of Dungarpur fled to Nasir Khán of Asir. Nasir Khán gave Kánha a letter to Ahmed Sháh Báhmání, to whose son Alá-ud-din Násir's daughter was married, and having detached part of his own troops to help Kánha they plundered and laid waste some villages of Nandurbár and Sultánpur. Sultán Ahmed sent his eldest son Muhamamad Khán with Mukarrabul Mulk and others to meet the Dakhánis who were repulsed with considerable loss. On this Sultán Ahmed Báhmání, under Kadr Khán Dakhani, sent his eldest son Alá-ud-din and his second son Khán Jehán against the Gujarátis. Kadr Khán marched to Daulatábád and joining Nasir Khán and the Gujarát rebels fought a great battle near the pass of Mánek Páj, six miles south of Nándgaon in Násik.* The confederates were defeated with great slaughter. The Dakhani princes fled to Daulatábád and Kánha and Nasir Khán to Kalanda near Cháliagaum in south Khándeshi.

In the same year (A.D. 1429), on the death of Kutub Khán the Gujarát governor of the island of Máhim, now the north part of the island of Bombay,¹ Ahmed Sháh Báhmání smarting under his defeats, ordered Hasan Izzat, otherwise called Malik-ut-Tujjár, to the Konkan and by the Malik's activity the North Konkan passed to the Dakhánis. On the news of this disaster Ahmed Sháh sent his youngest son Zafar Khán, with an army under Malik Ifrikhár Khán, to retake Máhim. A fleet, collected from Diu Gogha and Cambay sailed to the Konkan, attacked Thána² by sea and land, captured it, and regained possession of Máhim. In A.D. 1431 Ahmed Sháh advanced upon Chámpáner, and Ahmed Sháh Báhmání, anxious to retrieve his defeat at Máhim, marched an army into Báglán³ and laid it waste. This news brought Ahmed Sháh back to Nandurbár. Destroying Nándod he passed to Tambol, a fort in Báglán which Ahmed Sháh Báhmání was besieging, defeated the besiegers and relieved the fort. He then went to Thána, repaired the fort, and returned to Gujarát by way of Sultánpur and Nandurbár. In A.D. 1432, after contracting his son Fateh Khán in marriage with the daughter of the Rái of Máhim to the north of Bassein Ahmed Sháh marched towards Nágor, and exacted tribute and presents from the Rával of Dúngarpur.⁴ From Dúngarpur he went to Mewár, enforcing his

Chapter II.

Ahmedábád
Kings.

A.D. 1403-1473.

Ahmed I.
1411-1441.Recovers
Máhim,
1429.and Báglán,
1431.

¹ There are two Máhims on the North Konkan coast, one about twenty-two miles north of Bassein (north latitude 19° 40'; east longitude 73° 47'), and the other in the northern extremity of the island of Bombay (north latitude 19° 2'; east longitude 72° 54'). The southern Máhim, to which Farihtah (II. 370-371) is careful to apply the term *Jazírah* or island, is the town referred to in the text. The northern Máhim, now known as Kelva Máhim, was, as is noted in the text, the head-quarters of a Hindu chief.

² Thána (north latitude 19° 11'; east longitude 73° 6'), the head-quarters of the British district of that name, about twenty-four miles north-by-east of Bombay, was from the tenth to the sixteenth century A.D. the chief city in the Northern Konkan.

³ Báglán, now called Sátina, is the northern sub-division of the British district of Násik. In A.D. 1590 the chief commanded 8000 cavalry and 3000 infantry. The country was famous for fruit. *Alm-i-Akházi* (Gladwin), II. 73. The chief, a Ráthod, was converted to Islam by Aurangzib (A.D. 1656-1707).

⁴ Dúngarpur (north latitude 23° 50'; east longitude 73° 50') is Rájputana, 100 miles north-west of Mhow.

Chapter II.
Ahmedabad
Kings.
A.D. 1403-1573.

Ahmed I.
1411-1441.

claims on Būndi and Kota, two Hāra Rājput states in south-east Rājputāna. He then entered the Delvāda country, levelling temples and destroying the palace of Rāna Mokub Singh, the chief of Chitor. Thence he invaded Nāgar in the country of the Rāthodas, who submitted to him. After this he returned to Gujarāt, and during the next few years was warring principally in Mālwa, where, according to Farihtah, his army suffered greatly from pestilence and famine. Ahmed died in A.D. 1441 in the fifty-third year of his life and the thirty-third of his reign and was buried in the mausoleum in the Mānek Chauk in Ahmedabad. His after-death title is Khūdaigān-i-Maghfir the Forgiveness-Lord in token that, according to his merciful promise, Allah the pitiful, moved by the prayer of forty believers, had spread his forgiveness over the crime of Ahmed's youth, a crime bewailed by a lifelong remorse.

Sultān Ahmed's still a name of power among Gujarāt Musalmāns. He is not more honoured for his bravery, skill, and success as a war leader than for his piety and his justice. His piety showed itself in his respect for three great religious teachers Sheikh Rukn-ud-din the representative of Sheikh Moīn-ud-din the great Khwājah of Ajmir, Sheikh Ahmed Khattu who is buried at Sackhej five miles west of Ahmedabad, and the Bukhāran Sheikh Burhān-ud-din known as Kutbi Alam the father of the more famous Shāh Alam. Of Ahmed's justice two instances are recorded. Sitting in the window of his palace watching the Sābarmati in flood Ahmed saw a large earthen jar float by. The jar was opened and the body of a murdered man was found wrapped in a blanket. The potters were called and one said the jar was his and had been sold to the headman of a neighbouring village. On inquiry the headman was proved to have murdered a grain merchant and was hanged. The second case was the murder of a poor man by Ahmed's son-in-law. The Kāzi found the relations of the deceased willing to accept a blood fine and when the fine was paid released the prince. Ahmed hearing of his son-in-law's release said in the case of the rich fine is no punishment and ordered his son-in-law to be hanged.¹

Muhammad II.
1441-1452.

Ahmed Shāh was succeeded by his generous pleasure-loving son Muhammad Shāh, Ghiās-ud-dunya Wad-din, also styled Zarbākh the Gold Giver. In A.D. 1445 Muhammad marched against Bīr Rāi of Idar, but on that chief agreeing to give him his daughter in marriage, he confirmed him in the possession of his state. His next expedition was against Kanha Rāi of Dūngarpur, who took refuge in the hills, but afterwards returned, and paying tribute, was given charge of his country. Muhammad married Bībi Mughli, daughter of Jām Jūna of Thātha in Sindh. She bore a son, Fateh Khān, who was afterwards Sultān Mahmūd Begada. In A.D. 1450, Muhammad marched upon Chāmpāner, and took the lower fortress. Gangādās of Chāmpāner had a strong ally in Sultān Mahmūd Khilji, the ruler of Mālwa, and on his approach Muhammad Shāh retired to Godhra,² and Mahmūd

¹ Mirāt-i-Sikandari Persian Text, 15, 46.

² Godhra (north latitude 22° 45', east longitude 73° 36'), the chief town of the subdivision of that name in the British district of the Panch Mahals. The Mirāt-i-Sikandari (Persian Text, 49) gives, probably rightly, Kothra a village of Sānli or Savli about twenty miles north of Baroda.

Khalji continued his march upon Gujarāt at the head of 80,000 horse. Muhammad Shāh was preparing to fly to Diu, when the nobles, disgusted at his cowardice, caused him to be poisoned. Muhammad Shāh's after-death title is Khudāsgan-i-Karīm the Gracious Lord.

In A.D. 1451 the nobles placed Muhammad's son Jalāl Khān on the throne with the title of Kutb-ud-din. Meanwhile Sultān Mahmūd of Mālwa had laid siege to Sultānpur.¹ Mālik Alā-ud-din bin Sohrāb Kutb-ud-din's commander surrendered the fort, and was sent with honour to Mālwa and appointed governor of Mānda. Sultān Mahmūd, marching to Sārsa-Pāli, summoned Broach, then commanded by Sidi Marjān on behalf of Gujarāt. The Sidi refused, and fearing delay, the Mālwa Sultān after plundering Baroda proceeded to Nadiād, whose Brāhmans astonished him by their bravery in killing a mad elephant. Kutb-ud-din Shāh now advancing met Sultān Mahmūd at Kapadvanj,² where, after a doubtful fight of some hours, he defeated Sultān Mahmūd, though during the battle that prince was able to penetrate to Kutb-ud-din's camp and carry off his crown and jewelled girdle. The Mirāt-i-Sikandari ascribes Kutb-ud-din's victory in great measure to the gallantry of certain inhabitants of Dholka³ called Darwāziyahs. Muzaffar Khān, who is said to have incited the Mālwa Sultān to invade Gujarāt, was captured and beheaded, and his head was hung up at the gate of Kapadvanj. On his return from Kapadvanj Kutb-ud-din built the magnificent Hauzi Kutb or Kankariya Tank about a mile to the south of Ahmedābād. According to the Mirāt-i-Sikandari (Persian Text, 50-57) this war between Mālwa and Gujarāt was controlled by the spiritual power of certain holy teachers. The war was brought on by the prayers of Sheikh Kamāl Mālwi, whose shrine is in Ahmedābād behind Khudāwand Khān's mosque near Shāh-i-Alam's tomb, who favoured Mālwa. Kutb-ud-din's cause was aided by the blessing of Kutbi Alam who sent his son the famous Shāh Alam time after time to persuade Kamāl to be loyal to Gujarāt. At last Kamāl produced a writing said to be from heaven giving the victory to Mālwa. The young Shāh Alam tore this charter to shreds, and, as no evil befel him, Kamāl saw that his spiritual power paled before Shāh Alam and fell back dead. Shāh Alam against his will accompanied Kutb-ud-din some marches on his advance to Kapadvanj. Before leaving the army Shāh Alam blessed a mean camp elephant and ordered him to destroy the famous Mālwa champion elephant known as the Butcher. He also, against his wish for he knew the future, at the Sultān's request bound his own sword round Kutb-ud-din's waist. In the battle the commissariat elephant ripped the Butcher and some years later Kutb-ud-din by accident gashed his knee with the saint's sword and died.

Chapter II.

Ahmedābād Kings.

A.D. 1403-1573.

Kutb-ud-din.
1451-1459.War with Mālwa,
1451.Battle of
Kapadvanj,
1451.

¹ Sultānpur (north latitude 21° 45'; east longitude 74° 40'), in the north of the Shikohā sub-division of the British district of Khāndesh, till A.D. 1804 a place of consequence and the head-quarters of a large district.

² Kapadvanj (north latitude 20° 2'; east longitude 73° 9'), the chief town of the sub-division of that name in the British district of Kaira.

³ Dholka (north latitude 22° 42'; east longitude 72° 25'), the chief town of the sub-division of that name in the British district of Ahmedābād.

Chapter II.

Ahmedabad
Kings.

A.D. 1403-1573.

Kutb-ud-din,
1454-1459.War with Nágor,
1454-1459.War with Chitor,
1455-1459.

In the same year Sultán Mahmúd Khilji attempted to conquer Nágor then held by Firáz Khán, a cousin of the Ahmedabad Sultán. Kutb-ud-din Sháh despatched an army under the command of Sayad Atáullah, and, as it drew near Sámbar,¹ the Málwa Sultán retired and shortly after Firáz Khán died. Kámbla Rána of Chitor² now began interfering in the Nágor succession on behalf of Shams Khán, who had been dispossessed by his brother Mujáhid Khán, and expelled Mujáhid. But as Shams Khán refused to dismantle the fortifications of Nágor, the Chitor chief collected an army to capture Nágor, while Shams Khán repaired to Kutb-ud-din Sháh for aid and gave that sovereign his daughter in marriage. Upon this Kutb-ud-din sent Rái Anupchand Mánek and Malik Gadái with an army to Nágor to repulse the Rána of Chitor. In a battle near Nágor the Gujarát troops were defeated, and the Rána after laying waste the neighbourhood of that city, returned to Chitor. In A.D. 1455-56, to avenge this raid, Kutb-ud-din Sháh marched against Chitor. On his way the Devra Rája of Sirohi³ attended Kutb-ud-din Sháh's camp, praying him to restore the fortress of Abu,⁴ part of the ancestral domain of Sirohi, which the Rána of Chitor had wrested from his house. The king ordered one of his generals, Malik Shaabán, to take possession of Abu and restore it to the Devra chieftain, while he himself continued to advance against Kumbhámer. Malik Shaabán was entangled in the defiles near Abu, and defeated with great slaughter, and shortly after Kutb-ud-din Sháh, making a truce with Chitor, retired to his own country. On his return the Málwa sovereign proposed that they should unite against Chitor, conquer the Rána's territories, and divide them equally between them. Kutb-ud-din agreed and in A.D. 1456-57 marched against the Rána by way of Abu, which fortress he captured and handed to the Devra Rája.⁵ Next, advancing upon Kumbhámer, he plundered the country round, and then turned towards Chitor. On his way to Chitor, he was met by the Rána, and a battle was fought, after which the Rána fell back on his capital, and was there besieged by the Gujarát army. The siege was not pressed, and, on the Rána agreeing to pay tribute and not to harass Nágor, Kutb-ud-din withdrew to Gujarát, where he gave himself up to licentious excess. Meanwhile, the Rána by ceding Mandisor⁶ to Málwa, came to terms with the Sultán of Mándu, and within three months attacked Nágor. Kutb-ud-din Sháh, though so overcome with drink as to be unable to sit his horse, mustered his troops and started in a palanquin. As soon as the Rána heard that the Gujarát army was in motion he retired, and the king returned to Ahmedabad. In A.D. 1458, he again led an army by way of Sirohi

¹ Sámbar (north latitude 26° 53'; east longitude 75° 13'), a town in the province of Ajmir, about fifty-one miles north-north-east from the city of Ajmir.

² Chitor (north latitude 24° 52'; east longitude 74° 4'), for several centuries before A.D. 1567 the capital of the principality of Udepar.

³ Sirohi (north latitude 24° 59'; east longitude 72° 56'), the capital of the principality of the same name in the province of Ajmir.

⁴ Abu (north latitude 24° 45'; east longitude 72° 49') in the state of Sirohi.

⁵ The Rája is called Krishna Kishan or Kánh Devra. Abu is still held by the Sirohi Devras.

⁶ Mandisor (north latitude 24° 4'; east longitude 75° 0'), the chief town of a large district of the same name in the province of Málwa.

and Kumbhalmer against Chitor, and laid waste the country. Soon after his return, according to one account by an accidental sword wound, according to another account poisoned by his wife, Kutb-ud-din died in May A.D. 1459 after a reign of seven years and seven days. He was brave with a sternness of nature, which, under the influence of wine, amounted to fierceness. His after-death title is Sultán-i-Ghází the Warrior King.

On the death of Kutb-ud-din Sháh, the nobles raised to the throne his uncle Dáúd, son of Ahmed Sháh. But as Dáúd appointed low-born men to high offices and committed other foolish acts, he was deposed, and in A.D. 1459 his half-brother Fateh Khán the son of Muhammad Sháh, son of Ahmed Sháh by Bibi Mughli a daughter of Jám Juna of Thatha in Sindh, was seated on the throne at the age of little more than thirteen with the title of Mahmúd Sháh.

The close connection of Fateh Khán with the saintly Sháh Alam is a favourite topic with Gujarát historians. According to the *Mirát-i-Sikandari* (Persian Text, 66-70) of his two daughters Jám Juna intended Bibi Mughli the more beautiful for the Saint and Bibi Mirghí the less comely for the Sultán. By bribing the Jám's envoys the king secured the prettier sister. The enraged Saint was consoled by his father who said: My son, to you will come both the cow and the calf. After Muhammad II.'s death, fear of Kutb-ud-din's designs against the young Fateh Khán forced Bibi Mughli to seek safety with her sister, and on her sister's death she married the Saint. Kutb-ud-din made several attempts to seize Fateh Khán. But by the power of the Saint when Kutb-ud-din attempted to seize him, Fateh Khán in body as well as in dress became a girl. According to one account Kutb-ud-din met his death in an attempt to carry off Fateh Khán. As he rode into the Saint's quarter Death in the form of a mad camel met the king. The king struck at the phantom, and his sword cleaving the air gashed his knee. This was the Saint's sword, which against his will, for he knew it would be the death of the king, Kutb-ud-din forced Sháh Alam to bind round him before the battle of Kapadvanj.

The death of his uncle, the late Sultán Dáúd, who had become a religious devotee, relieved Fateh Khán of one source of danger. Shortly after certain of the nobles including Seiful Mulk, Kabir-ud-din Sultáni surnamed Akd-ul-Mulk, Burhán-ul-Mulk and Hisám-ul-Mulk represented to the Sultán that the minister Shaibán Imád-ul-Mulk contemplated treason and wished to set his son on the throne. Having seized and imprisoned the minister in the Bhadra citadel and set five hundred of their trusted retainers as guards over him, the rebels retired to their homes. At nightfall Abdulláh, the chief of the elephant stables, going to the young Sultán represented to him that the nobles who had imprisoned Imád-ul-Mulk were the real traitors and had determined to place Habib Khán, an uncle of the Sultán's, on the throne. The Sultán consulting his mother and some of his faithful friends ordered Abdulláh at daybreak to equip all his elephants in full armour and draw them up in the square before the Bhadra. He then seated himself on the throne and in a voice of feigned anger ordered one of the courtiers to bring out Shaibán Imád-ul-Mulk, that he might wreak his vengeance

Chapter II.

Ahmedábád
Kings.

A.D. 1303-1373.

Mahmud I.
(Begada).
1459-1513.Defeats a
Conspiracy.
1459.

Chapter II.

Ahmedābād
Kings.

A.D. 1403-1573.

Mahmūd I.
(Begada).
1459-1613.Improves the
Soldiery.
1459-1491.Helps the King
of the Dakhan,
1491.

upon him. As these orders were not obeyed the Sultān rose, and walking up the Bhadra called: "Bring out Shaābān!" The guards brought forth Imād-ul-Mulk, and the Sultān ordered his fetters to be broken. Some of the nobles' retainers made their submission to the Sultān, others fled and hid themselves. In the morning, hearing what had happened, the refractory nobles marched against the Sultān. Many advised the Sultān to cross the Sabarmati by the postern gate and retire from the city, and, after collecting an army, to march against the nobles. Giving no ear to these counsels the young Sultān ordered Abdullāh to charge the advancing nobles with his six hundred elephants. The charge dispersed the malcontents who fled and either hid themselves in the city or betook themselves to the country. Some were killed, some were trampled by the Sultān's orders under the elephants' feet, and one was pardoned.¹ His religious ardour, his love of justice, his bravery, and his wise measures entitle Mahmūd to the highest place among the Gujarāt kings. One of the measures which the Mirāt-i-Sikandari specially notices is his continuance of land grants to the son of the holder, and in cases where there was no male issue of half the grant to the daughter. His firm policy of never ousting the landholder except for proved oppression or exaction was productive of such prosperity that the revenue increased two three and in some cases tenfold. The roads were safe from freebooters and trade was secure. A rule forbidding soldiers to borrow money at interest is favourably noticed. A special officer was appointed to make advances to needy soldiers with the power to recover from their pay in fixed instalments.² Mahmūd also devoted much attention to the culture of fruit trees.³ In A.D. 1461, or A.D. 1462 according to Farishtah, Nizām Shāh Bahmani (A.D. 1461-1463), king of the Dakhan, whose country had been invaded by Sultān Mahmūd Khilji of Mālwa, applied for help to the Gujarāt king. Mahmūd Shāh at once started to Nizām Shāh's aid, and on his way receiving another equally pressing letter from the Dakhan sovereign, and being joined by the Bahmani general Khwājāh Jehān Gāwān, he

¹ Persian Text, Mirāt-i-Sikandari, 75-76.

² The Portuguese merchant and traveller Barbosa (A.D. 1511-1514) gives the following details of Mahmūd Begada's cavalry: The Moors and Gentiles of this kingdom are bold riders, mounted on horses bred in the country, for it has a wonderful quantity. They ride on small saddles and use whips. Their arms are very thick round shields edged with silk; each man has two swords, a dagger, and a Turkish bow with very good arrows. Some of them carry maces, and many of them coats-of-mail, and others tunics quilted with cotton. The horses have housings and steel headpieces, and so they fight very well and are light in their movements. The Moorish horsemen are white and of many countries, Turks and Mamelukes, military slaves from Georgia Circassia and Mingrelia, Arabs Persians Khorezmi Turkomans, men from the great kingdom of Dehli, and others born in the country itself. Their pay is good, and they receive it regularly. They are well dressed with very rich stuffs of gold silk cotton and goat's wool, and all wear caps on their heads, and their clothes long, such as morisco shirts and drawers, and leggings to the knee of good thick leather worked with gold knots and embroidery, and their swords richly ornamented with gold and silver are borne in their girdles or in the handle of their pages. Their women are very white and pretty; also very richly decked out. They live well and spend much money. Stanley's Barbosa, 55-56.

³ Mahmūd's favourite trees were the mango *dmāo* Mangifera indica, *raṭas* Muscogea hexandra, *jāmūn* Eugenia jambolana, *gūdar* Ficus glomerata, tamarind *daḥl* Tamarindus indica, and the shrubby *phyllanthus* *gōala* Emblica officinalis.

pushed on with all speed by way of Burhānpur.¹ When Sultān Mahmūd Khilji heard of his approach, he retired to his own country by way of Gondwana,² from thirst and from the attacks of the Gonds, losing 5000 to 6000 men. The king of Gujardāt, after receiving the thanks of the Dakhan sovereign, returned to his own dominions. In A.D. 1462 Sultān Mahmūd Khilji made another incursion into the Dakhan at the head of 20,000 horse, plundering and laying waste the country as far as Daulatabād. Again the Dakhan sovereign applied for help to Mahmūd Shāh, and on hearing of Mahmūd's advance the Mālwa Sultān retired a second time to his own dominions. Mahmūd Shāh now wrote to the Mālwa Sultān to desist from harassing the Dakhan, threatening, in case of refusal, to march at once upon Māndu. His next expedition was against the pirate zamīndārs of the hill fort of Barūr and the bandar of Dān or Dahānu, whose fort he took, and after imposing an annual tribute allowed the chief to continue to hold his hundred villages.³

Mahmūd Shāh next turned his thoughts to the conquest of the mountain citadel of Gīrnār in central Kāthiāvādā.⁴ In A.D. 1467 he made an attack on the fort of Jūnāgadh, and receiving the submission of Rāv Māndlik, the local ruler, returned to his capital. In the following year, hearing that the Jūnāgadh chief continued to visit his idol temple in state with a golden umbrella and other ensigns of royalty, Mahmūd despatched an army to Jūnāgadh, and the chief sent the obnoxious umbrella to the king, accompanied by fitting presents. In A.D. 1469 Mahmūd once more sent an army to ravage Sorath, with the intention of finally conquering both Jūnāgadh and Gīrnār. While Mahmūd was on the march the Rāv Māndlik suddenly joined him, and asking why the Sultān was so bent on his destruction when he had committed no fault, agreed to do whatever Mahmūd might command. The king replied there is no fault like infidelity, and ordered the Rāv to embrace Islām. The chief, now thoroughly alarmed, fled by night and made his way into Gīrnār. In A.D. 1472-73 after a siege of nearly two years, forced by the failure of his stores, he quitted the fort and handing the keys to the king, repeated after him the Muhammadan profession of faith. Though the Rāv's life was spared Sorath from this date became a crown possession, and was governed by an officer appointed by the king and stationed at Jūnāgadh. At the close of the war Mahmūd Shāh repaired the fort Jehānpānah, the present outer or town wall of Jūnāgadh, and, charmed with the beauty of the neighbourhood, settled sayads and learned men at Jūnāgadh and other towns

Chapter II.

Ahmedābād
Kings.

A.D. 1403-1578.

Mahmūd I.
(Begada),
1459-1513.Expedition
against
Jūnāgadh,
1467.Capture of
Gīrnār,
1472.

¹ Burhānpur (north latitude 21° 18' : east longitude 76° 20'), under the Musalmāns the capital of Khādesh, now within the limits of the Berar.

² Gondwana, a large hilly tract lying between north latitude 19° 30' and 24° 30' and east longitude 77° 30' and 87° 30'.

³ The *Mirāt-i-Sikandari* (Persian Text, page 89) gives the hill fort of Barudar. The Persian *r* may be a miswritten *g* and the *d* a mistake for *w* that is Raguwar or Baguwarah. The report Dān may be Dugri hill six miles from the coast. But Dān for Dahānu a well-known port in north Thāns is perhaps more likely. *Parīkshā* (Briggs, IV. 51) gives Bavur for Baru and Dura for Dān. Compare *Tafakki-i-Akhbari* in Bayley's *Gujarat*, page 178 note 2.

⁴ Gīrnār the diadem of Kāthiāvādā. See above page 231 note 2.

Chapter II.

Ahmedábád
Kings.

A.D. 1405-1573.

Mahmūd I.
(Bégada).
1459-1513.Disturbances
in Chámpáner,
1472.

in Sorath.* He induced the nobles to build houses, himself raised a palace and made the new city his capital under the name of Mustafábad and enforced his claims as overlord on all the neighbouring chiefs. It is true that in the times of Ahmed Sháh these chieftains, including even the Júnágadh Ráv himself, had paid tribute. But Mahmūd established Ahmedábád rule so firmly that the duty of collecting the tribute was entrusted to an officer permanently settled in the country. The author of the *Mirát-i-Sikandari* dilates on the dense woods round Júnágadh, full of mango, *cáen*, *jímbo*, *gúlar*, *ámli*, and *áonla*¹ trees, and notes that this forest tract was inhabited by a wild race of men called Khánts.²

During Mahmūd Sháh's prolonged absence from his capital, Malik Jamál-ud-dín was appointed governor of Ahmedábád, with the title of Muháfiz Khán that is Caretaker. At this time Jesingh, son of Gangádás the chief of Chámpáner, harassed the country round Pavágad. The king appointed Bahá-ul-Mulk, who had the title of Imád-ul-Mulk, to the command of Sankheda; Malik Sárang Kiwám-ul-Mulk to the command of Godhra; and Táj Khán bin Salár to the command of Norkha and Dákhna on the Mahi. In consequence of these precautions Jesingh abstained from rebellion. At this time the Ráv Mandlik received the title of Khán Jahán, and lands were bestowed on him, while the golden idols, which had been taken from the Júnágadh temples, were broken and distributed among the soldiers.

Conquest of
Kachh.

Mahmūd Sháh's next expedition was against the turbulent inhabitants of the confines of Sindh. These were Jádejas, though they are described as Rájputs of the Sumra and Soda tribes.³ They appear to have readily submitted, and to have voluntarily sent men to Júnágadh to be instructed in Islám and to settle in Gujarát. Shortly afterwards they again became troublesome, and the king advancing into Kachh completely defeated them. About this time a learned man, Mulla Mahmūd Samarkandi, on his way from the Dakhan to Central Asia, complained to the king that he had been robbed by the pirates of Jagat or Dwárka.⁴ On hearing of this outrage Mahmūd Sháh marched to Jagat, took the fort, and destroyed the idol temples. The pirates, in the first instance, retired to the island of Shankhodára or Bet, but from this, too, after a stout resistance they were driven with great slaughter. The king built a mosque at Jagat, entrusted the government to Farhat-ul-Mulk, and himself returned to Júnágadh. Before this Dwárka had never been conquered. Ehim, the Rája of Dwárka, was sent to Muháfiz Khán, the governor of Ahmedábád, with orders that he was to be hewn in pieces and a piece fastened to every gate of the city. After settling the affairs of Sorath, the king turned

Jagat
Destroyed.

¹ *Mangifera indica*, *Mimusops hexandra*, *Eugenia jambolana*, *Ficus glomerata*, *Tamarindus indica*, and *Emblia officinalis*.

² Khánts are still found chiefly in Soráth. See Bombay Gazetteer, VIII. 142.

³ The *Tabakát-i-Akbari* says they were Játa. Sir H. Elliot (*History of India*, I. 496) represents the Sumras to be Agnikula Rájputs of the Parmara stock. The Jádejas had been ruling in Kachh since A.D. 1350-1365.

⁴ Dwárka (north latitude 22° 15', east longitude 69°), on the north-western shore of Káthiáwár, famous for its temple of Krishna.

his face towards Ahmedabad. On the way hearing that a fleet of Malabar craft were annoying the Gujarat ports, he marched to Gogha, equipped a fleet to oppose the pirates, and stopping at Cambay returned to Ahmedabad.

In A.D. 1480, when Mahmūd Shāh was at Jūnāgadh, Khudāwand Khān and others, who were weary of the king's constant warfare, incited his eldest son Ahmed to assume royal power. But Imād-ul-Mulk, by refusing to join, upset their plans, and on the king's return the conspiracy was stamped out. In the previous year (A.D. 1479) Mahmūd Shāh sent an army to ravage Chāmpāner, which he was determined to conquer. About this time, hearing that the neighbourhood was infested with robbers, he founded the city of Mehmūdābād on the banks of the Vātrak, about eighteen miles south of Ahmedabad. In A.D. 1482 there was a partial famine in Gujarat, and the Chāmpāner country being exempt from scarcity the commandant of Morāmlī or Rasūlābād, a post in the Gāekwār's Sāonli district on the Chāmpāner frontier, made several forays across the border. In return the chief attacked the commandant and defeated him, killing most of his men and capturing two elephants and several horses. On hearing this Mahmūd Shāh set out for Baroda with a powerful army. When Mahmūd reached Baroda the Rāval of Chāmpāner, becoming alarmed, sent ambassadors and sued for forgiveness. The king rejected his overtures, saying: 'Except the sword and the dagger no message shall pass between me and you.'¹ The Rāval made preparations for a determined resistance, and sent messengers to summon Ghias-ul-dīn Khilji of Mālwa to his aid. To prevent this junction Mahmūd Shāh entrusted the siege to his nobles and marched to Dohad, on which Sultān Ghias-ul-dīn withdrew to Mānda. On his return from Dohad the Sultān began building a Jāma Mosque at Chāmpāner to show that he would not leave the place till he had taken the hill-fort of Pāvāgadh. After the siege had lasted more than twenty months (April 1483 - December 1484), the Musalmāns noticed that for an hour or two in the morning most of the Rājputs were off duty bathing and dressing. A morning assault was planned and the first gate carried. Then Malik Ayāz Sultāni finding a practicable breach passed through with some of his men and took the great gate. The Rāval and his Rājputs, throwing their women children and valuables into a huge fire, rushed out in a fierce but unavailing charge.²

The Rāval and his minister Dūngarshi fell wounded into the conqueror's hands, and, on refusing to embrace Islām, were put to death. The Rāval's son, who was entrusted to Saif-ul-Mulk, and instructed by him in the Muhammadan religion, afterwards, in the reign of Muzaffar Shāh (A.D. 1523 - 1526), was ennobled by the title of Nizām-ul-Mulk. On the capture of Pāvāgadh in A.D. 1484, Mahmūd Shāh built a wall round the town of Chāmpāner, and made it his capital under the name of Muhammadābād. Under Mahmūd's orders the neigh-

Chapter II.

Ahmedabad
Kings.

A.D. 1403 - 1572.

Mahmūd

(Begada)

1459 - 1513.

Conspiracy,

1480.

War against

Chāmpāner,

1482 - 1484.

Capture of

Pāvāgadh,

1484.

¹ The *Tabakāt-i-Akhari* has 'To-morrow the sword of adamant shall answer your message.'

² *Farishtah*, II. 396 - 397.

Chapter II.

Ahmedabad

Kings.

A.D. 1403-1573.

Mahmūd

(Begada).

1459-1513.

bourhood became stocked with mangoes, pomegranates, figs, grapes, sugarcane, plantains, oranges, custard apples, *khirnis* or *ruens* (*Mimusops indica* or *hexandra*), jackfruit, and cocoapalms, as well as with roses, chrysanthemums, jasmims, *champās*, and sweet pandanus. A *sahelal* grove near Champāner is said to have had trees large enough to help the Musalman nobles to build their mansions. At the instance of the Sultān a Khurāsāni beautified one of the gardens with fountains and cascades. A Gujarāti named Hālūr learning the principle improved on his master's design in a garden about four miles west of Champāner, which in his honour still bears the name Hālūr.¹

In Mahmūd's reign an instance is mentioned of the form of compensation known as *collar*. Some merchants bringing horses and other goods for sale from Irāk and Khurāsān were plundered in Sirohi limits. The king caused them to give in writing the price of their horses and stuffs, and paying them from his own treasury recovered the amount from the Rāja of Sirohi.

In A.D. 1494-95 Mahmūd went against Bahādur Khān Gīlāni, a vassal of the Bahmanis, who from Goa and Dābhōl² had so harassed the Gujarāt harbours that, from the failure of the supply of betelnut, coriander seed had to be eaten with betel leaves. The Bahmani Sultān, fearing the consequences to himself, marched against Bahādur Khān, and, capturing him alive, struck off his head, and sent it to the Gujarāt monarch, who returned to his own country. In A.D. 1499-1500, hearing that Nāsir-ud-dīn of Malwa had killed his father Ghīās-ud-dīn and seated himself on the throne, the Sultān prepared to advance against him, but was appeased by Nāsir-ud-dīn's humble attitude. The next seven years passed without any warlike expedition. In A.D. 1507, near Daman on his way to Chaul, Mahmūd heard of the victory gained at Chaul over the Portuguese by the Gujarāt squadron under Malik Ayāz Sultāni, in concert with the Turkish fleet.³ In A.D. 1508 Mahmūd succeeded in placing his nephew Mirān Muhammad Adil Khān Fārūki on the throne of Aṣir-Burhānpur. From 1508 Mahmūd remained at his capital till his death in December A.D. 1513 at the age of sixty-seven years and three months, after a reign of fifty-four years and one month. Mahmūd was buried at Sarkhej,⁴ and received

The Khāndesh
Succession,
1508.

¹ Mirāt-i-Sikandari, 112-114.

² Dābhōl (north latitude 17° 34', east longitude 73° 16'), on the north bank of the river Vāshisthi (called Halewacko and Kalewacko by the early navigators. See Badger's Varthema, page 114 note 1) in the British district of Ratnagiri. About this time, according to Athanasios Nikitin (A.D. 1465-1474), Dābhōl was the great meeting place for all nations living along the coast of India and Ethiopia. In A.D. 1501 it was taken by the Portuguese. Between A.D. 1626 and 1630 an English factory was established here, but by the end of the century trade had left Dābhōl and has never returned.

³ Chaul, now Revdanda (north latitude 18° 33', east longitude 72° 59'), from about A.D. 1500 to 1650 a place of much trade.

⁴ Mahmūd Begada greatly impressed travellers, whose strange tales of him made the king well-known in Europe. Varthema (1503-1508) thus describes his manner of living:

"The king has constantly 20,000 horsemen. In the morning when he rises there come to his palace 50 elephants, on each of which a man sits astride, and the said elephants do reverence to the king, and, except this, they have nothing else to do. When the

the after-death title of Khaddāigān-i-Halīm or the Meek Lord. Immediately before his death Sultan Mahmūd was informed that Shāh Ismā'īl Safawī of Persia had sent him a friendly embassy headed by Yādgar Beg Kazil-bāsh. As the Kazil-bāshes were known to be Shiāhs the Sultan, who was a staunch Sunni, prayed that he might not be forced to see a Shiāh's face during his last days. His prayer was heard. He died before the Persian embassy entered the city.¹ During the last days of Sultan Mahmūd, Sayad Muhammad of Jaunpur, who claimed to be the Mahdi or Messiah, came from Jaunpur and lodged in Tajkhān Sālār's mosque near the Jamālpur gate of Ahmedābād. His sermons drew crowds, and were so persuasive that he gained a large body of followers, who believed his eloquence to be due to *hāl* or inspiration. Mahmūd's ministers persuaded him not to see the Jaunpur preacher.

Chapter II.

Ahmedābād Kings.

A.D. 1403-1513.

Mahmūd
(Begdā).
1459-1513.

King eats, fifty or sixty kinds of instruments, drums trumpets flageolles and fife play, and the elephants again do him reverence. As for the king himself, his mustachios under his nose are so long that he ties them over his head as a woman would tie her tresses, and he has a white beard that reaches to his girdle. As to his food, every day he eats poison (Hudhira's Prince whose daily food was asp and basilak and toad), not that he fills his stomach with it, but he eats a certain quantity, so that when he wishes to destroy any great person he finishes him once before him stripped and naked, and then eats certain fruits which are called *shafale* (*Jidighal*, nutmeg), like a muscatel nut. He also eats certain leaves called *tambali* (*yaba* or betel leaf like the leaves of a sour orange, and with these he eats lime of oyster shells. When he has chewed this well he spouts it out on the person he wishes to kill, and so in the space of half an hour the victim falls to the ground dead. The Sultan has also three or four thousand women, and every night that he sleeps with one, she is found dead in the morning. Barboza (A.D. 1511) goes further (Stanley's Trans. 57), saying that so weak was the king with poison that if a fly settled on his hand it swelled and immediately fell dead. This was the result of his early training. For, on Varthema's companion asking how it was that the king could eat poison in this manner, certain merchants, who were older than the Sultan, answered that his father had fed him upon poison from his childhood. (Badger's Varthema, 110.) Of the origin of Mahmūd's surname *Begdā* two explanations are given: (1) 'From his mustachios being large and twisted like a bullock's horn, such a bullock being called *Begdā*;' (2) that the word comes from the Gujarāt *be*, two, and *gud*, a fort, the people giving him this title in honour of his capture of Jānagadh (A.D. 1472) and Chāmpāpur (A.D. 1484). (Bird's History of Gujarāt, 202; Mirāt-i-Ahmedī Persian Text, 74.) Varthema's account of the poison-eating is probably an exaggeration of the Sultan's habit of opium-eating to which from his infancy he was addicted. The Mirāt-i-Sikandari (Persian Text, 751) speaks of the great physical power of Mahmūd and of his wonderful appetite. Mahmūd's daily food weighed forty *seers* the *seer* being 15 *bahkalie* a little over half a pound. He used to eat about three pounds (5 *seers*) of parched gram to desert. For breakfast, after his morning prayer, Mahmūd used to consume a cupful of pure Makkah honey with a second cupful of clarified butter and fifty small plums called *ragha kela*. At night they set by his bed two plates of *saubhā* or minced mutton sausages. In the morning Mahmūd seeing the empty plates used to give thanks: 'Oh Allah, he said, hadst thou not given this unworthy slave rule over Gujarāt, who could have filled his stomach.' His vile powers were as unusual as his appetite. The only woman who could bear his embraces unharmed was a powerful Abyssinian girl who was his great favourite. Of the wealth and weapons kept in store the Mirāt-i-Sikandari gives the following details regarding the great expedition against Jānagadh (Persian Text, 94): The Sultan ordered the treasurer to send with the army gold coins worth five *crores*, 1700 Egyptian Almond Moorish and Khurāsāni swords with gold handles weighing 2½ to 3 pounds (4-5 *seers*), 1700 daggers and poignards with gold handles weighing 1 to 1½ pounds (2-3 *seers*), and 2000 Arab and Turki horses with gold-embroidered housings. All this treasure of coin and weapons the Sultan spent in presents to his army (Ditto, 94-95).

¹ Ferishtah, II. 404. The Mirāt-i-Sikandari (Persian Text, 148, 149) calls the Persian ambassador Ibrahim Khān.

Chapter II.

Ahmedābād

Kings.

A.D. 1403-1573.

Mahmūd
Begada,
1459-1513.

Mahmūd Begada's court was adorned by several pious and high-minded nobles. In life they vied with one another in generous acts; and after death, according to the Persian poet Urfi, they left their traces in the characters and carvings of stone walls and marble piles. First among these nobles the Mirat-i-Sikandari (Persian Text, 132, 142) mentions Dāwar-ul-Mulk, whose god-fearing administration made his estates so prosperous that they were coveted by princes of the blood. As Thānādār of Amron in north Kāthiāvāda, he spread the light of Islam from Morvi to Bhūj, and after his death his fame as a spirit-ruling guardian drew hosts of sick and possessed to his shrine near Morvi. The second was Malik Ayāz, governor of Diu, who built the strong fortress afterwards reconstructed by the Portuguese. He also built a tower on an under-water rock, and from the tower drew a massive iron chain across the mouth of the harbour. A substantial bridge over the creek, that runs through the island of Diu, was afterwards destroyed by the Portuguese. The third was Khudāwand Khān Ālīm, the founder of Ālīmpura a suburb to the south of Ahmedābād, adorned with a mosque of sandstone and marble. He introduced the cultivation of melons figs and sugarcane into Gujarat from Bijāpur. The fourth was Imād-ul-Mulk Asas who founded Isanpur, a suburb between Shāh Ālam's suburb of Islāmpur and Batwa, and planted along the road groves of *khirnis* and mangoes. The fifth was Tājkhān Sālār, so loved of his peers that after his death none of them would accept his title. The sixth was Malik Sārang Kiwām-ul-Mulk, a Rājput by birth, the founder of the suburb of Sārangpur and its mosque to the east of Ahmedābād. The seventh and eighth were the Khurāsāni brothers Āzami and Moazzam, who built a cistern, a mosque, and a tomb between Ahmedābād and Sarkhej.

Besides Khalīl Khān, who succeeded him, Mahmūd had three sons: Muhammad Kāla, Apā Khān, and Ahmed Khān. Kāla, son of Rāni Rūp Manjhri died during his father's lifetime as did his mother, who was buried in Mānek Chauk in Ahmedābād in the building known as the Rāni's Hazīra. The second son Apā Khān was caught trespassing in a noble's *harim*, and was ordered by the Sultān to be poisoned. The third son was the Ahmed Khān whom Khudāwand Khān sought to raise to the throne during Sultān Mahmūd's lifetime.

Muhammad was succeeded by Khalīl Khān, the son of Rāni Hirabāi the daughter of a Rājput chieftain named Nāgā Rāna who lived on the bank of the Mahī. On ascending the throne, at the age of twenty-seven, Khalīl adopted the title of Muzaffar Shāh. For some time before his father's death, Prince Khalīl Khān had been living at Baroda and shortly after his accession he visited that neighbourhood, and founded a town which he named Daulatābād. In A.D. 1514 Rāv Bhīm, the son of Rāv Bhān of Idar, defeated Ain-ul-Mulk, governor of Pātan, who was coming to Ahmedābād to pay his respects to the king. This officer had turned aside to punish the Rāv for some disturbance he had created, but failing in his purpose, was himself defeated. On the approach of Muzaffar Shāh, Idar was abandoned by the Rāv, who made his peace with difficulty and only by agreeing to pay a heavy tribute. Meanwhile the king marched to Godhra, and so to Mālwa by way of Dohad, whose fort he caused to be repaired, and soon after went on to Dhār.

Muzaffar II.
1513-1526.Expedition
against Idar,
1514.

After a short stay in Málwa, thinking it mean to take advantage of the distracted condition of Mahmúd of Málwa, who was at war with his nobles, Muzaffar returned to Muhammadábád (Champánér). At this time Ráimal, nephew of the late Ráy Bhím of Ídar, expelled the Ráy's son Bhármal by the aid of his father-in-law Rána Sága of Chitor, and succeeded to the chieftainship of Ídar. The king was displeased at the interference of the Rána, and directed Nizám Khán, the governor of Ahmednagar, to expel Ráimal and reinstate Bhármal. Nizám Khán took Ídar and gave it to Bhármal. Ráimal betook himself to the hills where Nizám Khán incautiously pursuing and engaging him lost many men. When the rains were over the Sultán visited Ídar. Shortly after, Nizám Khán, the governor of Ahmednagar, fell sick and was called to court. He left Ídar in charge of Zahir-ul-Mulk at the head of a hundred horse. Ráimal made a sudden raid on Ídar and killed Zahir-ul-Mulk and twenty-seven of his men. On hearing of this reverse Sultán Muzaffar ordered Nizám Khán to destroy Bījapur.¹ In A.D. 1517, the nobles of Málwa besought Muzaffar's interference, alleging that the Hindu minister Medáni Rái was planning to depose the Málwa Sultán, Mahmúd Khilji, and usurp the throne. Muzaffar Sháh promised to come to their help, and shortly after Sultán Mahmúd Khilji, escaping from the surveillance of Medáni Rái, himself sought the aid of the Gujarát monarch. In A.D. 1518 Muzaffar Sháh marched by Godhra into Málwa, and on his arrival at Dhár, that town was evacuated by Medáni Rái. The Gujarát king next besieged Mándu and Medáni Rái summoned the Chitor Rána to his aid. When the Rána had reached Sárangpur, Muzaffar Sháh detaching a force caused the Rána to retire, while the Gujarát soldiers exerted themselves so strenuously that they captured Mándu, recovering the girdle which Kutb-ud-din had lost at the battle of Kapadvanj. This conquest virtually placed Málwa in Muzaffar's power, but he honourably restored the kingdom to Sultán Mahmúd Khilji, and, withdrawing to Gujarát, proceeded to Muhammadábád. In A.D. 1519, news was received of the defeat and capture of Sultán Mahmúd Khilji by the Rána of Chitor. Muzaffar Sháh sent a force to protect Mándu. But the Rána, who distinguished himself by releasing the Sultán of Málwa and keeping his son in his stead as a hostage, enjoyed continued good fortune. Some time before these events a *bhát* or bard in the presence of Nizám Khán, the governor of Ídar, boasted that the Rána of Chitor would never fail to help Rána Ráimal of Ídar. The angry governor said 'Whose dog is Rána Sága to help Ráimal while we are here.' Nizám Khán called a dog Sága, chained him in the fort, and dared the Rána to carry him away. His successes enabled Sága to answer the challenge. In consequence of dissensions at head-quarters Nizám Khán withdrew to Ahmednagar leaving a small garrison in Ídar. When Rána Sága appeared before Ídar the garrison resisted but were slain to a man. The Rána advanced to Ahmednagar and severely defeated Nizám Khán who withdrew to Ahmedábád, while the Rána plundered Vishálnagar.² In A.D. 1521, Malik Ayáz Sultáni, the governor of

Chapter II.

Ahmedábád
Kings.

A.D. 1403-1573.

Muzaffar II.
1513-1528.Disturbances
in Málwa,
1517.Capture of
Mándu,
1518.War with Chitor,
1519.¹ Farishtah, II. 498.² Mirát-i-Sikandari, 166-167; Farishtah, II. 411.

Chapter II.

Ahmedabad
Kings.

A.D. 1403-1526.

Muzaffar II.
1513-1526.The Bana of
Chitor Submits,
1521.Dies,
1526.

Sorath, was sent with a large and carefully equipped force to revenge this inroad. Dissensions between Malik Ayáz and the Gujarát nobles prevented this expedition doing more than burn and despoil both Dungarpur and Bānevāda. Muzaffar Shāh, greatly displeased with the result, was preparing to march against Chitor, when he was dissuaded by a submissive embassy from that chief, who sent his son to Ahmedābād with valuable presents for the king. Shortly afterwards, on the death of Malik Ayáz, Muzaffar Shāh confirmed his elder son Malik Is-hāk in his father's rank and possessions. Malik Is-hāk remained in Sorath which was confirmed as his *jagir*. In the following year the Sultān went about his dominions strengthening his frontier posts, especially the fort of Modasa, which he rebuilt. About A.D. 1524 prince Bahādur Khān, ostensibly dissatisfied with the smallness of his estates but really to remove himself from the jealousy of his brother Sikandar who being appointed heir-apparent was seeking his life, left Gujarát and withdrew to Hindustān. King Muzaffar, after formally appointing his son Sikandar Khān his heir, died at Ahmedābād in A.D. 1526, after a reign of fourteen years and nine months. Muzaffar was buried in the shrine of Sheikh Ahmed Khattu at Sarkhej near his father's grave. He was the most learned and one of the most pious of the Ahmedābād Sultāns. So extreme an abstainer was he that not only during his whole life did he eschew intoxicating drugs and liquor but he never again rode a favourite horse because the horse was cured by a draught of wine. He was an accomplished musician, a finished horseman, a practised swordsmen, and withal so modest and humble in his dress and temper that observing once to a favourite page how simple and yet graceful his own turban was the boy laughed: 'Ay, if the turbans of Mullahs and Bohoras are graceful, then is your Majesty's.' The Sultān said 'I should have been proud to have my turban likened to a Mullah's, why compare it with the headdress of a schismatic Bohora.' Muzaffar was careful never to pain the feelings of those around him. He suspected Kiwām-ul-Mulk who was in charge of his drinking water but contented himself with breathing over the water one of the verses of the Kurān which make poison harmless.¹ During his reign cultivation increased so much in Jhalāvāda that it became necessary to reserve certain waste land for pasture. In 1526 the rains held off so long that famine began to rage. The Sultān exclaimed, 'Oh Allah! If thou scourgest the country for the sins of its king take his life and spare thy creatures.' The prayer was heard and the soul of the guardian Sultān passed in a flood of gracious rain.²

Sikandar.
1526.Mahmūd II.
1526.

After Sikandar Shāh had been in power a few months he was murdered by Imād-ul-Mulk Khush-Kadam, who seated a younger brother of Sikandar's, named Nasir Khān, on the throne with the title of Mahmūd II. and governed on his behalf. The only event of Sikandar's reign was the destruction of an army sent against his brother

¹ The verse supposed to possess the highest virtue against poison is the last verse of Chap. cvl. of the Kurān. Serve the Lord of this House who appeareth them with food against hunger and maketh them free from fear.

² Mirāt-i-Sikandari (Pers. Manuscript), 174, 175, 194.

Latif Khān who was helped by Rāna Bhīm of Munga.¹ The nobles deserted Imād-ul-Mulk's cause, and prince Bahādur Khān, returning to Gujarāt from Hindustān, was joined by many supporters prominent among whom was Tāj Khān, proprietor of Dhandhuka. Bahādur marched at once on Chāmpāner, captured and executed Imād-ul-Mulk and poisoning Nāsir Khān ascended the throne in A.D. 1527 with the title of Bahādur Shāh. His brother Latif Khān, aided by Rāja Bhīm of the Kohistan or hill land of Pāl,² now asserted his claim to the throne. He was defeated, and fell wounded into the hands of the Gujarāt army and died of his wounds and was buried at Hālol. Rāja Bhīm was slain. As Bhīm's successor Rāisingh plundered Dohad, a large force was sent against him, commanded by Tāj Khān, who laid waste Rāisingh's country and dismantled his forts. Soon after Bahādur Shāh visited Camlay, and found that Malik Is-hāk the governor of Sorath had, in the interests of the Portuguese, attempted to seize Din but had been repulsed by the Gujarāt admiral Mahmūd Aka. The Sultān entrusted Din to Kiwām-ul-Mulk and Jūnāgadh to Mujāhid Khān Bhikan and returned to Ahmedābād. In 1527 he enforced tribute from Idar and the neighbouring country. During one of his numerous expeditions he went to hunt in Nāndod and received the homage of the Rājas. As the Portuguese were endeavouring to establish themselves on the coast of Sorath, and, if possible, to obtain Din, the king was constantly at Camlay Din and Gogha to frustrate their attempts, and he now directed the construction of the fortress of Broach. At this time Muhammad Khān, ruler of Asir and Burhānpur, requested Bahādur's aid on behalf of Imād-ul-Mulk, ruler of Bemir. Bahādur Shāh started at once and at Nandurhār was joined by Muhammad Khān Asiri, and thence proceeded to Burhānpur, where he was met by Imād Shāh from Gūvalgad. After certain successes he made peace between Burhān Nizām Shāh and Imād Shāh Gāvali, and returned to Gujarāt. Jām Firāz the ruler of Tātha in Sindh now sought refuge with Bahādur Shāh from the oppression either of the Ghoris or of the

Chapter II.

Ahmedābād
Kings.

A.D. 1468-1573.

Bahādur,
1527-1536.Portuguese
Intrigues,
1526.Khandesh
Affairs,
1528.

¹ Both the Mirāt-i-Sikandari (287) and Farishtah (II, 410) place Munga in Sandighat-Sultānpur. The further reference to Rāna Bhīm of Pāl seems to apply to the same man as the Rāna Bhīm of Munga. Munga may then be Mohungad that is Chota Udepur.

² Mirāt-i-Sikandari Persian Text, 225-226; Farishtah, II, 425-426. The Gujarāt Musalman historians give a somewhat vague application to the word Pāl which means a bank or steep downwards to the plain. In the Mirāt-i-Ahmedī (Pāthānpur Edition, page 168) Pālwarāh, whose climate is proverbially bad, includes Godhra All Mohan and Rajpūta that is the rough eastern fringe of the plain land of Gujrat from the Mahi to the Tapi. As the Rāja of Nāndod or Rajpūta was the leading chief south of Idar Colonel Watson took reference to the Rāja of Pāl as apply to the Rāja of Rajpūta. An examination of the passages in which the name Pāl occurs seems to show that the hill country to the east rather than to the south of Pāvāgad or Chāmpāner is meant. In A.D. 1527 Latif Khān the rival of Bahādur Shāh after joining the Rāja Bhīm in his Kohistan or highlands of Pāl when wounded is taken into Hālol. The same passage contains a reference to the Rāja of Nāndod as some one distinct from the Rāja of Pāl. In A.D. 1631 Rāisingh of Pāl tried to rescue Mahmūd Khān on his way from Mandu in Malwa to Chāmpāner. In A.D. 1561 Nāsir Khān fled to Chāmpāner and died in the Pāl hills. These references seem to agree in allotting Pāl to the hills of Bāria and of Mohan or Chota Udepur. This identification is in accord with the local use of Pāl. Mr. Pollen, I.C.S., LL.D., Political Agent, Rewa Kantha, writes (8th Jan. 1896): Bāria Kolia and traders all apply the word Pāl to the Bāria Pāl which besides Bāria takes in Sanjeli and the Navanagar-Solāt uplands in Godhra.

Chapter II.

Ahmedabad
Kings.

A.D. 1403-1573.

Bahadur.
1527-1536.

Mughals and was hospitably received. In A.D. 1528 Bahadur made an expedition into the Dakhan which ended in a battle at Daulatabad. The issue of this battle seems to have been unfavourable as hardly any reference to the campaign remains. Next year (A.D. 1529) at the request of Jnsfar or Khizr Khan, son of Imad Shih Gaval, who was sent to Gujarat to solicit Bahadur's help, he again marched for the Dakhan. As he passed through Muler Biharji the Raja of Baglan gave him his daughter in marriage and in return received the title of Bahr Khan. From Baglan Bahr Khan was told off to ravage Cheal which by this time had fallen into the hands of the Portuguese. Bahadur himself advanced to Ahmednagar, took the fort and destroyed many of the buildings. Purandhar also was sacked of its stores of gold.¹ From Ahmednagar Bahadur Shih passed to Burhanpur, and there his general Kaiser Khan gained a victory over the united forces of Nizam Shih, Malik Berid, and Ain-ul-Mulk. After having the public sermon read in his name both in Ahmednagar and in Burhanpur Bahadur returned to Gujarat and for some time refrained from interfering in the affairs of the Dakhan.

Turks at Diu,
1526-1530.

Between A.D. 1526 and 1530 certain Turks under one Mustafa came to Gujarat, traders according to one account according to another part of a Turkish fleet expected to act against the Portuguese. Diu was assigned them as a place of residence and the command of the island was granted to Malik Toghán, son of Malik Ayax, the former governor. In A.D. 1530 the king marched to Nágor, and gave an audience both to Prathiraj Raja of Dongarapur and to the ambassadors from Rana Ratansi of Chitor. The Rana's ambassadors complained of encroachments on Chitor by Mahmud of Malwa. Mahmud promised to appear before Bahadur to explain the alleged encroachments. Bahadur waited. At last as Mahmud failed to attend Bahadur said he would go and meet Mahmud. He invested Mandu and received with favour certain deserters from Mahmud's army. The fortress fell and Sultan Mahmud and his seven sons were captured. The success of the siege was due to Bahadur's personal prowess. He scaled an almost inaccessible height and sweeping down from it with a handful of men took the fort, a feat which for daring and dash is described as unsurpassed in the history of Musalmán Gujarat.² After passing the rainy season at Mandu Bahadur Shih went to Burhanpur to visit his nephew Miran Muhammad Shah. At Burhanpur Bahadur under the influence of the great priest-statesman Shih Tahir, was reconciled with Burhan Nizam and gave him the royal canopy he had taken from Malwa. Bahadur offered Shih Tahir the post of minister. Shih Tahir declined saying he must make a pilgrimage to Makka. He retired to Ahmednagar and there converted Burhan Nizam Shih to the Shih faith.³ In the same year, hearing that Mansingji, Raja of

¹ Purandhar about twenty miles south by east of Poona, one of the greatest of Dakhan hill forts.

² Mirat-i-Sikandari, 238, 239; Farishtah, II, 430. According to the Mirat-i-Sikandari (239) the Sultan enquired on which side was the loftiest height. They told him that in the direction of Sonbad-Chitauri the hill was extremely high. These details show that the cliff scaled by Bahadur was in the extreme south-west of Mandu where a high nearly isolated point stretches out from the main plateau. For details see Appendix II, Mandu.

³ Mirat-i-Sikandari, 241-242; Farishtah, II, 432.

Capture of Mandu,
1530.

Halvad,¹ had killed the commandant of Dasāda Bahādur despatched Khān Khān against him. Viramgām and Māndal were raft from the Jhāla chieftains, and ever after formed part of the crown dominions. When Sultān Mahmūd Khilji and his sons were being conveyed to the fortress of Chāmpāner, Raisingh, Rāja of Pāl, endeavoured to rescue them. The attempt failed, and the prisoners were put to death by their guards. In A.D. 1531, on Bahādur's return from Burhānpur to Dhār, hearing that Silehdi the Rājput chief of Rāisin in east Mālwa kept in captivity certain Muhammadan women who had belonged to the *harem* of Sultān Nāsir-ud-din of Mālwa, Bahādur marched against him and forced him to surrender and embrace Islām. The chief secretly sent to the Rāna of Chitor for aid and delayed handing over Rāisin. On learning this Bahādur despatched a force to keep Chitor in check and pressed the siege. At his own request, Silehdi was sent to persuade the garrison to surrender. But their reproaches stung him so sharply, that, joining with them, and after burning their women and children, they sallied forth sword in hand and were all slain. Rāisin fell into Bahādur's hands, and this district together with those of Bhilsa and Chanderi were entrusted to the government of Sultān Alam Lodhi. The king now went to Gondwāna to hunt elephants, and, after capturing many, employed his army in reducing Gāgraun and other minor fortresses.² In A.D. 1532 he advanced against Chitor, but raised the siege on receiving an enormous ransom. Shortly afterwards his troops took the strong fort of Rantanbhur.³ About this time on receipt of news that the Portuguese were usurping authority the Sultān repaired to Diu. Before he arrived the Portuguese had taken to flight, leaving behind them an enormous gun which the Sultān ordered to be dragged to Chāmpāner.

Before A.D. 1532 was over Bahādur Shāh quarrelled with Humāyūn, emperor of Delhi. The original ground of quarrel was that Bahādur Shāh had sheltered Sultān Muhammad Zamān Mirza the grandson of a daughter of the emperor Bābar (A.D. 1482-1530). Humāyūn's anger was increased by an insolent answer from the Gujarāt king. Without considering that he had provoked a powerful enemy, Bahādur Shāh again laid siege to Chitor, and though he heard that Humāyūn had arrived at Gwālior, he would not desist from the siege. In March 1535 Chitor fell into the hands of the Gujarāt king but near Mandasūr his army was shortly afterwards routed by Humāyūn. According to one account, the failure of the Gujarāt army was due to Bahādur and his nobles being spell-bound by looking at a heap of salt and some cloth soaked in indigo which were mysteriously left before Bahādur's tent by an unknown elephant. The usual and probably true explanation is that Rūmi Khān the Turk, head of the Gujarāt artillery, betrayed Bahādur's interest.⁴ Still though Rūmi Khān's treachery may have had a share in Bahādur's defeat it seems probable that in valour, discipline, and tactics the Gujarāt army was

Chapter II.

Ahmedabad

Kings.

A.D. 1405-1573.

Bahadur.
1527-1530.Quarrel with
Humayun,
1532.Fall of Chitor,
1535.¹ Halvad is a former capital of the chief of Dhingadhra in Kathiawāda.² Gāgraun in Central India about seventy miles north-east of Ujjain.³ Rantanbhur about seventy-five miles south by east of Jaipur.⁴ Mirat-i-Makdārī Persian Text, 265, 263; Farishtah, II, 459.

Chapter II.

Ahmedabad
Kings.

A.D. 1403-1573.

Bahadur,
1527-1586.Mughal Conquest
of Gujarat,
1535.Are Driven Out,
1536.The Portuguese
at Diu,
1536.Death of
Bahadur,
1536.Muhammad II.
(Asir),
1536.

inferior to the Mughals. Bahadur Sháh, unaccustomed to defeat, lost heart and fled to Mándu, which fortress was speedily taken by Humáyún. From Mándu the king fled to Chámpáner, and finally took refuge in Diu. Chámpáner fell to Humáyún, and the whole of Gujarát, except Sorath, came under his rule. At this time Sher Sháh Súr revolted, in Bihár and Jaunpur, and Humáyún returned to Agra to oppose him leaving his brother Hindál Mirza in Ahmedsháh, Kásum Beg in Broach, and Yádgár Násir Mirza in Pátan. As soon as Humáyún departed, the country rose against the Mughals, and his old nobles requested the king to join them. Bahadur joined them, and, defeating the Mughals at Kanij near Mahmúdábád, expelled them from Gujarát. During Humáyún's time of success Bahadur Sháh, being forced to court the Portuguese, had granted them leave to erect a factory in Diu. Instead of a factory the Portuguese built a fort. When he recovered his kingdom, Bahadur, repenting of his alliance with the Portuguese, went to Sorath to persuade an army of Portuguese, whom he had asked to come to his assistance, to return to Goa. When the Portuguese arrived at Diu five or six thousand strong the Sultán hoping to get rid of them by stratagem, repaired to Diu and endeavoured to get the viceroy into his power. The viceroy excused himself, and in return invited the king to visit his ship. Bahadur agreed, and on his way back was attacked and slain, in the thirty-first year of his life and the eleventh of his reign. According to the author of the *Mirát-i-Sikandari* the reason of Bahadur's assassination was that a paper from him to the kings of the Dakhan, inviting them to join him in an alliance against the Portuguese, had fallen into the hands of the Portuguese viceroy. Whatever may have been the provocation or the intention, the result seems to show that while both sides had treacherous designs neither party was able to carry out his original plan, and the end was unpremeditated, hurried on by mutual suspicions.¹ Up to the defeat of Sultán Bahadur by Humáyún, the power of Gujarát was at its height. Cadets of noble Rájput houses, Prithiraj, the nephew of Rána Sanga of Chitor, and Narsingh Deva the cousin of the Rája of Gwálior, were proud to enrol themselves as the Sultán's vassals. The Rája of Baglana readily gave Bahadur Sháh his daughter. Jám Firáz of Tatta in Sindh and the sons of Bahúlál Lodhi were suppliants at his court. Málwa was a dependency of Gujarát and the Nizám Sháh of Ahmednagar and Nasir Khan of Burhánpur acknowledged him as overlord, while the Fárúkís of Khándesh were dependent on Bahadur's constant help.²

On the death of king Bahadur in A.D. 1536, the nobles of Gujarát invited his sister's son Muhammad Sháh Asiri to succeed him. Muhammad Sháh died shortly after his accession, and the nobles conferred the crown on Mahmúd Khán, son of Latíf Khán, brother of Bahadur Sháh, and he ascended the throne in A.D. 1536, when only eleven years of age. The government of the country was carried on by Darya Khán and Imád-ul-Mulk, who kept the king under

¹ A detailed account of the death of Sultán Bahadur is given in the Appendix.
² *Mirát-i-Sikandari* Persian Text, 233. Compare *Farsihtab*, II, 427.

strict surveillance. Darya Khán resolved to overthrow Imád-ul-Mulk and acquire supreme power. With this object he obtained an order from the king, whom, on the pretence of a hunting expedition, he removed from Ahmedábád, directing Imád-ul-Mulk to retire to his estates in Jhaláwáda. Six months later, taking the Sultan with him, Darya Khán led an army into Jhaláwáda, and defeating Imád-ul-Mulk in a battle at Pátri, fifty two miles west of Ahmedábád, pursued him to Burhánpur, and there defeated Imád-ul-Mulk's ally the ruler of Khándesh and forced Imád-ul-Mulk to fly to Malwa.¹ After this success Darya Khán became absorbed in pleasure, and resigned the management of the kingdom to Alam Khán Lodhi. The king, dissembling his dissatisfaction at the way he was treated, pretended to take no interest in affairs of state. Alam Khán Lodhi, seeing the carelessness of Darya Khán, began to entertain ambitious designs, and retiring to his estate of Dhandhúka invited the king to join him. Mahmúd Sháh, believing him to be in earnest, contrived to escape from surveillance and joined Alam Khán. On discovering the king's flight, Darya Khán raised to the throne a descendant of Ahmed Sháh by the title of Muzaffar Sháh, and striking coin in his name set out with an army towards Dhandhúka. Alam Khán and the king met him at Dhúr in Dholka, and a battle was fought in which Mahmúd and Alam Khán were defeated. The king fled to Ránpur, and thence to Páliád, while Alam Khán fled to Sádra. Darya Khán occupied Dhandhúka; but his men, dissatisfied at being placed in opposition to the king, rapidly deserted, some joining Alam Khán and some Mahmúd Sháh. Soon after the king joined Alam Khán and marched on Ahmedábád, whither Darya Khán had preceded them. The citizens closed the gates against Darya Khán, but he forced an entry by way of the Burhánpur wicket. Hearing of the king's approach Darya Khán fled to Mubárak Sháh at Burhánpur, leaving his family and treasure in the fortress of Chámpáner.

The king entered Ahmedábád, and soon after captured Chámpáner. Alam Khán now obtained the recall of Imád-ul-Mulk, who received a grant of Broach and the port of Surat. Shortly afterwards Mahmúd Sháh began to show favour to men of low degree, especially to one Charji, a birdcatcher, whom he ennobled by the title of Muháfiz Khán. Charji counselled Mahmúd to put to death Sultan Alá-ud-dín Lodhi and Shujáát Khán, two of the principal nobles; and the king, without consulting his ministers, caused these men to be executed. The nobles joining together besieged Mahmúd Sháh in his palace, and demanded that Muháfiz Khán should be surrendered to them, but the king refused to give him up. The nobles then demanded an audience, and this the king granted, Muháfiz Khán, though warned of his danger, being foolishly present. On entering the royal presence Alam Khán signalled to his followers to slay Muháfiz, and he was killed in spite of the king's remonstrances. Mahmúd then attempted to kill himself, but was prevented and placed under guard, and the chief nobles took it in turn to watch him. Strife soon arose between Alam Khán and Mujáhid

Chapter II.

Ahmedábád
Kings.

A.D. 1493-1572.

Mahmúd II.
1536-1554.Escapes from
Control.Chooses Evil
Favourites.¹ Mirát-i-Sikandari, Persian Text, 392.

Chapter II.

Ahmedabad
Kings.

A.D. 1403-1573.

Mahmūd II.
1536-1554.Quarrels among
the Nobles.

Khān and his brother, and the two latter nobles contrived the king's escape and sacked the houses of Alam Khān and his followers. Alam Khān escaped to Pethāpur in the Mahi Kāntha. He then joined Darya Khān, whom he called from the Dakhan, and obtained help in money from Imād-ul-Mulk of Surat and from Alp Khān of Dholka. Imād-ul-Mulk wrote to the Sultān asking forgiveness for the rebels. But before the Sultān, who was mercifully disposed, could grant them pardon, Alam Khān and Darya Khān again committed themselves by acts of open revolt. The Sultān displeased with the part Imād-ul-Mulk had taken in the rising summoned him to Champāner where, with the Sultān's connivance, his camp was given over to pillage. The Sultān disclaimed all knowledge of this attack and at Imād-ul-Mulk's request allowed him to go on pilgrimage to Makkah. In A.D. 1545 as he was preparing to start for Makkah Imād-ul-Mulk was killed. He was succeeded in Surat by Khudāwand Khān Rūmi, who had held Surat under him, and who, in spite of Portuguese opposition and intrigue, had five years before completed the building of Surat Castle.¹ Meanwhile Alam Khān and Darya Khān were driven from Gujarāt and forced to take shelter with the sovereign of Dehli. The king now appointed as his own minister Afzal Khān, the minister of the late Bahādur Shāh, and though Afzal Khān lived in retirement, his counsel was taken on measures of importance. Other great nobles were Sayad Mubārak, Fateh Khān Baloch, and Abdul Karīm Khān, who received the title of Itimād Khān, and was so entirely in the Sultān's confidence that he was admitted to the harem. Mahmūd now consulted Asif Khān as to the propriety of conquering Mālwa. Asif Khān advised him rather to deprive the Rājput chiefs and proprietors of their *wintas* or hereditary lands. The attempt to follow this advice stirred to resistance the chief men of Idar, Sirohi, Dūngarpur, Bānsvāda, Lūnāvāda, Rājpipla, Dohad, and the banks of the Mahi. The king strengthened his line of outposts, establishing one at Sirohi and another at Idar, besides fresh posts in other places. At the same time he began to persecute the Hindus, allowing them to be killed on the slightest pretence, branding Rājputs and Kolis, forcing them to wear a red rag on the right sleeve, forbidding them to ride in Ahmedabad, and punishing the celebration of Holi and Diwālī.² In A.D. 1554 Burhān, a servant of the king's, conceived the idea of killing him and reigning in his stead. He accordingly gave his master an intoxicating drug, and when he was overcome with sleep stabbed him to the heart. Then summoning the principal nobles in the king's name, he put to death Asaf Khān the prime minister and twelve others, and endeavoured to have himself accepted as Sultān. No one aided him; even his

Disturbances,
1545.Death of
Mahmūd,
1561.

¹ A poet of the time, Mulla Muhammad of Astarābād, enshrined the date H. 947 (A.D. 1540) in the words:

SADD BUWAD BAR NINAH-O-JANAI FIRANGI IN DINAI.

May this fabric prove like a pillar on the breast
and the life of the Frank.

Farishtah, II. 447. The letter values that make 947 are: S=60, d=4, b=2, w=6, d=4, b=2, r=200, z=60, y=10, n=50, h=5, w=6, f=3, a=1, n=50, f=80, r=200, n=50, p=20, y=10, a=1, y=10, n=50, b=2, n=50, c=1, y=10. Total 947.

² Mirāt-i-Sikandari, Persian Text, 328-27.

accomplices deserted him. Imād-ul-Mulk Rūmī,¹ Ulugh Khān, and others joined to oppose him, and when marching against them he was cut down by Shirwān Khān. Mahmūd's persecutions had raised such bitter hate among the Hindus, that they regarded Burhān as a saviour, and after Burhān's death are said to have made a stone image of him and worshipped it.² Mahmūd moved his capital from Ahmedābād to Mehmudābād, eighteen miles south of Ahmedābād where he built a palace and enclosed a deer park. At each corner of the park he raised a palace the stone walls and ceilings of which were ornamented with beautiful and precious gold traceries and arabesques.³ His strict regard for public morals led him to forbid Muhammadan women visiting saints' tombs as the practice gave rise to irregularities. He died at the age of twenty-eight after a reign of eighteen years.

On the death of Burhān, the nobles elected as sovereign a descendant of the stock of Ahmed Shāh of the name of Ahmed Khān, and proclaimed him king by the title of Ahmed Shāh II. At the same time they agreed that, as the king was young, Itimād Khān should carry on the government and they further divided the country among themselves, each one undertaking to protect the frontiers and preserve the public peace. Mubārak Shāh of Khāndesh, considering this a good opportunity, preferred a claim to the crown and marched to the frontier. An army led by the chief Gujarāt nobles and accompanied by the young king met the invaders at the village of Rāmpur Kotriā in Broach, the Gujarāt army encamping on the north bank and the Khāndesh army on the south bank of the Narmada. Nāsir-ul-Mulk, one of the Gujarāt nobles, taking certain of his friends into his confidence, determined to remain neutral till the battle was over and then to fall on the exhausted troops and possess himself of both kingdoms. Sayad Mubārak, a descendant of the saint Shāhi Alam, who led the van of the Gujarāt army, becoming aware of Nāsir-ul-Mulk's design opened communications with Mubārak Shāh of Khāndesh and induced him to withdraw.⁴ Nāsir-ul-Mulk, who still aspired to supreme power, gaining several nobles to his side near Baroda, surprised and defeated the forces of Itimād Khān and Sayad Mubārak. The Sayad withdrew to his estate of Kapadvanj and he was joined by Itimād Khān, while Nāsir-ul-Mulk, taking Sultān Ahmed with him to Ahmedābād, assumed the entire government of the country. After a short time he assembled an army and marched against Sayad Mubārak and Itimād Khān encamping at Kamand, the village now called Od Kāmod, ten miles north-east of Ahmedābād at the head of 50,000 horse. Itimād feared to attack so

Chapter II. Ahmedābād Kings.

A.D. 1403-1373.

Mahmūd II.
1336-1364.

Ahmed II.
1364-1361.
Itimād Khān
Regent.

¹ This Imād-ul-Mulk is different from the Imād-ul-Mulk mentioned above (page 258) as receiving a grant of Broach and Surat. The latter had before this retired to Fursat, and was killed there in A.D. 1345. (Bird, 266.) Imād-ul-Mulk II. who attacked Burhān, was originally called Malik Arslān (Bird, 272). He is also called the leader of the Turks and Rūmī. This Imād-ul-Mulk Rūmī, who was the father of Changiz Khān, was ultimately killed in A.D. 1360 at Surat by his own son-in-law Khudawand or Ikhtiyār Khān.

² Mirāt-i-Sikandari, Persian Text, 326-27.

³ This seems to be the palace referred to in the *Tahkāt-i-Akbari* (Sir Henry Elliot's History of India, V. 389). After his second settlement of Gujarāt (A.D. 1373, H. 981) Akbar left Ahmedābād for Mehmudābād and resided in the lofty and fine palace of Sultān Mahmūd of Gujarāt.

⁴ Mirāt-i-Sikandari, Persian Text, 332.

Chapter II.

Ahmedabad
Kings.

A.D. 1403-1573.

Ahmed II.
1554-1561.Partition of
the Province.

strong a force. But Sayad Mubarak, who knew of the defection of Ulugh Khan and Imad-ul-Mulk, surprised Nasir-ul-Mulk's army at night. During the confusion Ulugh Khan and Imad-ul-Mulk, disgusted with the assumption of Nasir-ul-Mulk, deserted him and bringing the young Sultan with them joined Sayad Mubarak and Itimad Khan. Nasir-ul-Mulk was forced to fly, and after a short time died in the mountains of Pal.¹ Ikhtiyar-ul-Mulk, Fateh Khan Baluch, and Hasan Khan Dakhani now set up another king, a descendant of Ahmed, named Shahu. A battle was fought near Mehmudabad in which Shahu and his supporters were defeated and Hasan Khan Dakhani was slain. Before the battle Fateh Khan Baluch had been induced to forsake Shahu, and Ikhtiyar-ul-Mulk, taking Shahu with him, fled. The nobles now divided Gujarat into the following shares:

Ahmed Shah for Private Purse ...	{ Ahmedabad and the Daskrohi sub-division.
Itimad Khan and Party ...	{ Kadi, Jhalavada, Fildad, Navlud, Bhil, Radhanpur, Sami, Munjpur, Godhra, and Sorath.
Sayad Mubarak and Party ...	{ Patan and Cambay, with its Chodai or 84 villages, Dholka, Gogha, and Dhandhuka, Champner, Sami, Balasiner, and Kapadvanj.
Imad-ul-Mulk Rumi and Party ...	{ Broach, Baroda, and Surat as far as the Sultanpur-Nandurbar frontier.
Nobles under Itimad Khan ...	{ Modasa and surrounding districts.

Of these shares Itimad Khan bestowed the country of Sorath on Tatar Khan Ghor; the districts of Radhanpur, Sami, and Munjpur on Fateh Khan Baluch; Nadiad on Malik-ush-Shark, and some of the dependencies of Jhalavada on Alaf Khan Habshi. Sayad Mubarak conferred the territory of Patan on Musa Khan and Sher Khan Fuladi, Imad-ul-Mulk Rumi bestowed the district of Baroda on Alaf Khan Habshi and the port of Surat on his wife's brother Khudawand Khan Rumi.

Dissensions.

About this time (A.D. 1552) Alam Khan returned, and, through the influence of Sayad Mubarak, was allowed to remain. The Sayad gave him and Azam Humayun Champner, and Itimad Khan gave Godhra to Alp Khan Khatri, a follower of Alam Khan. Alam Khan and Itimad Khan shortly after expelled Alaf Khan Habshi from Jhalavada, and he fled to Imad-ul-Mulk Rumi at Broach, and at his intercession Alaf Khan received the Bhil district. Alam Khan's success tempted him to try and get rid of Itimad Khan and govern in his stead. Itimad Khan, discovering his intention, made him leave the city and live in his own house in the Asawal suburb. Alam Khan now made overtures to Imad-ul-Mulk Rumi and became very friendly with him. One day Alam Khan proposed to get rid of Itimad Khan;

¹ For Pal compare note 2 page 263.

but seeing that Imād-ul Mulk Rāmi did not take to his proposal, he next endeavoured to ruin Sayad Mubārak. But when the Gujarāt army marched against him the Sayad made peace, and Alam Khān's intrigues being apparent, he was attacked and compelled to fly. He now went to Berār and sought aid of Mubārak Shāh, who marched an army towards the Gujarāt frontier. The Gujarāt nobles, taking Ahmed Shāh with them, advanced to oppose him, and he retired. Alam Khān now repaired to Sher Khān Faulādi at Pātan, and they together seized Itimād Khān's district of Kadi, but, through the exertions of Ikhtiyār-ul-Mulk, Alam Khān was slain and Sher Khān forced to retire to Pātan. Imād-ul-Mulk Rāmi and Itimād Khān now carried on the government, but dissension springing up between them, Itimād Khān fled to Mubārak Shāh in Khāndesh, and induced him to lead an army against Gujarāt. The nobles, fearing this combination, made peaceful overtures and it was eventually settled that the lands of Sultānpur and Nandurbār should be given to Mubārak Shāh, and that Itimād Khān should be restored to his former position. Since this date the districts of Sultānpur and Nandurbār have been permanently severed from Gujarāt and have formed a part of Khāndesh, to which province they now belong. Ahmed Shāh, finding himself more strictly guarded than ever, contrived to flee to Sayad Mubārak at Sayadpur, who, though vexed at his coming, would not refuse him shelter. At this time Hājī Khān, a Dehli noble, on his way from Chitor to help Humāyūn, passed through Gujarāt with a well equipped force, and arrived at Pātan. The Gujarāt nobles, especially Itimād Khān and Imād-ul-Mulk Rāmi, conceiving that he came at the Sayad's invitation, and that the flight of the king was part of the plot, determined to crush the Sayad ere Hājī Khān could join him, and on their march to Sayadpur meeting Sayad Mubārak near Mehmūdābād defeated him. The Sayad fell and was buried on the field of battle. His estates were resumed, though eventually Dholka was restored to his son Sayad Mirān.

The army and the two protectors returned to Ahmedābād. Dissensions again sprang up between them, and Imād-ul-Mulk Rāmi summoned to his aid his son Changiz Khān from Broach, while Itimād Khān sent for Tātār Khān Ghorī from Sorath. Tātār Khān arrived first and Itimād Khān further strengthened by contingents from the Faulādis of Pātan and Fateh Khān Balūch from Rādhanpur ordered Imād-ul-Mulk Rāmi to return to his estate; and he, seeing it would be useless for him to contend against so overwhelming a force, retired to his possessions at Broach. Shortly after, having marched against Surat at the request of the inhabitants who were wearied of the tyranny of Khudāwand Khān, he was decoyed by that chief to an entertainment and was there assassinated. His son Changiz Khān marched against Surat to take vengeance for his father's death, and, finding the fortress too strong for him, summoned to his aid the Portuguese, to whom, as the price of their assistance, he surrendered the districts of Daman and Sanjān.¹ The Portuguese, bringing a strong

Chapter II.

Ahmedābād
Kings.

A.D. 1403-1573.

Ahmed II.
1554-1561.Sultānpur and
Nandurbār
banded to
Khāndesh,
1580.Defeat and
Death of Sayad
Mubārak.Death of Imād-
ul-Mulk Rāmi.Daman District
ceded to the
Portuguese,
1590.

¹ The fort of Daman was taken by the Portuguese in A.D. 1530, and, according to Portuguese accounts (Faria y Souza in Kerr's Voyages, VI, 413) the country round was

Chapter II.

Ahmedābād
Kings.

A.D. 1403-1573.

Ahmed II.
1554-1561.Assassinated,
1560.Muzaffar III.
1561-1572.
A Minor.

fleet up the Tāpti, cut off the supplies, and Khudāwand Khān was forced to surrender, and was slain by Changiz Khān in revenge for his father's death. Shortly afterwards Changiz Khān quarrelled with Jhujhār Khān Habshi of Baroda because the Habshi had installed his nephew, son of Alif Khān Habshi, without consulting Changiz. Jhujhār and his nephew being defeated fled to Itimād Khān, who allotted them a grant of land. At this time Fateh Khān Balūch, the proprietor of Rādhanpur and Sami, was Itimād Khān's chief supporter, and with his assistance Itimād Khān marched to besiege Changiz Khān in Broach. Tātār Khān Ghori and other nobles, fearing lest Itimād Khān should become too powerful, endeavoured to make peace. As their efforts failed, Tātār Khān wrote to the Faulādis to attack Fateh Khān Balūch. They did so, and Fateh Khān, after being defeated near Rādhanpur, took refuge in the fort of Fatehkot or Dhūlkot, which is close to the town. Itimād Khān raised the siege of Broach and came to Ahmedābād, where he busied himself in checking the intrigues of king Ahmed, who was doing all in his power to become independent. Finally, in A.D. 1560-61, at the instigation of Wajih-ul-Mulk and Razi-ul-Mulk Itimād Khān caused Ahmed II. to be assassinated. The murder took place in the house of Wajih-ul-Mulk. The Sultan's body was thrown on the sands of the Sāharmati and the story circulated that the Sultan had been killed by robbers. Ahmed's nominal reign had lasted about eight years.

Itimād Khān then raised to the throne a youth, whom he styled Muzaffar Shāh III., and who, he asserted, was a posthumous son of Mahmūd Shāh,¹ and then marched towards Pātan to take his revenge on the Faulādis for their attack on Fateh Khān Balūch. The nobles unwilling to crush the Faulādis, fearing lest their turn might come next, entered into secret correspondence with them, and withdrew when battle was joined. The nobles were now independent in their respective *jagirs*, in which according to the *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* they allowed no interference though still owing nominal allegiance to the throne.² Itimād Khān, forced to return unsuccessful to Ahmedābād, with a view of again attacking the Faulādis, summoned Tātār Khān Ghori from Jūnāgadh. The nobles remained aloof, and even Tātār

annexed by them in 1558. According to a statement in Birl's History, 128, the districts surrendered by Changiz Khān contained 700 towns (villages) yielding a yearly revenue of £130,000 (Rs. 43,00,000). Sarjan, since known as St. John's Head (north latitude 20° 13', east longitude 72° 47'), between Daman and Bassin, seems to be one of the two Sindāns, the other being in Kachh, mentioned by the ninth to twelfth century Arab geographers. According to Idrisi (Jaubert's Edition, 172) the mainland Sindian was a great town with a large import and export trade and well peopled with rich warlike and industrious inhabitants. Idrisi's (Elliot, I. 85) notice of an island of the same name to the east is perhaps a confused reference to the Kachh Sindān which is generally supposed to be the Sindān of the Arab geographers. In A.D. 842, Sindān then a city of some size, is mentioned by Al-Bilāduri (Reinaud's Fragments, 216-317) as having been taken by a Muslim slave Fasl son of Mahan. This Fasl is related to have sent an elephant from Sindān to the Khalifah Al-Muazzin the Abbasi (A.D. 813-833) and to have built an Assembly Mosque at Sindān. (Al-Bilāduri in Elliot, I. 129.)

¹ According to Abul Fasl (Akbarnāma, III. 404; Elliot, V. 730) Muzaffar was a base-born boy of the name of Nathu.

² *Tabakat-i-Akbari* in Elliot's India, V. 339 note 2.

Khān Ghori made excuses, which so exasperated Itīmād Khān that he sought to slay him. Tātār Khān escaped to Sorath, and there openly sided with the Faulādis. Sayad Mirān also left Ahmedābād for his estate at Dholka, and joining Tātār Khān at Rānpur they both went over to the Faulādis at Pātan. Meanwhile Itīmād Khān, again collecting an army, marched once more towards Pātan. He was met by the Faulādis near the village of Jhotānī, about thirty miles south of Pātan, where he was defeated and compelled to return to Ahmedābād. Sayad Mirān now intervened and made peace. Itīmād Khān still thirsting for revenge on the Faulādis, invited Changiz Khān, son of Imād-ul-Mulk Rūmī, to the capital, and by courteous treatment induced him to join in another expedition against the Faulādis. Like the other nobles Changiz Khān was lukewarm; and as Mūsā Khān Faulādi died while Itīmād Khān was marching on Pātan, Changiz Khān assigned this as a reason for not proceeding further, averring that it was not fit to war with people in misfortune. Itīmād Khān perforce returned to Ahmedābād.

Though Itīmād Khān had disgusted the nobles, both by causing the assassination of Ahmed Shāh and by his enmity with the Faulādis, as he had charge of Muzaffar Shāh and possession of the capital, the government of the country was in his hands. At this time the Mīrzās,¹ who were the sons of Sultān Hussain of Khurāsān, quarrelling with Jalāl-ul-dīn Muhammad Akbar, entered Gujarāt, and joined Changiz Khān. Changiz Khān now proposed to Sher Khān Faulādi that they should expel Itīmād Khān and divide Gujarāt between them, the capital and the country south of the Sābarmati falling to the share of Changiz Khān, and that to the north to Sher Khān Faulādi. Sher Khān agreed, and Changiz Khān joining him they marched on Ahmedābād. Sayad Mirān induced Sher Khān to stay in Kadi. But Changiz Khān refused to listen to him, and a battle was fought between him, Itīmād Khān, and the Sayad on the right bank of the Khari about eight miles south of Ahmedābād. Itīmād Khān was defeated, and fled with the king to Modāsa, while Changiz Khān took possession of the capital. Sher Khān Faulādi now advanced to the Sābarmati, and, after dividing the province as had been agreed, Sher Khān retired to Kadi. Itīmād Khān entreated Mirān Muhammad Shāh, king of Khāndesh, to march to his aid, and Changiz Khān invited Itīmād Khān to return. He came to Mehmudābād, where hearing that Muhammad Shāh had sustained a defeat and retired to his own country, he took Muzaffar Shāh with him and returned through Modāsa to Dungarpur. Changiz Khān remained in Ahmedābād, and Sher Khān withdrew to Kadi. After this success all the chief nobles of Gujarāt, including the Habshis, joined Changiz Khān, who was now at the zenith of his power, and began to think of subduing Sher Khān Faulādi,

Chapter II. Ahmedābād Kings.

A.D. 1403-1573.

Muzaffar III.
1561-1572.

Itīmād Khān and
the Faulādis.

The Mīrzās,
1571.

They Defeat
Itīmād Khān.

¹ These Mīrzās were the great grandsons of a Muhammad Sultān Mirza, the ruler of Khurāsān, who, on being driven out of his dominions, sought refuge in India. This prince and his family on the ground of their common descent from Taimūr, were entertained first by Bābar (A.D. 1526-1531), and afterwards by Humāyūn (A.D. 1531-1556). Before this quarrel Akbar had treated the Mīrzās with great honour. Elliot's History, VI. 122.

Chapter II.

Ahmedabad

Kings.

A.D. 1408-1572.

Muzaffar III.

1561-1572.

Death
of Changiz
Khán.

who on his part was anxious and fearful. At this time Bijli Khán a Habshi eunuch who was offended with Changiz Khán, because he had resumed the grant of Cambay, persuaded Alif Khán and Jhujhár Khán Habshi that Changiz Khán had determined to kill them. The Habshi Kháns, resolving to be beforehand, invited Changiz Khán, with whom they were intimate, to play a game of *changán* or polo.¹ Changiz agreed and when near the Farhat-ul-Mulk mosque, between the Bhadar and the Three Gates, Alif Khán, after making Jhujhár Khán a signal, attracted Changiz Khán's notice to the horse on which he was riding saying it was the best of the last batch imported from the Persian Gulf. As Changiz Khán turned to look at the horse, Jhujhár Khán cut him down. The Habshis now plundered Changiz Khán's house, while the Mirzá's, mounting, went south and took possession of Broach, Baroda, and Chámpáner. Sher Khán advanced from Kadi, and ordered the Habshis to hand him over Ahmedabad. While treating with him the Habshis secretly summoned Itimád Khán, who, returning with Muzaffar Sháh, entered the city. It was arranged that Itimád Khán should take the place of Changiz Khán, and that the division of Gujarát between Changiz Khán and Sher Khán should be maintained. Itimád Khán found the Habshis so domineering that he withdrew from public affairs. Afterwards Alaf Khán and Jhujhár Khán, quarrelling over the division of Changiz Khán's property, Alaf Khán left Ahmedabad and joined Sher Khan, who, advancing from Kadi, laid siege to Ahmedabad. Itimád Khán now sought aid from the Mirzá's, and Mirza Ibrahim Husain marched from Broach and harassed Sher Khán's army with his Mughal archers.

Itimád Khán
and the
Emperor Akbar,
1572.

At the same time Itimád Khán turned for help to the emperor Akbar, who, glad of any pretext for driving the Mirzá's from their place of refuge in Gujarát, was not slow in availing himself of Itimád Khán's proposal. Early in July 1572 he started for Ahmedabad, and with his arrival in the province, the history of Gujarát as a separate kingdom comes to an end.

¹ The modern game of polo. Lane in his translation of the *Thamasni and One Nights* (I. 76, 1883 Edition) calls it the golf-stick, but the nature of the game described there does not in any way differ from polo. *Changán* is the Persian and *As-sá'ib-ul-kurá* the Arabic name for the game.

CHAPTER III.

MUGHAL VICEROYS.

A.D. 1573-1758.

To the nobles thus fighting among themselves, news was brought that the emperor Akbar was at Dīsā. Ibrāhīm Husain Mīrza returned to Broach and the army of the Faulādīs dispersed. From Dīsā the imperial troops advanced to Pātan and thence to Jhotāna thirty miles south of Pātan. Sultān Muzaffar, who had separated from the Faulādīs, fell into the hands of the emperor, who granted him his life but placed him under charge of one of his nobles named Karām Allī.¹ When the imperial army reached Kadi, Itimād Khān, Ikhtiyār Khān, Alaf Khān, and Jhujhār Khān met Akbar and Sayad Hāmīd also was honoured with an audience at Hājipur.² The emperor imprisoned Alaf Khān and Jhujhār Khān Habsht and encouraged the other Gujarāt nobles. Ikhtiyār-ul-Mulk now fled to Lumāvāda, and the emperor, fearing that others of the Gujarāt nobles might follow his example, sent Itimād Khān to Cambay and placed him under the charge of Shahbīz Khān Kambo.³ From Ahmedābād Akbar advanced to Cambay. At this time Ibrāhīm Mīrza held Baroda, Muhammad Husain Mīrza held Surat, and Shāh Mīrza held Chāmpānōr. On leaving Cambay to expel the Mīrzas, Akbar appointed Mīrza Azīz Kokaltash his first viceroy of Gujarāt. At Baroda Akbar heard that Ibrāhīm Mīrza had treacherously killed Rustam Khān Rūmī, who was Changīz Khān's governor of Broach. The emperor recalled the detachment he had sent against Surat, and overtaking the Mīrza at Sarnāl or Thāra on the right bank of the Mahi about twenty-three miles north-east of Nadiād, after a bloody conflict routed him. The Mīrza fled by Ahmednagar to Sirohi, and Akbar rejoined his camp at Baroda. The emperor now sent a force under Shāh Kuli Khān to invest the fort of Surat, and following in person pitched his camp at Gopi Tālah, a suburb of that city. After an obstinate defence of one month and seventeen days, the garrison under Hamzabān, a slave of Humāyūn's who had joined the Mīrzas, surrendered. Hamzabān was in treaty with the Portuguese. Under his invitation a large party of Portuguese came to

Chapter III.

Mughal
Viceroys.Akbar
Emperor.
1573-1605.

¹ The emperor Akbar took Muzaffar Shāh with him to Agra, and settled on him the districts of Sarangpur and Ujjain in Malwa with a revenue of Rs. 29,00,000 (50 *lakh* of *tanahs*) (Elliot, V. 323). When Mun'im Khān Khān Khānda was going to Bengal, the emperor made Muzaffar over to him. Mun'im Khān gave his daughter Shāhshāh Khānam in marriage to Muzaffar, but shortly afterwards having reason to suspect him imprisoned him, whence Muzaffar finding an opportunity fled to Gujarāt in A.D. 1581 (H. 989) according to Farishtah (II. 499), 1583 according to the Mirāt-i-Sikandari.

² Both the Tabakāt-i-Akbari (Elliot, V. 312) and Farishtah (I. 491) name four other nobles Mir Abu Turāb, Sayad Ahmad Būkhārī, Malik Ashraf, and Wajih-ul-Mulk. The Sayad Ahmad of these two writers is a misprint for the Sayad Hāmīd of the text.

³ Mirāt-i-Sikandari, 415; Tabakāt-i-Akbari in Elliot, V. 343.

Chapter III.

Mughal
Viceroy.

Akbar
Emperor,
1573-1605.
Akbar captures
Broach and
Surat, and
advances to
Ahmedabad,
1573.

Surat during the siege, but seeing the strength of the imperial army, represented themselves as ambassadors and besought the honour of an interview.¹ While at Surat the emperor received from Bihār or Vihārjī the Rāja of Baglāna, Sharfuddin Husain Mirza whom the Rāja had captured.² After the capture of Surat, the emperor ordered the great Sulaimāni cannon which had been brought by the Turks with the view of destroying the Portuguese forts and left by them in Surat, to be taken to Agra. Surat was placed in the charge of Kalij Khān. The emperor now advanced to Ahmedābād, where the mother of Changiz Khān came and demanded justice on Jhujhār Khān for having wantonly slain her son. As her complaint was just, the emperor ordered Jhujhār Khān to be thrown under the feet of an elephant. Muhammad Khān, son of Sher Khān Faulādī, who had fled to the Idār hills, now returned and took the city of Pātan, besieging the imperial governor, Sayad Ahmed Khān Bārha, in the citadel. At this time Mirza Muhammad Husain was at Rānpūr near Dhaudhūka. When Sher Khān Faulādī, who had taken refuge in Sorath, heard of Muhammad Khān's return to Pātan, he met Mirza Muhammad Husain, and uniting their forces they joined Muhammad Khān at Pātan. The viceroy Mirza Aziz Kokaltāsh with other nobles marched against them, and after a hard-fought battle, in which several of the imperial nobles were slain, Mirza Aziz Kokaltāsh was victorious. Sher Khān again took refuge in Sorath, and his son fled for safety to the Idār hills, while the Mirza withdrew to the Khāndesh frontier. As the conquest of Gujarāt was completed, Akbar returned to Agra.

From A.D. 1573, the date of its annexation as a province of the empire, to A.D. 1758, the year of the final capture of Ahmedābād by the Marāthās, Gujarāt remained under the government of officers appointed by the court of Delhi. Like the rule of the Ahmedābād kings, this term of 184 years falls into two periods: the first of 134 years from A.D. 1573 to the death of Aurangzib in A.D. 1707, a time on the whole of public order and strong government; the second from A.D. 1707 to A.D. 1758, fifty-one years of declining power and growing disorder.

SECTION I.—A.D. 1573-1707.

Mirza Aziz
First Viceroy,
1573-1575.

Before leaving Gujarāt Akbar placed the charge of the province in the hands of Mirza Aziz Kokaltāsh.³ At the same time the emperor rewarded his supporters by grants of land, assigning Ahmedābād with Pitlād and several other districts to the viceroy Mirza Aziz, Pātan to the Khān-i-Kalān Mir Muhammad Khān, and Baroda to Nawāb Anrang Khān. Broach was given to Kutb-ud-din Muhammad, and Dholka Khānpur and Sami were confirmed to Sayad Hāmīd and Sayad Mahmūd Bukhārī. As soon as the emperor was gone Ikhtiyār-ul-

¹ These details of the Surat expedition are taken from the *Tabākat-i-Akbari* in Elliot, V. 343-346 and Abū Fasl's *Akbar-nāmah* in Elliot, VI. 42.

² The emperor Jehāngir in his *Diary* (*Tuzuk-i-Jehāngiri*, Persian Text, Sir Sayad Ahmed's Edition, page 196) says that Bihārjī or Vihārjī was the hereditary title of the chiefs of Baglān. The personal name of the Baglān Bihārjī of his time was Partāp.

³ According to the *Ain-i-Akbari* (Blochmann, I. 325) the province of Gujarāt over which the Kokaltāsh was placed did not pass further south than the river Mahi.

Mulk and Muhammad Khán, son of Sher Khán, who had taken shelter in the Idar hills, issued forth, and the viceroy marched to Ahmednagar to hold them in check. Mirza Muhammad Husain advancing rapidly from the Nandurbár frontier, took the fort of Broach, and went thence to Cambay which he found abandoned by its governor Husain Khán Karkaráh, while he himself marched to Ahmednagar and Idar against Ikhtiyár-ul-Mulk. The viceroy ordered Sayad Hámíd Bukhári, Nawab Naurang Khán, and others to join Kutb-ud-din Muhammad Khán. They went and laid siege to Cambay, but Mirza Muhammad managed to evacuate the town and join Ikhtiyár-ul-Mulk and Muhammad Khán. After several unsuccessful attempts to scatter the enemy the viceroy retired to Ahmedábád, and the rebels laid siege to the city. Kutb-ud-din Khán, Sayad Mirán, and others of the imperial party succeeded in entering the city and joining the garrison. After the siege had lasted two months, Akbar, making his famous 600 mile (400 *kos*) march in nine days from Agra, arrived before Ahmedábád, and, at once engaging the enemy, totally defeated them with the loss of two of their leaders Mirza Muhammad Husain and Ikhtiyár-ul-Mulk.

On the day before the battle Akbar consulting a Hazára Afghán versed in drawing omens from sheep's shoulder-blades, was told that victory was certain, but that it would be won at the cost of the life of one of his nobles. Seif Khán, brother of Zein Khán Koka, coming in prayed that he should be chosen to receive the crown of martyrdom. At the end of the day the only leading noble that was killed was Seif Khán.¹

After only eleven days' stay, Akbar again entrusting the government of Gujarát to Mirza Áziz Koka, returned to Agra. Mirza Áziz Koka did not long continue viceroy. In A.D. 1575, in consequence of some dispute with the emperor, he retired into private life. On his resignation Akbar conferred the post of viceroy on Mirza Khán, son of Behráin Khán, who afterwards rose to the high rank of Khán Khánán or chief of the nobles. As this was Mirza Khán's first service, and as he was still a youth, he was ordered to follow the advice of the deputy viceroy, Wazír Khán, in whose hands the administration of the province remained during the two following years. Soon after the insurrection of 1573 was suppressed the emperor sent Raja Todar Mal to make a survey settlement of the province. In A.D. 1575 after the survey was completed Wajih-ul-Mulk Gujaráti was appointed *diwán* or minister. Some historians say that in A.D. 1576 Wazír Khán relieved Mirza Áziz Koka as viceroy, but according to the Mirát-i-

Chapter III.

Mughal
Viceroys.

Akbar,
Emperor,
1573-1605.
Mirza Áziz
First Viceroy,
1573-1575.

Insurrection
Quelled by
Akbar,
1573.

Mirza Khán
Second Viceroy,
1575-1577.

Survey by Raja
Todar Mal.

¹ Tuzki Jahángíri or Jahangír's Memoirs, Pers. Text, Sayad Ahmad Khán's Edition page 10. For Akbar's march compare *Tabakát-i-Akbari* in Elliot, V. 365 and Blochman's *Alin-i-Akbari*, I. 325 and note. The *Mirát-i-Ahmadi* (Pers. Text, 121) records these further details: When starting from his last camp Akbar began to mount his horse on the day of the battle that took place near Ahmedábád. The royal steed unable to bear the weight of the hero laden with the spirit of victory sat down. Raja Bhagwandas Kachwádh ran up to the rather embarrassed emperor and offered him his congratulations saying: This, your Majesty, is the surest sign of victory. There are also two further signs: the wind blows from our back and the kites and vultures accompany our host.

Chapter III.

Mughal
Viceroys.

Akbar
Emperor,
1573-1605.
Mirza Khus
Second Viceroy,
1575-1577.

Ahmedī Mirza Khān held office with Wazīr Khān as his deputy. One Prāgāśis, a Hindu, succeeded Wajih-ul-Mulk as *diwan*. Troops were sent to reduce the Nāndod and Idar districts, and the fort of Sirohi was captured by Tarsu Khān, the military governor of Pātan. Afterwards, through the intervention of Pahār Khān Jālori, the Sirohi Rāja, at an interview with Rāja Todar Mal, presented £3000 (Rs. 12,000) and other articles and was allowed to serve the provincial governor of Gujarāt with 1500 horse.

During Wazīr Khān's administration Muzaffar Husain Mirza, son of Ibrāhīm Husain Mirza, raised an insurrection in Gujarāt. This Mirza Muzaffar was as an infant carried to the Dakhan from Surat shortly before its investment by Akbar. He lived peacefully till under the influence of an ambitious retainer Mihr Ali by name, he gathered an army of adventurers and entered Nandurbār. Wazīr Khān distrusting his troops shut himself in a fortress, and wrote to Rāja Todar Mal, who was in Pātan settling revenue affairs. The Mirza defeated the imperial forces in Nandurbār and failing to get possession of Cambay marched straight to Ahmedābād. On the advance of Rāja Todar Mal the Mirza fell back on Dhoika. The Rāja and the Khān pursuing defeated him, and he retired to Jūnāgaḍh. The Rāja then withdrew, but the Mirza again advanced and besieged him in Ahmedābād. In an attempt to escalate the city wall Mihr Ali was killed. Muzaffar Mirza withdrew to Khāndesh and the insurrection came to an end.

Shahāb-ud-dīn
Third Viceroy,
1577-1583.

Sends a Force
against
Jūnāgaḍh.

In the end of A.D. 1577, as Wazīr Khān's management was not successful, the post of viceroy was conferred upon Shahāb-ud-dīn Ahmed Khān, the governor of Malwa. Shahāb-ud-dīn's first step was to create new military posts and strengthen the old ones. At this time Fateh Khān Shirwānī, the commander of Amin Khān Ghori's army, quarrelled with his chief, and, coming to Shahāb-ud-dīn, offered to capture the fort of Jūnāgaḍh. Shahāb-ud-dīn entertained his proposal, and sent his nephew Mirza Khān and 4000 horse with him. When the troops crossed the Sorath frontier, they were met by envoys from Amin Khān, agreeing, in his name, to pay tribute and surrender the country, provided he were permitted to retain the fortress of Jūnāgaḍh and were allotted a sufficient grant of land. Mirza Khān rejected these proposals and continued his march against Jūnāgaḍh. Amin Khān made a vigorous resistance and applied for aid to the Jām of Navānagar. At this juncture Fateh Khān died, and Mirza Khān went and besieged Māngrūl. The Jām's minister Isā now joined Amin Khān with 4000 horse, and he, quitting Jūnāgaḍh, marched to Māngrūl.² On their approach Mirza Khān retired to the town of

¹ Tabakat-i-Akbari in Elliot, V. 403.

² Māngrūl (north latitude 21° 8' ; east longitude 70° 10'), a seaport on the south coast of Kathiavāḍa, about twenty miles west of Somnath. This town, which is supposed to be the Meneglossium emporium of Ptolemy (A.D. 150) (see Birl, 115), is spelt Manglār by the Muhammadan historians. Barbosa (A.D. 1511-1514), under the name of Surat-mangalar, calls it a "very good port where many ships from Malabar touch for horses, wheat, rice, cotton goods, and vegetables." In A.D. 1531 the city was taken by the Portuguese general Sylveira with a vast booty and a great number of prisoners (Churchill's Travels, III. 529). It is incidentally mentioned in the Ain-i-Akbari (A.D. 1590). In A.D. 1638 Mandelata describes it as famous for its linen cloth, and in A.D. 1700 it is mentioned by Hamilton (New Account, I. 136) as a place of trade.

Kodinar¹ followed by Amin Khān. Here a pitched battle was fought, and Mirza Khān was defeated with the loss of his baggage. Many of his men were slain, and he himself, being wounded, escaped with difficulty to Ahmedābād. Shahāb-ud-dīn, who had meanwhile been giving his attention to revenue matters, and to the more correct measurement of the lands of the province, was rudely recalled from these peaceful occupations by his nephew's defeat. At the same time news was brought of the escape of the former king, Muzaffar Khān, who, eluding the vigilance of the imperial servants, appeared in Gujarāt in A.D. 1583. Muzaffar remained for some time in the Rājputra country, and thence came to one Lōna or Lūmbha Kāthi, at the village of Khīri in the district of Sardhār in Sorath.

Before he could march against Muzaffar, Shahāb-ud-dīn was recalled, and in A.D. 1583 or 1584² Itimād Khān Gujarātī was appointed viceroy. At this time a party of 700 or 800 Mughals, called Wazīr Khānis, separating from Shahāb-ud-dīn, remained behind in hope of being entertained by the new viceroy. As Itimād Khān declared that he was unable to take them into his service, they went off in a body and joined Muzaffar at Khīri, and he with them and three or four thousand Kāthi horse marched at once on Ahmedābād. On hearing this Itimād Khān, leaving his son Sher Khān in Ahmedābād, followed Shahāb-ud-dīn to Kadi, and entreated him to return. Shahāb-ud-dīn at first affected indifference telling Itimād that as he had given over charge he had no more interest in the province. After two days he consented to return if Itimād stated in writing that the country was on the verge of being lost and that Itimād being unable to hold it was obliged to relinquish charge to Shahāb-ud-dīn. Itimād Khān made the required statement and Shahāb-ud-dīn returned with him.³ Meanwhile Muzaffar Shāh reached Ahmedābād, which was weakly defended, and in A.D. 1583, after a brief struggle, took possession of the city. While the siege of Ahmedābād was in progress Shahāb-ud-dīn and Itimād Khān were returning, and were within a few miles of the city, when news of its capture reached them. They continued their advance, but had barely arrived at Ahmedābād when Muzaffar Shāh totally defeated them taking all their baggage. Seeing the issue of the fight, most of their army went over to Muzaffar Shāh, and the viceroy and Shahāb-ud-dīn with a few men fled to Pātan. Kutb-ud-dīn Muhammad Khān Atikah, one of the imperial commanders, who was on the Khāndesh frontier, now advanced by forced marches to Baroda. Muzaffar marched against him with a large army, recently strengthened by the union of the army of Sayad Daulat ruler of Cambay. Kutb-ud-dīn threw himself into Baroda, and, in spite of the treachery of his troops, defended the city for some time. At last, on Muzaffar's assurance that his life should be spared Kutb-ud-dīn repaired to the enemies' camp to treat for peace. On his arrival he was treated with respect, but next day was treacherously put to death. The fort of Broach was also at this

Chapter III.

Mughal
Viceroys.

Akbar
Emperor,
1573-1605.
SHAHĀB-UD-DĪN
Third Viceroy,
1577-1583.

ITIMĀD KHĀN
GUJARĀTĪ
Fourth Viceroy,
1583-4.

Muzaffar captures
Ahmedābād,
1583.

¹ This has been rendered by Bird, 263, 'the mountain of Dinar,' as if Koh Dīnār.

² H. 1602 (1584 A.C.) according to the *Tabakat-i-Akbari* (Elliot, V. 428).

³ *Mirāt-i-Sikandari*, 422. Compare Blochman's *Ain-i-Akbari*, I. 386.

Chapter III.

Mughal
Viceroys.

Akbar
Emperor,
1572-1605.
MIRZA ABDUR-
RAHIM KHÁN
(KHÁN KHÁNÁN)
Fifth Viceroy
1583-1587.

Defeat
of Muzaffar,
1581.

time traitorously surrendered to Muzaffar by the slaves of the mother of Naurang Khán, fief-holder of the district.

On learning of the Gujarát insurrection the emperor, at the close of A.D. 1583, conferred the government of the province on Mirza Abdúr-Rahim Khán, son of Behrám Khán, who had formerly (A.D. 1575) acted as viceroy. Muzaffar, who was still at Broach, hearing of the advance of the new viceroy with a large army, returned rapidly to Ahmedábad, and in A.D. 1584 fought a pitched battle with Mirza Abdúr-Rahim Khán between Sirkhej and Sháh Bhikan's tomb¹. In this engagement Muzaffar was entirely defeated, and fled to Cambay pursued by Mirza Abdúr-Rahim Khán. Muzaffar now hearing that Mirza Abdúr-Rahim Khán had been joined by Naurang Khán and other nobles with the imperial army from Máliwa, quitted Cambay, and made for his old place of shelter in Rájpipla. Finding no rest in Rájpipla, after fighting and losing another battle in the Rájpipla hills, he fled first to Pátan and then to Ídar, and afterwards again repaired to Lúmbha Káthi in Khiri. In reward for these two victories, the emperor bestowed on Mirza Abdúr-Rahim Khán the title of Khán Khánán. Broach now submitted, and Muzaffar sought shelter with Amín Khán Ghorí at Júnágadh, by whom he was allotted the waste town of Gondal as a residence. Muzaffar made one more attempt to establish his power. He advanced to Morvi, and thence made a raid on Rádhanpúr and plundered that town, but was soon compelled to return to Káthiávada and seek safety in flight. Amín Khán, seeing that his cause was hopeless, on pretence of aiding him, induced Muzaf-

¹ Mirat-i-Fikandari, 426; Farishtah, I. 503; Elliot, V. 434. In honour of this victory the Khán Khánán built, on the site of the battle, a palace and garden enclosing all with a high wall. This which he named Jipur the City of Victory was one of the chief ornaments of Ahmedábad. In November 1613 the English merchant Wittington writes (Kerr's Voyages, IX. 127): A house from Sirkhej is a pleasant house with a large garden all round on the banks of the river which Chou-Chin-Naw (Khán Khánán) built in honour of a great victory over the last king of Gujarát. No person inhabits the house. Two years later (1615) another English merchant Dodsworth (Kerr, IX. 203) describes the field of Victory as strongly walled all round with brick about 1½ miles in circuit all planted with fruit trees and delightfully watered having a costly house called by a name signifying Victory in which Khán Khánán for some time resided. In 1618, the emperor Jehángir (Memoirs Persian Text, 210-213) on his way to Sirkhej visited the Khán-i-Khánán's Bagh-i-Fateh or Garden of Victory which he had built at a cost of two lakhs of rupees ornamenting the garden with buildings and surrounding it with a wall. The natives he notices call it Fateh-Wádí. In 1626 the English traveller Herbert (Travels, 66) writes: Two miles nearer Ahmedábad than Sirkhej are the curious gardens and palace of Khán Khánán where he defeated the last of the Cambay kings and in memory built a stately house and spacious gardens the view whereof worthily attracts the traveller. Mandelato writing in 1638 is still louder in praise of Tachieshtag the Garden of Victory. It is the largest and most beautiful garden in all India because of its splendid buildings and abundance of fine fruits. Its site is one of the pleasantest in the world on the border of a great tank having on the water side many pavilions and a high wall on the side of Ahmedábad. The lodge and the caravanserai are worthy of the prince who built them. The garden has many fruit trees oranges, citrons, pomegranates, dates, almonds, mulberries, tamarinds, mangoes, and coconuts so closely planted that all walking in the garden is under most pleasing shade (Mandelato's Travels, French Ed. 111-112). When (A.D. 1750) the Mirat-i-Ahmedi was written several of the buildings and the remains of the summer house were still to be seen (Bird's History of Gujarát, 375). A few traces of the buildings known as Fateh Bagh or Victory Garden remains (1870). (Ahmedábad Gazetteer, 292.)

far to give him about £10,000.¹ When he had obtained the money, on one pretext or another, Amin Khān withheld the promised aid. The Khān Khānān now marched an army into Sorath against Muzaffar. The Jām of Navānagar and Amin Khān sent their envoys to meet the viceroy, declaring that they had not sheltered Muzaffar, and that he was leading an outlaw's life, entirely unaided by them. The viceroy agreed not to molest them, on condition that they withheld aid and shelter from Muzaffar, and himself marched against him. When he reached Upleta, about fifteen miles north-west of the fortress of Jūnāgadh, the viceroy heard that Muzaffar had sought shelter in the Barla hills in the south-west corner of the peninsula. Advancing to the hills, he halted his main force outside of the rough country and sent skirmishing parties to examine the hills. Muzaffar had already passed through Navānagar and across Gujārāt to Dānta in the Mahi Kantha. Here he was once more defeated by the Parāntej garrison, and a third time took refuge in Rājpipla. The viceroy now marched on Navānagar to punish the Jām. The Jām sent in his submission, and the viceroy taking from him, by way of fine, an elephant and some valuable horses, returned to Ahmedābād. He next sent a detachment against Ghazni Khān of Jhā'or who had favoured Muzaffar. Ghazni Khān submitted, and no further steps were taken against him.

In A.D. 1587 the Khān Khānān was recalled and his place supplied by Ismā'il Kuli Khān. Ismā'il's government lasted only for a few months, when he was superseded by Mirza Aziz Kokaltāsh, who was a second time appointed viceroy. In A.D. 1591, Muzaffar again returned to Sorath. The viceroy, hearing that he had been joined by the Jām, the Kachh chief, and Daulat Khān Ghorī the son of Amin Khān, marched with a large army towards Sorath, and, halting at Viramgām, sent forward a detachment under Naurang Khān, Sayad Kāsim, and other officers. Advancing as far as Morvi,² Naurang Khān entered into negotiations with the Jām, who, however, refused to accede to the demands of the imperial commander. On this the viceroy joined Naurang Khān with the bulk of his army, and after a short delay marched on Navānagar. On his way, at the village of Dhokar near Navānagar, Muzaffar and the Jām opposed him, and an obstinate battle in which the imperialists were nearly worsted, ended in Muzaffar's defeat. The son and minister of the Jām were slain, and Muzaffar, the Jām, and Daulat Khān who was wounded, fled to the fortress of Jūnāgadh. The viceroy now advanced and plundered Navānagar, and remaining there sent Naurang Khān, Sayad Kāsim, and Gūjar Khān against Jūnāgadh. The day the army arrived before the fortress Daulat Khān died of his wounds. Still the fortress held out, and though the viceroy joined them the siege made little progress as the imperial troops were in great straits for grain. The viceroy returned to Ahmedābād, and after seven or eight months again marched against Jūnāgadh. The Jām, who was still a fugitive, sent envoys

Chapter III.

Mughal
Viceroys.

Akbar

Emperor.

1583-1605.

Mirza Abūshir

Khan Khan

(Khan Khan)

Fifth Viceroy,

1583-1587.

Ismā'il Kuli

Khān

Sixth Viceroy,

1587.

Mirza Aziz

Kokaltāsh

Seventh Viceroy,

1588-1592.

Muzaffar seeks

Refuge in

Kāthiawār.

Is attacked by

the Imperial

Army.

¹ Two *bilas* of *mahmūdī*. The *mahmūdī* varied in value from about one-third to one-half of a rupee. See Introduction page 272 note 2.

² Morvi (north latitude 23° 48'; east longitude 70° 50'), a town in Kāthiawār, about twenty-one miles south of Kachh.

Chapter III.

Mughal
Viceroys.Akbar
Emperor.
1553-1605.MIRZA AZIZ
KOKALTASHSeventh Viceroy,
1587.Muzaffar Flies
to Kachh.Commits Suicide,
1621-22.SULTAN MURAD
BAKSH
Eighth Viceroy,
1592-1600.

and promised to aid the viceroy if his country were restored to him. The viceroy assented on condition that, during the operations against Jūnāgadh, the Jām should furnish his army with grain. The Jām agreed to provide grain, and after a siege of three months the garrison surrendered.

News was next received that Muzaffar had taken refuge at Jagat.¹ The viceroy at once sent Naurang Khān and others with an army in pursuit. On reaching Jagat it was found that Muzaffar had already left for a village owned by a Rājput named Sewa Wādhel. Without halting Naurang Khān started in pursuit, nearly surprising Muzaffar, who escaping on horseback with a few followers, crossed to Kachh. Sewa Wādhel covering Muzaffar's retreat was surprised before he could put to sea and fought gallantly with the imperial forces till he was slain. Naurang Khān then came to Arāmra, a village belonging to Singrām Wādhel, Rāja of Jagat, and after frustrating a scheme devised by that chief to entrap a body of the troops on board ship under pretence of pursuing Muzaffar's family, led his men back to Jūnāgadh. The viceroy, hearing in what direction Muzaffar had fled, marched to Morvi, where the Jām of Navānagar came and paid his respects. At the same time the Kachh chief, who is called Khengār by Farishtah and in the Mirāt-i-Ahmedi and Bhāra in the Mirāt-i-Sikandri, sent a message that if the viceroy would refrain from invading his country and would give him his ancestral district of Morvi and supply him with a detachment of troops, he would point out where Muzaffar was concealed. The Khān-i-Azam agreed to these terms and the chief captured Muzaffar and handed him to the force sent to secure him. The detachment, strictly guarding the prisoner, were marching rapidly towards Morvi, when, on reaching Dhrol, about thirty miles east of Jāmnapur, under pretence of obeying a call of nature, Muzaffar withdrew and cut his throat with a razor, so that he died. This happened in A.D. 1591-92. The viceroy sent Muzaffar's head to court, and though he was now recalled by the emperor, he delayed on pretence of wishing to humble the Portuguese. His real object was to make a pilgrimage to Makkah, and in A.D. 1592, after obtaining the necessary permission from the Portuguese, he started from Veraval.² During this viceroyalty an imperial *jarnān* ordered that the state share of the produce should be one-half and the other half should be left to the cultivator and further that from each half five per cent should be deducted for the village headmen. All other taxes were declared illegal, and it was provided that when lands or houses were sold, half the government demand should be realized from the seller and half from the buyer.

The emperor, who was much vexed to hear of the departure of the viceroy, appointed prince Sultān Murād Baksh in his stead with as his minister Muhammad Sādikkhān one of the great nobles. In A.D. 1593-94 Mirza Aziz Kokaltash returned from his pilgrimage and

¹ Jagat (north latitude 22° 15'; east longitude 69° 1'), the site of the temple of Dwārka, at the western extremity of the peninsula of Kathiāwār.

² Veraval (north latitude 20° 55'; east longitude 70° 21'), on the south-west coast of Kathiāwār. On the south-east point of Veraval bay stood the city of Dev or Munglātān and within its walls the temple of Gomānātha.

repaired to court, and next year on prince Murād Bakhsh going to the Dakhan, Śūrajīnglī was appointed his deputy. In A.D. 1594-95 Bahādur, son of the late Muzaffar Shāh, excited a rebellion, but was defeated by Śūrajīnglī. In A.D. 1600, owing to the death of Sultān Murād, Mīrza Āzīz Kokaltāsh was a third time appointed viceroy of Gujarāt, and he sent Shams-ud-dīn Hussain as his deputy to Ahmedābād. Further changes were made in A.D. 1602 when Mīrza Āzīz sent his eldest son Shādīmān as deputy; his second son Khurram as governor of Junāgadh; and Sayad Bāyāzīd as minister. Khurram was afterwards relieved of the charge of Sorath and Junāgadh by his brother Abdullāh.

In A.D. 1605 Nūr-ud-dīn Muhammad Jehāngīr ascended the imperial throne. Shortly after his accession the emperor published a decree remitting certain taxes, and also in cases of robbery fixing the responsibility on the landowners of the place where the robbery was committed. The decree also renewed Akbar's decree forbidding soldiers billeting themselves forcibly in cultivators' houses. Finally it directed that dispensaries and hospital wards should be opened in all large towns. In the early days of Jehāngīr's reign disturbance was caused in the neighbourhood of Ahmedābād by Bahādur a son of Muzaffar Shāh. Jehāngīr despatched Patadās Rāja Vikramājī as viceroy of Gujarāt to put down the rising. The Rāja's arrival at Ahmedābād restored order. Some of the rebel officers submitting were reinstated in their commands: the rest fled to the hills.¹ On the Rāja's return Jehāngīr appointed Kalij Khān to be viceroy of Gujarāt: but Kalij Khān never joined his charge, allowing Mīrza Āzīz Kokaltāsh to act in his place. In A.D. 1606, on the transfer of Mīrza Āzīz to the Lahor viceroyalty, Sayad Murtaza Khān Bukhārī, who had recently been ennobled in consequence of crushing the rebellion under Jehāngīr's son Khusrō, was entrusted with the charge of Gujarāt. Sayad Bāyāzīd being continued as minister. Sayad Murtaza, who is said to have further ingratiated himself with the emperor by the present of a magnificent ruby, appears to have been more of a scholar than a governor. His only notable acts were the repair of the fort of Kadi² and the populating of the Bukhārā quarter of Ahmedābād. During his tenure of power disturbances broke out, and Rāi Gopināth, son of Rāja Todar Mal, with Rāja Sursingh of Jodhpur, were sent to Gujarāt by way of Mālwa, Surat and Baroda. They overcame and imprisoned Kalij Khān, chief of Belpār,³ but were defeated by the Māndwa⁴ chieftain, and withdrew to Ahmedābād. Rāi Gopināth, obtaining reinforcements, returned to Māndwa and succeeded in capturing the chief. He then marched against the rebellious Kolis of the Kānkrej, and took prisoner their

Chapter III.

Mughal
Viceroys.

Akbar
Emperor,
1583-1605.
Mīrza Āzīz
Kokaltāsh
North Viceroy,
1600-1602.

Jehāngīr
Emperor,
1605-1627.

Kalij Khān
North Viceroy,
1606.

SAYAD MURTAZA
Eleventh Viceroy,
1606-1609.

¹ Jehāngīr's Memoirs, Persian Text, 23; Blochman's *Āin-i-Akhari*, I. 470. Bahādur died about A.D. 1614: Jehāngīr's Memoirs, 134.

² Now belonging to His Highness the Gaikwār about twenty-seven miles north-west of Ahmedābād.

³ Belpār, belonging to the Thakor of Umata in the Rewa Kantha.

⁴ This Māndwa is probably the Māndwa under His Highness the Gaikwār in his district of Ataramba, but it may be Māndwa on the Narbada in the Rewa Kantha. Ataramba is about ten miles west of Kopadwanj in the British district of Kalra.

Chapter III.

Mughal

Viceroys.

Jehāngir

Emperor,

1605-1607.

Mirza Āziz

Kokaltash

Twelfth Viceroy,

1609-1611.

Sack of Surat by

Malik Āmbar,

1609.

leader, whom, on promising not to stir up future rebellions, he afterwards restored to liberty.

The first connection of the English with Gujarāt dates from Sayad Murtaza's viceroyalty. In A.D. 1608 he allowed Captain Hawkins to sell goods in Surat.

In A.D. 1609 the Khān-i-Azam Mirza Āziz Kokaltash was for the fourth time appointed viceroy of Gujarāt. He was allowed to remain at court and send his son Jehāngir Kuli Khān as his deputy with Mohandās Divān and Masūd Beg Hamadani.¹ This was the beginning of government by deputy, a custom which in later times was so injurious to imperial interests.

In 1609 Malik Āmbar, chief minister of Nizām Shāh's court and governor of Daulatābad, invaded Gujarāt at the head of 50,000 horse, and after plundering both the Surat and Baroda districts retired as quickly as he came. To prevent such raids a body of 25,000 men was posted at Rāmnagar² on the Dakhan frontier, and remained there for four years. The details of the contingents of this force are:

The Viceroy of Ahmedābad	...	...	4000	Men.
The Nobles of his Court	...	...	5000	"
The Chiefs of Sāler and Mulher (Bāglān)	...	...	3000	"
The Son of the Kachh Chief	...	...	2500	"
The Chief of Navānagar	...	...	2500	"
The Chief of Idar	...	...	2000	"
The Chief of Dāngarpūr	Now under the Hilly Tracts Agency, Rajpūtāna.		2000	"
The Chief of Bānsvada			2000	"
The Chief of Rāmnagar (Dharanpur)	...	...	1000	"
The Chief of Bājipipla	...	...	1000	"
The Chief of Ali (Alirājpur under the Bhopāwar Agency)	...	...	300	"
The Chief of Mohan (a former capital of the state of Chhota Udepur in the Rewa-Kānthā)	...	...	300	"

Total ... 25,500 Men.

ABDULLĀH KHĀN

FIRŪZ JANG

Thirteenth

Viceroy,

1611-1616.

In A.D. 1611 Abdullāh Khān Bahādur Firūz Jang was appointed thirteenth viceroy of Gujarāt, with Ghīās-ud-dīn as his minister, under orders to proceed to the Dakhan to avenge the recent inroad.³ The viceroy marched to the Dakhan but returned without effecting anything. In A.D. 1616, he was again, in company with prince Shāh

¹ Jehāngir's Memoirs, Persian Text, 75.

² Now belonging to the Rājā of Dharanpur, east of the British district of Surat.

³ In this year (A.D. 1611) the English East India Company sent vessels to trade with Surat. The Portuguese made an armed resistance, but were defeated. The Mughal commander, who was not sorry to see the Portuguese beaten, gave the English a warm reception, and in A.D. 1612/13 a factory was opened in Surat by the English, and in A.D. 1614 a fleet was kept in the Tāpti under Captain Downton to protect the factory. In A.D. 1616, Sir Thomas Roe came as ambassador to the emperor Jehāngir, and obtained permission to establish factories, not only at Surat but also at Broach, Cambay and Gogha. The factory at Gogha seems to have been established in A.D. 1613. The emperor Jehāngir notes in his memoirs (Persian Text, 106) that Mukarrab Khān, viceroy from A.D. 1616-1618, regardless of cost had bought from the English at Gogha a turkey, a lemon and other curiosities. On his return from Jehāngir's camp at Ahmedābad in January 1618 Roe obtained valuable concessions from the viceroy. The governor of Surat was to lend ships to the English, the resident English might carry arms, build a house, practise their religion and settle their disputes, Kerr's Voyages, IX. 263. The Dutch closely followed the English at Surat and were established there in A.D. 1616.

Jehān, directed to move against Ahmednagar. This second expedition was successful. The country was humbled, and, except Malik Ambar, most of the nobles submitted to the emperor. During this viceroy's term of office an imperial decree was issued forbidding nobles on the frontiers and in distant provinces to affix their seals to any communications addressed to imperial servants.

In A.D. 1616 on their return to Delhi, Mukarrab Khān, a surgeon who had risen to notice by curing the emperor Akbar and was ennobled by Jehāngir, and who, since A.D. 1608, had been in charge of Surat or of Cambay, was appointed fourteenth viceroy of Gujarāt, with Muhammad Sāfi as his minister. In the following year (A.D. 1617) the emperor Jehāngir came to Gujarāt to hunt wild elephants in the Dahad forests. But owing to the density of the forest only twelve were captured. Early in A.D. 1618 he visited Cambay which he notes only vessels of small draught could reach and where he ordered a gold and silver *tanka* twenty times heavier than the gold *mohar* to be minted. From Cambay after a stay of ten days he went to Ahmedābād and received the Rājā of Idar. As the climate of Ahmedābād disagreed with him Jehāngir retired to the banks of the Mahi.¹ Here the Jām of Navānagar came to pay homage, and presented fifty Kachh horses, a hundred gold *mohars*, and a hundred rupees, and received a dress of honour. The emperor now returned to Ahmedābād, where he was visited by Rāj Bhāra of Kachh, who presented 100 Kachh horses 100 *ashrafis*² and 2000 rupees. The Rāj, who was ninety years of age,

Chapter III.

Mughal
Viceroys.

Jehāngir
Emperor,
1608-1627.

MUKARRAB
KHAN
Fourteenth
Viceroy,
1616.

Elephant-hunting
in the Paooh
Mahāls,
1616.

¹ At first Jehāngir, who reached Ahmedābād in the hot weather (March A.D. 1618), contented himself with abusing its sandy streets, calling the city the 'abode of dust,' *geridabad*. After an attack of fever his dislike grew stronger, and he was uncertain whether the 'home of the moon' *ammasitān*, the 'place of sickness' *biniristān*, the 'thorn brake' *nikomān*, or 'hell' *jahannamābād*, was its most fitting name. Even the last title did not satisfy his dislike. In derision he adds the verse, 'Oh essence of all goodness by what name shall I call thee.' Elliot's History of India, VI. 258; Jehāngir's Memoirs, Persian Text, 231. Of the old buildings of Ahmedābād, the emperor (Memoirs, Persian Text, 208-210) speaks of the Kankariya tank and its island garden and of the royal palaces in the Bhadar as having nearly gone to ruin within the last fifty years. He notes that his Bakhsh had repaired the Kankariya tank and that the viceroy Mukarrab Khān had partly restored the Bhadar palace against his arrival. The emperor was disappointed with the capital. After the accounts he had heard it seemed rather poor with its narrow streets, its shops with ignoble fronts, and its dust, though to greet the emperor as he came on elephant-back scattering gold the city and its population had put on their holiday dress. The emperor speaks (Memoirs, Persian Text page 211) of having met some of the great men of Gujarāt. Chief among these was Sayad Muhammad Bakhari the representative of Shahi Alam and the son of Shah Wajih-ud-din of Ahmedābād. They came as far as Cambay to meet the emperor. After his arrival in the capital Jehāngir with great kindness informally visited the house and garden of Sikandar Gujarati the author of the *Mirāt-i-Sikandar*, to pick some of the author's famous sayings off the trees. Jehāngir speaks of the historian as a man of a refined literary style well versed in all matters of Gujarāt history, who six or seven years since had entered his (the imperial) service (Memoirs, 207-211). On the occasion of celebrating Shah Jehān's twenty-seventh birthday at Ahmedābād Jehāngir records having granted the territory from Mānda to Cambay as the estate of his son Shah Jehān (Prince Khurram). Memoirs, Persian Text, 210-211. Before leaving Gujarāt the emperor ordered the expulsion of the Sevadas or Jain priests, because of a prophecy unfavourable to him made by Mān Sing Sewda (Memoirs, Persian Text, 217).

² This was probably the gold *ashraf* or seraph of which Hawkins (1609-1611) says, 'Seraphs Ekbari, which be ten rupees a-piece.' Thomas Chron. Pat. Kings of Delhi, 425.

Chapter III.
Mughal
Viceroy.

Jehangir
Emperor.
1605-1627.

Prince Shāh
Jehān
Fifteenth Viceroy,
1618-1622.

Shāh Jehān
Rebels,
1622-1623.

Builds the
Shāhi Bāgh
at Ahmedābād.

SULTAN DĀWAR
BAKSH
Sixteenth Viceroy,
1623-1624.

had never paid his respects to any emperor. Jehāngir, much pleased with the greatest of Gujarāt Zamīndars, who, in spite of his ninety years was hale and in full possession of all his senses, gave him his own horse, a male and female elephant, a dagger, a sword with diamond-mounted hilt, and four rings of different coloured precious stones. As he still suffered from the climate, the emperor set out to return to Agra, and just at that time (A.D. 1618-19) he heard of the birth of a grandson, afterwards the famous Abū Muzaffar Muhiyy-ud-dīn Muhammad Aurangzib who was born at Dohad in Gujarāt.¹ In honour of this event Shāh Jehān held a great festival at Ujjain.

Before the emperor started for Agra, he appointed prince Shāh Jehān fifteenth viceroy of Gujarāt in the place of Mukarrab Khān whose general inefficiency and churlish treatment of the European traders he did not approve. Muhammad Sāfi was continued as minister. As Shāh Jehān preferred remaining at Ujjain he chose Rustam Khān as his deputy; but the emperor, disapproving of this choice, selected Rāja Vikramājī in Rustam Khān's stead. Shortly after, in A.D. 1622-23, Shāh Jehān rebelled, and in one of the battles which took place Rāja Vikramājī was killed. Shāh Jehān, during his viceroyalty, built the Shāhi Bāgh and the royal baths in the Bhadar at Ahmedābād. After the death of Vikramājī, his brother succeeded as deputy viceroy. While Shāh Jehān was still in rebellion, the emperor appointed Sultān Dāwar Baksh the son of prince Khusrāo, sixteenth viceroy of Gujarāt, Muhammad Sāfi being retained in his post of minister. Shāh Jehān, who was then at Māndu in Mālwa, appointed on his part Abdullāh Khān Bahādūr Firōz Jang viceroy and a *kādījānars* or eunuch of Abdullāh Khān his minister. Sultān Dāwar Baksh, the emperor's nominee, was accompanied by Khān-i-Azam Mīrza Āziz Kokaltāsh to instruct him in the management of affairs. Prince Shāh Jehān had directed his minister to carry away all the treasure; but Muhammad Sāfi, who appears to have been a man of great ability, at once imprisoned the prince's partisans in Ahmedābād, and, among others, captured the eunuch of Abdullāh Khān. When this news reached the prince at Māndu, he sent Abdullāh Khān Bahādūr with an army to Gujarāt by way of Baroda. Muhammad Sāfi Khān met and defeated him, and forced him to fly and rejoin the prince at Māndu. For his gallant conduct Muhammad Sāfi received the title of Saif Khān, with an increase in his monthly pay from £70 to £300 (Rs. 700-3000) and the command of 3000 horse. Meanwhile Sultān Dāwar Baksh, with the Khān-i-Azam, arrived and assumed the charge of the government, but the Khān-i-Azam died soon after in A.D. 1624, and was buried at Sarkhej. Sultān Dāwar Baksh was

¹ The peaked masonry tomb over Aurangzib's after-birth with its mosque, enclosure, and intact endowment is one of the curiosities of Dohad. In a letter to his eldest son Muhammad Muazzam then (A.D. 1704) viceroy of Gujarāt the aged Aurangzib writes: My son of exalted rank, the town of Dohad, one of the dependencies of Gujarāt, is the birth-place of this sinner. Please to consider a regard for the inhabitants of that town incumbent on you, and continue in office its decrepid old Faujdār. In regard to that old man listen not to the whisperings of those suffering from the disease of self-interest: "Verily they have a sickness in their hearts and Allah addeth to their ailments" (Letters of the Emperor Aurangzib: Persian Text, Cawnpur Edition, Letter 31.)

re-called, and Khān Jehān was appointed deputy viceroy with Yūsuf Khān as his minister. On his arrival at Ahmedābād, prince Shāh Jehān employed Khān Jehān in his own service, and sent him as his ambassador to the emperor. Saif Khān, who acted for him, may be called the seventeenth viceroy, as indeed he had been the governing spirit for the last eight or ten years. He held the post of viceroy of Gujarāt until the death of the emperor in A.D. 1627.

On the death of the emperor Jehāngir, his son Abul Muzaffar Shahab-ud-din Shāh Jehān ascended the throne. Remembering Saif Khān's hostility he at once caused him to be imprisoned, and appointed Sher Khān Tūar eighteenth viceroy with Khwājah Hayāt as his minister. When the emperor was near Surat, he appointed Mir Shamsuddin to be governor of Surat castle. In A.D. 1627, Shāh Jehān on his way to Dehli visited Ahmedābād and encamped outside of the city near the Kānkariya lake. Sher Khān was advanced to the command of 5000 men, and received an increase of salary and other gifts. At the same time Khān Jehān was appointed his minister, and Mirza Isa Tarkhān was made viceroy of Thatta in Sindh. In A.D. 1628 Khwājah Abul Hasan was sent to conquer the country of Nāsik and Sanganner which he ravaged, and returned after taking the fort of Chāndod and levying tributes from the chief of Bāglan. In A.D. 1630, Jamal Khān Karāwal came to the Gujarāt-Khāndesh frontier and captured 130 elephants in the Sultānpur forests, seventy of which valued at a lakh of rupees were sent to Dehli. In A.D. 1631-32 Gujarāt was wasted by the famine known as the *Satidsio Kāl* or '87 famine. So severe was the scarcity that according to the Bādshāh Nāma, rank sold for a cake, life was offered for a loaf, the flesh of a son was preferred to his love. The emperor opened soup kitchens and alms-houses at Surat and Ahmedābād and ordered Rs. 5000 to be distributed.¹

Sher Khān was re-called in A.D. 1632, but died ere he could be relieved by Islām Khān, the nineteenth viceroy of Gujarāt, along with whom Khwājah Jehān was chosen minister. Islām Khān's monthly salary was £400 (Rs. 4000), and his command was raised from 5000 to 6000. In A.D. 1632, Khwājah Jehān went on pilgrimage to Makkah, and was succeeded as minister by Agha Afzal with the title of Afzal Khān. Afzal Khān was soon appointed commander of Baroda, and Riāyat Khān succeeded him as minister. The post of viceroy of Gujarāt appears to have been granted to whichever of the nobles of the court was in a position to make the most valuable presents to the emperor. Government became lax, the Kolis of the Kānkrej committed excesses, and the Jām of Navānagar withheld his tribute. At this time Bākar Khān presented the emperor with golden and jewelled ornaments to the value of Rs. 2,00,000 and was appointed viceroy, Riāyat Khān being continued as minister. In A.D. 1633 Sipābdar Khān was appointed viceroy, and presented the emperor with costly embroidered velvet tents with golden posts worthy to hold the famous *Takhti-Tāūs* or Peacock Throne which was just completed at a cost of one *kror* of rupees. Riāyat Khān was continued as minister.

Chapter III.

Mughal
Viceroys.

SAIF KHAN
Seventeenth
Viceroy,
1624-1627.

SHAH JEHAN
Emperor,
1627-1658
SHER KHAN TŪAR
Eighteenth
Viceroy,
1627-1632.

Famine,
1631-32.

ISLAM KHAN
Nineteenth
Viceroy,
1632.

Disorder,
1632.

BĀKAR KHAN
Twentieth
Viceroy,
1632.

SIPĀBDAR
KHAN
Twenty-first
Viceroy,
1633.

Chapter III.

Mughal
Viceroys.

Shah Jehan
Emperor.
1627-1658.
SAIF KHAN
Twenty-second
Viceroy,
1633-1635.

AZAM KHAN
Twenty-third
Viceroy,
1635-1642.

Furnishes the
Kolis,

Subdues
the Kathis.

In A.D. 1635 Saif Khān was appointed twenty-second viceroy, with Riāyat Khān as minister. During Saif Khān's tenure of power Mirza Isa Tarkhān received a grant¹ of the province of Sorath, which had fallen waste through the laxity of its governors. Before he had been in power for more than a year Saif Khān was recalled. As he was preparing to start, he died at Ahmedābād and was buried in Shāhi Alām's shrine to which he had added the dome over the tomb and the mosque to the north of the enclosure.

At the end of A.D. 1635 Azam Khān was appointed twenty-third viceroy, with Riāyat Khān in the first instance, and afterwards with Mīr Muhammad Sābir, as minister. The men who had recently been allowed to act as viceroys had shown themselves unfit to keep in order the rebellious chiefs and predatory tribes of Gujarat. For this reason the emperor's choice fell upon Azam Khān, a man of ability, who perceived the danger of the existing state of affairs, and saw that to restore the province to order, firm, even severe, measures were required. When Azam Khān reached Sidhpur, the merchants complained bitterly of the outrages of one Kānji, a Chūnvālia Koli, who had been especially daring in plundering merchandise and committing highway robberies. Azam Khān, anxious to start with a show of vigour, before proceeding to Ahmedābād, marched against Kānji, who fled to the village of Bhādar in the Kheralu district of Kadi, sixty miles north-east of Ahmedābād. Azam Khān pursued him so hotly that Kānji surrendered, handed over his plunder, and gave security not only that he would not again commit robberies, but that he would pay an annual tribute of £1000 (Rs. 10,000). Azam Khān then built two fortified posts in the Koli country, naming one Azamābād after himself, and the other Khalilābād after his son. He next marched to Kāthiavāda² and subdued the Kāthis, who were continually ravaging the country near Dabhdhūka, and to check them erected a fortified post called Shāhpūr, on the opposite side of the river to Chuda-Rānpur. Agha Fāzil known as Fāzil Khān, who had at one time held the post of minister, and had, in A.D. 1636, been appointed governor of Baroda, was now selected to command the special cavalry composing the bodyguard of prince Muhammad Aurangzib. At the same time Sayad Ilahdād was appointed governor of Surat fort, Isa Tarkhān remaining at Jūnāgadh. In A.D. 1637, Mīr Muhammad Sābir was chosen minister in place of Riāyat Khān, and in A.D. 1638 Muiz-zul-Mulk was re-appointed to the command of Surat fort. Shortly after Azam Khān's daughter was sent to Delhi, and espoused to the emperor's son Muhammad Shujā Bahādur. In A.D. 1639, Azam Khān, who for his love of building was known as Udhai or the Whiteant, devoted his attention to establishing fortified posts to check rebellion and robbery in the country of the Kolis and the Kāthis. So complete were his arrangements that people could travel safely all over Jhālāvāda,

¹ The words used in the text is *tuqul*. In meaning it does not differ from *jagir*.

² This is one of the first mentions in history of peninsular Gujarat as Kāthiavāda, or as anything other than Sorath or Saurashtra. The district referred to was probably united to the eastern possessions of the Khachar Kāthis and Panchāl.

Kāthiāvāda, Navānagar, and Kachh. The Jām, who of late years had been accustomed to do much as he pleased, resented these arrangements, and in A.D. 1640 withheld his tribute, and set up a mint to coin *koris*.¹ When Azam Khān heard of this, he marched with an army against Navānagar, and, on arriving about three miles from the city, he sent the Jām a peremptory order to pay the arrears of tribute and to close his mint, ordering him, if any disturbance occurred in that part of the country, at once to send his son to the viceroy to learn his will. He further ordered the Jām to dismiss to their own countries all refugees from other parts of Gujarāt. The Jām being unable to cope with Azam Khān, acceded to these terms; and Azam Khān, receiving the arrears of tribute, returned to Ahmedābād. As Azam Khān's stern and somewhat rough rule made him unpopular, Sayad Jalāl Bukhārī whose estates were being deserted from fear of him brought the matter to the emperor's notice.

In consequence in A.D. 1642 the emperor recalled Azam Khān, and appointed in his place Mirza Isā Tarkhān, then governor of Sorath, twenty-fourth viceroy of Gujarāt. And as it was feared that in anger at being re-called Azam Khān might oppress some of those who had complained against him, this order was written by the emperor with his own hand. Thanks to Azam Khān's firm rule, the new viceroy found the province in good order, and was able to devote his attention to financial reforms, among them the introduction of the share, *bhāgmatāi*, system of levying land revenue in kind. When Mirza Isā Tarkhān was raised to be viceroy of Gujarāt, he appointed his son Ināyat-ullāh to be governor of Jūnāgadh, and Muiz-zul-Mulk to fill the post of minister. During the viceroyalty of Mirza Isā Sayad Jalāl Bukhārī a descendant of Saint Shāhīr Ajām was appointed to the high post of Sadr-us-Sudūr or chief law officer for the whole of India. This was a time of prosperity especially in Surat, whose port dues which were settled on the Padshāh Begam had risen from two and a half to five lakhs. Mirza Isā Tarkhān's term of power was brief. In A.D. 1644 the emperor appointed prince Muḥammad Aurangzib to the charge of Gujarāt, Muiz-zul-Mulk being ordered by the emperor to continue to act as his minister. An event of interest in the next year (A.D. 1645) is the capture of seventy-three elephants in the forests of Dohad and Chāmpāner.²

Chapter III.

Mughal
Viceroys.

Shah Jahan
Emperor,
1627-1658.
AZAM KHAN
Twenty-third
Viceroy,
1633-1642.
Recall of
the Jam of
Navanagar,
1640.

ISA TARKHAN
Twenty-fourth
Viceroy,
1642-1644.

¹ The author of the *Mirāt-i-Ahmedi* says that in his time, A.D. 1746-1762, these Navanagar *koris* were current even in Ahmedābād, two *koris* and two-thirds being equal to one imperial rupee. They were also called *jāmīs*. The *Mirāt-i-Ahmedi* (Persian Text, 725) calls them *mahmūdīs*. The legend on the reverse was the name of the Gujarāt Sultan Muẓaffar and on the obverse in Gujarāt the name of the Jām. Usually two *mahmūdīs* and sometimes three went to the imperial rupee. The author says that in Ahmedābād up to his day (A.D. 1766) the account for *ghā* clarified better was made in *mahmūdīs*. When the order for molting the *mahmūdīs* was passed a mint was established at Jūnāgadh but was afterwards closed to suit the merchants from Dū and other parts who transmitted their specie to Ahmedābād.

² The traveller Mandelstam, who was in Ahmedābād in 1638, says: No prince in Europe has so fine a court as the governor of Gujarāt. Of none are the public appearances so magnificent. He never goes out without a great number of gentlemen and guards on foot and horse. Before him march many elephants with housings of brocade and velvet, standards, drums, trumpets, and cymbals. In his palace he is served like a king and suffers no one to appear before him unless he has asked an audience. (Travels, French

Chapter III.

Mughal
Viceroys.

SHAH JEHAN
Emperor,
1627-1658.

PRINCE
MUHAMMAD
A'AMANUZZIN
Twenty-fifth
Viceroy,
1644-1646.

SHAHJAHAN
KHAN
Twenty-sixth
Viceroy,
1646-1648.

PRINCE
MUHAMMAD
DARA SHIKOH
Twenty-seventh
Viceroy,
1648-1652.

Prince Aurangzib's rule in Gujarat was marked by religious disputes. In 1644 a quarrel between Hindus and Musalmans ended in the prince ordering a newly built (1638) temple of Chintāman near Saraspur, a suburb of Ahmedābād, above a mile and a half east of the city, to be desecrated by slaughtering a cow in it. He then turned the building into a mosque, but the emperor ordered its restoration to the Hindus. In another case both of the contending parties were Musalmans, the orthodox believers, aided by the military under the prince's orders, who was enraged at Sayad Rāju one of his followers joining the heretics, attacking and slaughtering the representatives of the Mahdawiyah sect in Ahmedābād. Sayad Rāju's spirit, under the name of Rāju Shahid or Rāju the martyr, is still worshipped as a disease-scaring guardian by the Pinjāris and Mansūris and Dādhwālas of Ahmedābād.¹ In consequence of the part he had taken in promoting these disturbances, prince Aurangzib was relieved and Shāistāh Khān appointed twenty-sixth viceroy of Gujarat. In the following year Muiz-zul-Mulk, who had till then acted as minister, was recalled, and his place supplied by Hāfiz Muhammad Nāsir. At the same time the governorship of Surat and Cambay was given to Ali Akbar of Lajpāhān. This Ali Akbar was a Persian horse merchant who brought to Agra seven horses of pure Arabian breed. For six of these Shah Jehān paid Rs. 25,000. The seventh a bay so pleased the emperor that he paid Rs. 15,000 for it, named it the Priceless Ruby, and considered it the gem of the imperial stud. In A.D. 1646 Ali Akbar was assassinated by a Hindu and Muiz-zul-Mulk succeeded him as governor of Surat and Cambay. As Shāistāh Khān failed to control the Gujarat Kolis, in A.D. 1648 prince Muhammad Dārā Shikoh was chosen viceroy, with Ghairat Khān as his deputy and Hāfiz Muhammad Nāsir as minister, while Shāistāh Khān was sent to Malwa to relieve Shah Nawāz Khan. While Dārā Shikoh was viceroy an ambassador landed at Surat from the court of the Turkish Sultan Muhammad IV. (A.D. 1648-1687).² In A.D. 1651, Mir Yahyā was appointed minister in place of Hāfiz Muhammad Nāsir, and in A.D. 1652 prince Dārā was sent to Kandahār. On

Edition, 151.) Of the general system of government he says: The viceroy is absolute. It is true he summons leading lords of the country to deliberate on judgments and important matters. But they are called to ascertain their views, not to adopt them. On the one hand the king often changes his governors that they may not grow over-powerful. On the other hand the governors knowing they may be recalled at any time take immense sums from the rich merchants especially from the merchants of Ahmedābād against whom false charges are brought with the view of forcing them to pay. As the governor is both civil and criminal judge if the merchants did not temper his greed they would be ruined beyond remedy. (Ditto, 150.) The frequent changes of viceroys in Gujarat is explained by Terry, 1615-17 (*Voyage to East Indies*, 294): To prevent them from becoming popular the king usually removes his viceroys after one year sending them to a new government remote from the old one. Terry adds a curious note: When the king sends any one to a place of government they never cut their hair till they return into his presence as if they desired not to appear beautiful except in the king's sight. As soon as he sees them the king bids them cut their hair (Ditto, 303). It does not seem to have been cheating to keep up fewer horses than the number named. Terry (*Voyage to East Indies*, 391) says: He who hath the pay of five or six thousand must always have one thousand or more in readiness according to the king's need of them, and so in proportion all the rest.

¹ Mirāt-i Ahmedi Persian Text, II. 46-47. Pinjāris are cotton weavers, Mansūris are Pinjāris who worship Mansūr a tenth century (3rd century Hijrah) saint.

² Mirāt-i Ahmedi Persian Text, 237.

the transfer of the prince Shāistah Khān became viceroy for the second time, with Mir Yahyā as minister and Sultan Yār governor of Baroda with the title of Himmat Khān. Mirza Isā Tarkhān was summoned to court from his charge of Sorath and his son Muhammad Sālih was appointed his successor. In A.D. 1658 an ill-advised imperial order reducing the pay of the troopers, as well as of the better class of horsemen who brought with them a certain number of followers, created much discontent. During this year several changes of governors were made. Muhammad Nāsir was sent to Surat, Himmat Khān to Dholka, the governor of Dholka to Baroda, Kutb-ud-dīn to Jūnāgadh, Sayad Sheikhan son-in-law of Sayad Diler Khān to Tharād under Pātan, and Jagmal, the holder of Sānand, to Dholka. In the same year Shāistah Khān made an expedition against the Chunvālia Kolis, who, since Azam-Khān's time (A.D. 1642), had been ravaging Virangām, Dholka, and Kadi, and raiding even as far as the villages round Ahmedābād.

In spite of Shāistah Khān's success in restoring order the emperor in A.D. 1654 appointed in his place prince Muhammad Murād Bakhsh twenty-ninth viceroy of Gujarāt. Dīnāt Khān, and immediately after him Rehmāt Khān, was appointed minister in place of Mir Yahyā. Mujāhid Khān Jhālori relieved Mir Shams-ud-dīn as governor of Pātan and Godhra was entrusted to Sayad Hasan, son of Sayad Diler Khān, and its revenues assigned to him. When prince Murād Bakhsh reached Jhābus¹ on his way to Ahmedābād, the chief presented him with £1500 (Rs. 15,000) as tribute; and when he reached Ahmedābād, Kanji, the notorious leader of the Chunvālia Kolis, surrendered through Sayad Sheikhan, and promised to remain quiet and pay a yearly tribute of £1000 (Rs. 10,000). Dildost, son of Sarfaraz Khān, was appointed to the charge of the post of Bijāpur under Pātan; while Sayad Sheikhan was made governor of Sadra and Piplod, and Sayad Ali paymaster, with the title of Rada'wi Khān. Many other changes were made at the same time, the prince receiving a grant of the district of Jūnāgadh. One Pirji, a Bohora, said to have been one of the richest merchants of Surat, is noted as sending the emperor four Arab horses and prince Murād as presenting the emperor with eighteen of the famous Gujarāt bullocks. During the viceroyalty of Darā Shikoh sums of Rs. 1,00,000 to Rs. 2,00,000 used to be spent on articles in demand in Arabia. The articles were sent under some trustworthy officer and the proceeds applied to charitable purposes in the sacred cities.

At the end of A.D. 1657, on the receipt of news that Shāh Jēhān was dangerously ill prince Murād Bakhsh proclaimed himself emperor by the title of Murāwwaj-ud-dīn and ordered the reading of the Friday sermon and the striking of coin in his own name.² His next step was to put to death the minister Ali Naki, and direct his men to seize the fort of Surat then held by his sister the Begam Sāhibah and to take possession of the property of the Begam. He imprisoned Abdul-Latif, son of Islām Khān, an old servant of the empire. Darā Shikoh representing Murād's conduct to the emperor obtained an order to

Chapter III.

Mughal
Viceroys.

Shāh Jēhān
Emperor.
1627-1658.
Shāistah
Khān
Twenty-ninth
Viceroy.
1652-1654.

Prince Murād
Bakhsh
Twenty-ninth
Viceroy.
1654-1657.

Murād proclaims
himself Emperor.
1657.

¹ Jhābus, now under the Bhopāwar Agency.

² Mirāt-i Ahmedi Persian Text, 249.

Chapter III.

Mughal
Viceroys.Shah Jehan
Emperor,
1627-1658.KASIM KHAN
Thirtieth
Viceroy,
1657-1659.Victory of
Murad and
Aurangzeb.Aurangzeb
conquers Murad,
1659.Aurangzeb
Emperor,
1658-1707.
SHAH NAWAZ
KHAN SAFIYI
Thirty-first
Viceroy,
1659.Prince Dara
Rebels,
1659.Is Defeated,
1659.JASVANTSINGH
Thirty-second
Viceroy,
1659-1662.

transfer him to the governorship of the Berars. Murad Baksh borrowing £55,000 (5½ *lakhs* of rupees) from the sons of Santidas Jauhari, £4000 (Rs. 40,000) from Ravidas partner of Santidas, and £8800 (Rs. 88,000) from Sammal and others, raised an army and arranged to meet his brother prince Aurangzeb, and with him march against the Maharaja Jasvantsingh of Jodhpur and Kasim Khan, whom Shah Jehan had appointed viceroys of Malwa and Gujarat, and had ordered to meet at Ujjain and march against the princes. Murad Baksh and Aurangzeb, uniting their forces early in A.D. 1658, fought an obstinate battle with Jasvantsingh, in which they were victorious, and entered Ujjain in triumph. From Ujjain prince Murad Baksh wrote Muhtamid Khan his eunuch an order allotting to Manikchand £15,000 (Rs. 1,50,000) from the revenues of Surat, £10,000 (Rs. 1,00,000) from Cambay, £10,000 (Rs. 1,00,00) from Pithladi, £7500 (Rs. 75,000) from Dholka, £5000 (Rs. 50,000) from Broach, £1500 (Rs. 45,000) from Viramgam, and £3000 (Rs. 30,000) from the salt works, in all £55,000 (5½ *lakhs* of rupees). Further sums of £4000 (Rs. 40,000) are mentioned as due to Ravidas partner of Santidas, and £8800 (Rs. 88,000) to Sammal and others. From Ujjain the princes advanced on Agra. At Dholpur they fought a still more obstinate battle with the imperial forces commanded by prince Dara Shikoh and after a long and doubtful contest were victorious. Prince Dara Shikoh fled to Delhi, and the princes advanced and took possession of Agra. After confining his father, Aurangzeb marched for Mathura, and having no further use of Murad, he there seized and imprisoned him. From Mathura, Aurangzeb went to Delhi from which Dara Shikoh had meanwhile retired to Lahore.

In A.D. 1658, while his father was still alive, Aurangzeb assumed the imperial titles and ascended the throne. In A.D. 1659 he appointed Shah Nawaz Khan Safiyi thirty-first viceroy of Gujarat, with Rahmat Khan as minister. On this occasion Santidas received a decree directing that the provincial officials should settle his accounts and Kutb-ud-din Khushgi was appointed to Sorath. Shah Nawaz Khan was the father-in-law of both Aurangzeb and Murad Baksh. Shortly after his appointment, while Murad's wife was paying a visit to her father, prince Dara Shikoh leaving Kachh, where he had been hospitably received by the Ray, made a sudden descent on Gujarat. The viceroy, won over by the entreaties of his daughter who saw in the success of Dara a hope of release for her husband, joined the prince who entered Ahmedabad. After raising funds from Surat and Ahmedabad he collected an army of 22,000 horse and appointing Sayad Ahmed deputy viceroy, marched towards Ajmir, once more to try his chance of empire. He was defeated and fled to Ahmedabad, where Sardar Khan, who had confined Sayad Ahmed, closed the gates of the city in his face. The unhappy prince retired to Kachh, but finding no support fled to Sindh, where he was treacherously seized and handed to his brother by "the chief of Jun. The emperor Aurangzeb, forgiving Jasvantsingh his opposition at Ujjain, conferred on him the government of Gujarat, and in the place of Rahmat Khan appointed Makramat Khan to act as minister. Sardar

Khán was thanked for his loyal conduct and made governor of Broach. Praise was also given to Sher and Abid of the Bábi family. Presents were bestowed on Kutb-ud-din, governor of Sorath, and, shortly after, for his refusal to help prince Dará, Tamáchi chief of Kachh was rewarded. These measures removed all signs of disaffection at the accession of Aurangzib. A decree was issued directing Rahmat Khán the minister to forbid the cultivation of the *bháng* plant. *Mohlasib* or censors were appointed to prevent the drinking of wine or the use of intoxicating drugs and preparations. On the formal installation of Aurangzib in A.D. 1658-59 the Ahmedábad Kázi was ordered to read the sermon in his name. The Kázi objected that Sháh Jehán was alive. Sheikh Abdul Wahháb, a Sunni Bohora of Pattan, whom on account of his learning and intelligence Aurangzib had made Kázi of his camp, contended that the weakness and age of Sháh Jehán made a successor necessary. The Bohora prevailed and the sermon was read in Aurangzib's name.

In A.D. 1662 Juvantsingh received orders to march to the Dakhan and join prince Muazzam against Shiváji the Maráthi leader; and Kutb-ud-din, governor of Sorath, was directed to act for him in his absence. In this year Mahábat Khán was appointed thirty-third viceroy of Gujárat, and Sardár Khán, the governor of Broach, was sent to Idar to suppress disturbances. About A.D. 1664 Rannalji or Satarsála Jám of Navánagar died, leaving by a Ráhtod mother a child named Lakha whom the late chief's brother Raisinghji with the aid of the Ráv of Kachh and other Jádójas, set aside and himself mounted the throne. Mañik Isa, a servant of the family, took Lakha to Ahmedábad and invoked the aid of the viceroy. Kutb-ud-din marching on Navánagar, defeated and slew Raisingh, took possession of Navánagar, and annexed the territory, changing the name of the city into Islámnagar. Raisingh's son, Tamáchi, then an infant, escaped and was sheltered in Kachh. In the same year (A.D. 1664) a Balúch personating Dará Shikoh, was joined by many Kóis, and disturbed the peace of the Chúnváli, now a portion of the Ahmedábad collectorate north of Virangám. With the aid of Sherkhán Bábi, Mahábat Khán quelled these disturbances, and established two new military posts, one at Gájua under Cambay and one at Belpár under Petlad.

In this year an imperial decree was received requiring the discontinuance of the following abuses: The charging of blackmail by executive subordinates; A tax on private individuals on their cutting their own trees; Forced purchases by state servants; The levy by local officers of a tax on persons starting certain crafts; The levy of a tax on laden carts and on cattle for sale; The closing of Hindu shops on the Jain *Puchusan* and at the monthly elevenths or *Ekadasi*; Forced labour; The exclusive purchase of new grain by revenue officers; The exclusive sale by officers of the vegetables and other produce of their gardens; A tax on the slaughtering of cattle in addition to that on their sale; Payments to the Ahmednagar Kóis to prevent Musalmáns praying in the Ahmednagar mosque; The re-opening of certain Hindu temples; The aggressive conduct and obscenity practised during the Holi and Diváli holidays; The sale by Hindus of toy horses and elephants

Chapter III.

Mughal
Viceroys.

Aurangzib
Emperor,
1658-1707.
Juvantsingh
Thirty-second
Viceroy,
1659-1662.

Juvantsinghji
sent against
Shivaji,
1662.

Mañikar
Khán
Thirty-third
Viceroy,
1662-1665.

Capture of
Navánagar
(Islámnagar),
1664.

Chapter III

Mughal
Viceroy.Aurangzib
Emperor,
1658-1707.MAHĀBAT
KHĀN
Thirty-third
Viceroy,
1662-1668.Shivaji Plunders
Surat,
1664.Copper Coinage
Introduced,
1668.KHĀN JEHĀN
Thirty-fourth
Viceroy,
1668-1671.

during Musalmān holidays; The exclusive sale of rice by certain rich families; The exclusive purchase by Imperial officers of roses for the manufacture of rosewater; The mixed gatherings of men and women at Musalmān shrines; The setting up of *sezas* or holy hands and the sitting of harlots on roadsides or in markets; The charging by revenue officers of scarcity rates; The special tax in Parāntij, Modasa, Vadnagar, Bishnāpur, and Hārsol on Musalmān owners of mango trees; The levy of duty both at Surat and Ahmedābād from English and Dutch merchants.¹

In the same year (A.D. 1664) Shivaji made a rapid descent on Surat, then undefended by walls, and, by plundering the city, created great alarm over the whole province. The viceroy, Mahābat Khān marched to Surat with the following chiefs and officers: Jagmal, proprietor of Sārand; the governor of Dholka; Shādimal, chief of Idar; Sayad Hasan Khān, governor of Idar; Muhammad Abid with 200 superior landholders of the district of Kadi; the Rāja of Dāngarpur; Sabasingh Rāja of Wadhvān and other chiefs of Jhalāvadh; Lal Kālūn chief of Māndva in the Gāikwār's dominions near Atarumba; the chief of Elol under Ahmednagar in the Mahi Kāntla Agency; Prathirāj of Haldarvās; and the chief of Belpār. Before the viceroy's army arrived at Surat Shivaji had carried off his plunder to his head-quarters at Rāygaḍ.² After remaining three months at Surat levying tribute from the superior landholders, the viceroy returned to Ahmedābād, and Indrat Khān, the revenues collector of Surat, built a wall round the town for its protection. About this time Kuti-ud-din Khān, governor of Sorath, was sent with an army to aid the Mahārāja Jasvantsingh in the Dakhan and Saclār Khān was appointed in his place. In A.D. 1666 the Marāṭhas again attacked and plundered Surat, and in the same year the deposed emperor Shāh Jehān died. Aurangzib attempted to induce the English to supply him with European artillerymen and engineers. The request was evaded. In this year the viceroy, Mahābat Khān, in place of the old iron coins, introduced a copper coinage into Gujarāt. Saclār Khān, the governor of Jūnāgadh, was put in charge of Islāmānagar (Navānagar) and 500 additional horsemen were placed under him. Special checks by branding and inspection were introduced to prevent nobles and others keeping less than their proper contingent of horse. In the same year the cultivator who paid the rent was acknowledged to be the owner of the land and a system of strengtheners or *takāmi* after due security was introduced.

In A.D. 1668, Bahādur Khān Khān Jehān, who had formerly been viceroy of Allāhābād, was appointed viceroy of Gujarāt, with Hājī Shafi Khān, and afterwards Khwājā Muhammad Hāshim, as his ministers. Khān Jehān joined his government in A.D. 1669, and in A.D. 1670 Shivaji again plundered Surat. In A.D. 1670 Shivaji made

¹ Mirāt-i Khmedi, Persian Text, 274, 279.² Rāygaḍ (north latitude 18° 14', east longitude 73° 30'), the name given in A.D. 1662 to Bāri, a hill fortress in the Mahād sub-division of the Kolāba collectorate. Shivaji took the place and made it his capital in A.D. 1662.

an attempt on Janjira,¹ the residence and stronghold of the Sidi or Abyssinian admirals of Bijapur. Sidi Yakūt the commander of Janjira applied for aid to the governor of Surat. On his offering to become a vassal of the emperor and place his fleet at the emperor's disposal, Sidi Yakūt received the title of Yakūt Khān, and a yearly subsidy of £15,000 (Rs. 1,50,000) payable from the port of Surat. About the same time Sayad Diler Khān, who had accompanied Mahārāja Jasvantsingh to the Dakhan, was recalled by the viceroy Khān Jehan and appointed governor of Sorath in place of Sardār Khān, who was sent to Idar. Sayad Haidar, in charge of the military post of Haidarābād, about twenty-four miles south of Ahmedābād, reported that he had put down the rebellion but recommended that a small fort should be built. In A.D. 1670 the emperor summoned Diler Khān to discuss Dakhan affairs, and sent him to the seat of war, replacing him in the government of Sorath by Sardār Khān.

In A.D. 1671, Bahādur Khān Khān Jehān was sent as viceroy to the Dakhan. He was relieved by the Mahārāja Jasvantsingh, who, as viceroy, received an assignment of the districts of Dhandhūka and Pīlād. In A.D. 1673 through the intercession of the viceroy, Jām Tumohi, the son of Rāisīng, on condition of serving the viceroy and of keeping order was restored to Navānagar, and twenty-five villages were granted to certain dependant Jādaja Rajputs. So long as the emperor Aurangzib lived the city of Navānagar (Ishminagar) remained in the hands of a Musalmān noble, the Jām residing at Khambhālia, a town about thirty miles south-west of the head-quarters of the state. In A.D. 1707, on Aurangzib's death, the Jām was allowed to return to Navānagar where he built a strong fort. Similarly so long as Aurangzib lived, the Jām forbore to work the pearl fisheries in the Gulf of Kachh, but afterwards again made use of this source of revenue. Early in 1674 an order issued forbidding the levy from Musalmāns of *rahādari* or transit dues, of taxes on fish vegetables grass firewood and other forest produce, on Muhammadan artisans, and many other miscellaneous dues. The officer in charge of Morvi, which was then an imperial district, was ordered to strive to increase its population and revenue, and the chief of Porbandar, also an imperial district, on condition of service and of protecting the port was allowed a fourth share of its revenue. Much discontent was caused by enforcing an imperial order confiscating all *wasīfah* land, that is all land held on religious tenure by Hindus.

About the close of the year A.D. 1674, Mahārāja Jasvantsinghji was relieved and sent to Kabul, and Muhammad Amin Khān Umdat-ul-Mulk, who had just been defeated at Kabul, was appointed thirty-sixth viceroy of Gujarāt, receiving an assignment of the districts of Pātan and Virangām. Among the military posts mentioned in the Mirāt-i-Ahmedī is that of Sādra or Shahdarah the present head-quarters of the Mahi Kāntha Agency, also called Islāmābād,² which was under the

Chapter III.

Mughal
Viceroys.

Aurangzib
Emperor,
1658-1707.
Khān Juhās
Thirty-fourth
Viceroy,
1668-1671.

Sidi Yakūt the
Mughal Admiral,
1670.

Mahārāja
Jasvantsingh
Thirty-fifth
Viceroy,
1671-1674.

Muhammad
Amin Khān
Umdat-ul-Mulk
Thirty-sixth
Viceroy,
1674-1683.

¹ Janjira (north latitude 17° 59' to 18° 32') that is *Jantira* the Island, on the western coast, about forty-four miles south of Bombay.

² Another post of Islāmābād was at Panādra in the *pargana* of Azamābād on the Wātrak about twenty-one miles east-south-east of Ahmedābād. Azamābād was built

Chapter III.

Mughal
Viceroys.

Aurangzib
Emperor,
1658-1707.
MUHAMMAD
AMIN KHAN
UMDAT-UL-MULK
Thirty-sixth
Viceroy,
1674-1683.
Increased
Power of the
Babi Family.

Revolt of Idar,
1679.

command of Sayad Kamāl, son of Sayad Kāmil. The Babi family were now rising into importance. Muhammad Muzaffar, son of Sher Khān Bābi, was governor of Kadi, and Muhammad Mubārīz, another son of Sher Bābi, was in charge of one of the posts under Kadi. Kamāl Khān Jhalori, who had been removed from the government of Pālanpur and replaced by Muhammad Fateh, was now restored to his former post. About the same time, at the representation of Mulla Hasan Gujarāti, twenty-one villages were taken from Bijāpur and Kadi and Pātan and formed into the separate division of Visalnagar. In A.D. 1676, the fort of Jūnāgadh was put into repair, and Sheikh Nizām-ud-dīn Ahmed, minister of Gujarāt, was sent to Mālwa, and was succeeded by Muhammad Sharif. The Kānkrej Kolis were again rebellious, and Muhammad Amin Khān Umdat-ul-Mulk went against them and remained four months in their country, subduing them and enforcing tribute. In the end of A.D. 1678, the viceroy paid his respects to the emperor at Ajmir. The emperor forbade the fining of Musalman officials as contrary to the Muhammadan law and directed that if guilty of any fault they should be imprisoned or degraded from office, but not fined. An order was also given to change the name of the new Visalnagar district to Rasūlnagar.

At this time (A.D. 1679) the emperor was doing his utmost to crush both the Rāna of Udepur and the Rāthods of Mārwar. While the emperor was at Chitor, Bhimsing the Rāna's youngest son raided into Gujarāt plundering Vadnagar Visalnagar and other towns and villages. The chief of Idar, thinking the opportunity favourable for regaining his independence, expelled the Muhammadan garrison from Idar and established himself in his capital. Muhammad Amin Khān sent Muhammad Bahlol Khān Shirwāni who with the help of the Kasbatia of Parāntij re-took Idar, and the chief pursued by Bahlol Khān fled to the hills, where he died in a cave from want of his usual dose of opium to which he was much addicted. His body was found by a woodcutter who brought the head to Bahlol Khān. The head was recognized by the chief's widow, who from that day put on mourning. Muhammad Bahlol Khān was much praised, and was appointed to the charge of Idar, and at the same time the minister Muhammad Sharif was succeeded by Abdūl Latif.¹

To this time belongs an imperial decree imposing the *jazyah* or head tax on all subjects not professing the Muhammadan faith, and another regulating the levy from Musalmāns of the *sakat* or poor rate.² In 1681 a severe famine led to riots in Ahmedābād. As the

by Amin Khān during his viceroyalty (A.D. 1635-1642); and at his request by permission of the emperor Shāh Jehān was erected into a *pargana*. For the pay of the garrison twelve villages were attached from the neighbouring *parganas* of Bahyal and Kapad-vanj.

¹ The *Misk-i-Ahmedi* (Persian Text, 311) adds that Bahlol's following of *Kushtia* was so poorly equipped that he had to mount many of them, for whom he could not find horses, on bullocks. The sense of security in the mind of the Idar chief, bred by contempt at the sight of this motley crowd was the chief cause of Bahlol's success.

² The *sakat* or purification is the tax required by law to be given annually to the poor. It is levied on camels, oxen, buffaloes, sheep, goats, horses, asses, mules, and gold or silver whether in money or ornaments or vessels. The tax is not levied on any

viceroy Muhammad Amin was returning in state from the Id prayers Abu Bakr an Ahmedabad Sheikh instigated the people to throw stones and dust. The viceroy's bodyguard attacked the mob, but owing to the viceroy's forbearance no serious results followed. On hearing of the riot the emperor ordered the city to be put under martial law. The more politic viceroy contented himself by inviting Sheikh Abu Bakr and others to a banquet. After dinner he gave a piece of a poisoned watermelon to Abu Bakr, who died and the riot with him. In A.D. 1683 Muhammad Amin the viceroy died. According to the Mirat-i-Ahmedi, Muhammad Amin was one of the best of Gujarāt governors. The emperor Aurangzib used to say 'No viceroy of mine keeps order like Amin Khān.'

Amin Khān was succeeded by Mukhtār Khān as thirty-seventh viceroy, Abdul Latif continuing to hold the office of minister. Fresh orders were passed forbidding import dues on merchandise, fruit, grass, firewood, and similar produce entering Ahmedabad. In 1682 a decree was received ordering pauper prisoners to be provided with rations and dress at the cost of the state. In 1683 the Sābarmīti rose so high that the water reached as far as the *Tā Darmizāh* or Triple Gateway in the west of Ahmedabad city. In consequence of disturbances in Sorath the viceroy called on the minister to advance funds for an expedition. The minister refused to make advances without special orders from the emperor. On a reference to court the minister was directed to make advances in emergent cases. In A.D. 1684, at the request of the inhabitants of that city Abdūr Rahmān Krori, the governor of Deva Pītan, was removed and in his place Muhammad Sayad chose Sardār Khān as governor of Sorath. In the following year on the death of Sardār Khān at Thatba in Sindh, where he had gone as viceroy, he was, in the first instance, succeeded in the government of Sorath by Sayad Muhammad Khān. Not long after Sorath was assigned as a personal estate to the emperor's second son prince Muhammad Azam Shāh Bahādūr and during the prince's absence Shāhwardi Khān was sent to manage its affairs. In A.D. 1684 a famine in Gujarāt raised the price of grain in Ahmedabad to such a degree that Sheikh Muhy-ud-din, the son of the Kāzi and regulator of prices, was mobbed.

On the death of the viceroy in 1684 prince Muhammad Azam Shāh was nominated to succeed him with Kārtalab Khān, governor of Sorath, as his deputy. Before the prince took charge Kārtalab Khān was raised to the post of viceroy, and Muhammad Tāhir appointed minister. In addition to his command as viceroy of Gujarāt, Kārtalab Khān was afterwards placed in charge of Jodhpur. In this rearrangement besides his previous personal estate, the district of Petlād was assigned to prince Muhammad Azam Shāh, and Sher Afghan Khān, son of Shāhwardi Khān, was appointed governor of Sorath. In A.D.

Chapter III.

Mughal
Viceroys.

Aurangzib
Emperor.
1658-1707.

MUKHTĀR
KHĀN
Thirty-seventh
Viceroy,
1683-1684.

Famine,
1684.

SHUJĀAT KHĀN
(KĀRTALAB
KHĀN)
Thirty-eighth
Viceroy,
1684-1703.

one who owns less than a minimum of five camels, thirty oxen, forty-five sheep, five horses, two hundred *dishons* or twenty *diatres*. The proportion to income is generally one fortieth; the amount may be paid either in kind or in money. Compare Stanley Lane Poole's *Arabian Society in the Middle Ages*, 14.

Chapter III.

Mughal
Viceroys.

Aurangzeb
Emperor,
1658-1707.
SHUJA'AT KHAN
(KARTALAH
KHAN)
Thirty-eighth
Viceroy,
1684-1703.
He Quells a
Mutiny,
1689.

1687, Sber Afghan Khan was relieved by Bahlol Shirwani, but in the following year was restored to his command. In A.D. 1689, on the news of the death of its governor Inayat Khan, Kartalah Khan started to settle the affairs of Jodhpur. As soon as he left Ahmedabad, a rumour spread that a new viceroy was coming, and the troops, with whom as well as with the people of Gujarat Kartalah was most popular, grew mutinous. On hearing of this disturbance Kartalah Khan at once returned to Ahmedabad and quelled the mutiny. His firmness so pleased the emperor that he gave him the title of Shujaat Khan, and placed the governor of Jodhpur under his orders. Shujaat Khan now proceeded to Jodhpur, where Durgadas Rathod, who had incited prince Abkar to rebellion, and Ajitsingh, the son of Maharaja Jasvantsingh, were causing disturbance. Finding that a strong resident governor was required to keep the insurgents in check, Shujaat Khan appointed Kazim Beg Muhammad Amin, a brave and resolute soldier, to be his deputy and returned to Ahmedabad. During this viceroyalty the pay of the leader or *jamadar* of a troop of fifty horse was fixed at £10 (Rs. 100); of a *do-aspah* or two-horse trooper at £5 (Rs. 50); and of an *ek-aspah* or one-horse trooper at £3 (Rs. 30) a month. An imperial order was also issued directing the levy on merchandise to be taken at the place and time of sale instead of the time and place of purchase. As this change caused loss to the revenue the old system was again adopted. In A.D. 1690 the minister Amnat Khan, with the title of Imam Khan, was made military governor of Surat, and Sayad Muhaim was chosen minister in his place. To prevent the peons of great officials extorting fees and dues officials were forbidden to entertain peons without payment.

Revolt of Matias
and Momnas,
1691.

In the following year (A.D. 1691) an attempt on the part of the emperor to suppress a body of Musalman sectarians led to a somewhat serious insurrection. Sayad Shuhji was the religious preceptor of the Matias of Khandesh and the Momnas of Gujarat, two classes of converted Hindus closely allied to the Khojas of Kathiavada, all of them being followers of Sayad Imam-ud-din an Ismaili missionary who came to Gujarat during the reign of Mahmud Begada (A.D. 1459-1513). Hearing that his followers paid obeisance to their veiled spiritual guide by kissing his toe, the emperor ordered the guide to be sent to court to be examined before the religious doctors. Afraid of the result of this examination, the Sayad committed suicide and was buried at Karamtah nine miles south of Ahmedabad. The loss of their leader so enraged his followers that, collecting from all sides, they marched against Broach, seized the fort, and slew the governor. The insurgents held the fort of Broach against the governor of Baroda who was sent to punish them, and for a time successfully resisted the efforts of his successor Nazar Ali Khan. At last, at an unguarded spot, some of the besiegers stole over the city wall and opening the gates admitted their companions. The Momnas were defeated and almost all slain as they sought death either by the sword or by drowning to merit their saint's favour in the next world.

Disturbances in
Kathiavada,
1692.

In A.D. 1692 Shujaat Khan, during his tribute-gathering campaign in Jhalavada and Sorath, stormed the fort of Than, the headquarters

of the plundering Káthís and after destroying the fort returned to Ahmedábad. Shujáát Khán was one of the ablest of Gujarát viceroys. He gave so much of his attention to the management of Jodhpur, that he used to spend about six months of every year in Márwár. He beautified Ahmedábad by building the college and mosque still known by his name near the Lal Gate. In A.D. 1642 two hundred cart-loads of marble were received from the ancient buildings at Pátan and the deputy governor Safdar Khán Bábi wrote that if a thousand cart-loads more were required they could be supplied from the same source. At this time the emperor ordered that Sheikh Akram-ud-dín, the local tax-collector, should levy the head tax from the Hindus of Pátanpur and Jhálor. The viceroy deputed Muhammad Majáhid, son of Kamal Khán Jhálori, governor of Pátanpur to help in collecting. As Durgádás Ráthod was again stirring tumults and sedition in Márwár, the viceroy went to Jodhpur, and by confirming their estates to the chief vassals and landholders and guaranteeing other public measures on condition of service, persuaded them to abandon their alliance with Durgádás against whom he sent his deputy Kázim Beg, who expelled him from Márwár. After appointing Kanvar Mukamsingh, governor of Mertha in Márwár, Shujáát Khán returned to Ahmedábad. In A.D. 1693, at the request of Sher Afghan Khán, governor of Sorath, the walls of the fort of Jagat were restored. In this year the viceroy went to Jhálaváda to exact tribute. On his return to Ahmedábad Safdar Khán Bábi, governor of Pátan, wrote to the viceroy, and at his request the forts of Kambhoi and Sámprah were repaired. The viceroy now went to Jodhpur and from that returned to Ahmedábad. A circumstance in connection with a sum of Rs. 7000 spent on the repairs of forts illustrates the close imperial supervision of provincial accounts. The item having come to imperial notice from the provincial disbursement sheets was disallowed as unfair and ordered to be refunded under the rule that such charges were to be met out of their incomes by the local governors and military deputy governors. Imperial officers were also from time to time deputed to collect from the books of the *dean's* statements of provincial disbursements and receipts for periods of ten years that they might render an independent check. In this year the emperor hearing that Ajítsingh and Durgádás were again contemplating rebellion ordered the viceroy to Jodhpur. Muhammad Mubáriz Bábi was at the same time appointed deputy governor of Vadnagar, and an order was issued that the revenue of Pátan should be paid to Shujáát Khán instead of as formerly into the imperial treasury. In this year also Safdar Khán Bábi, governor of Pátan, was succeeded by Mubáriz Khán Bábi. Not long afterwards under imperial orders the viceroy directed Muhammad Mubáriz Bábi to destroy the Vadnagar temple of Hateshwar-Mahádev the Nágár Bráhmans' special guardian.

In A.D. 1696, Muhammad Bahlol Shirwáni, governor of Baroda, died, and his place was supplied by Muhammad Beg Khán. During this year the viceroy again went to Jodhpur and remained there for some months. In A.D. 1697 Buláki Beg the mace-bearer arrived from the imperial court to settle disputes connected with the Navánagar succes-

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Mughal
Viceroys.Aurangzáib
Emperor.
1658-1707.SHUJÁAT KHÁN
(KÁNTALAH
Khán)Thirty-ninth
Viceroy.
1684-1703.Disturbances
in Márwar.

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Mughal
Viceroys.Aurangzib
Emperor,
1658-1707.SHUJAAT KHAN
(KANTALAH
KHAN)Thirty-eighth
Viceroy,
1654-1703.Durgadas Rathod
reconciled to
the Emperor,
1697.

sion, and to inquire into complaints made by the inhabitants of Sorath. In 1696 an imperial circular was addressed to all officers in charge of districts ordering them to show no respect or consideration for royalty in their efforts to capture or kill the rebel prince Akbar. About the same time Durgadas Rathod, in whose charge were the son and daughter of prince Akbar, made an application to Shujaat Khan, proposing a truce, and saying that he wished personally to hand the children to their grandfather. Shujaat Khan agreed and Durgadas restored Akbar's children to the emperor. Aurangzib finding the children able to repeat the whole Kurān was much pleased with Durgadas, and made peace with him, assigning him as a personal estate the lands of Mertha in Jodhpur, and afterwards adding to this the grant of Dhandhuka and other districts of Gujarāt. In consequence of a failure of crops the price of grain rose so high that the government share of the produce was brought to Ahmedabad and sold in public to the poor and needy. About this time Muhammad Mubāriz Babi was killed by a Koli who shot him with an arrow while he was sacking the village of Samprah.¹ Safdar Khan Babi was appointed deputy governor of Patan in his stead.

In the same year it was reported to the emperor that the money-changers and capitalists of Ahmedabad in making payments passed money short of weight to poor men and in receiving charged an exchange of two to three *tanaks* the rupee. The Subah and minister were ordered to stop the currency of rupees more than two *surahs* short.²

Scarcity,
1698.

In A.D. 1698, on the death of Itimād Khan, his son Muhammad Muhsin was made minister, and he was ordered to hand the district of Mertha to Durgadas Rathod. Among other changes Muhammad Munim was raised to the command of the fort of Jodhpur and Khwajah Abdul Hamid was appointed minister. Owing to a second failure of rain 1698 was a year of much scarcity in Marwar and north Gujarāt. The accounts of this year notice a petition addressed to the viceroy by a Siner Brahman, praying that he might not be seized as a carrier or labourer.³ In connection with some revenue and civil affairs, a difference of opinion arose between Shujaat Khan and Safdar Khan Babi, deputy governor of Patan. Safdar Khan resigned, and, until a successor was appointed, Muhammad Bahlol Shirwani was directed to administer the Patan district. In the same year the emperor bestowed the government of Sorath on Muhammad Beg Khan. In A.D. 1699 Durgadas Rathod obtained from the emperor not only a pardon for Ajitsingh, son of the late Maharaja Jasvantsingh, but procured him

¹ This Samprah according to the *Nirāt-i-Ahmadi*, Persian Text, II, 127, was a small police post or *thana* in Pargana Bahyal, twenty miles north-east of Ahmedabad. It is now in the Gaskwar's territory. Bahyal was under Patan, so in the text this place is described as under Patan.

² The *surah* or little black-dotted red seed of the *Abrus precatorius* is called *ghāngohi* in Hindi and cock's-eye, *chashma-i-kharis*, in Persian. As a weight the seed is known as a *ruft* 96 going to the *tola*. It is used in weighing precious stones. Blochmann's *Ain-i-Akhbar*, I, 16 note 1 and *Nirāt-i-Ahmadi* Persian Text, 366.

³ Since in Baroda territory on the right bank of the Narmada about thirty miles south of Baroda.

an assignment of lands in, as well as the official charge of, the districts of Jhalor and Sāchor in Mārwar. Mujahid Khan Jhalori, who as representing a family of landholders dating as far back as the Gujarāt Sultāns, had held Jhalor and Sāchor, now received in their stead the lands in Palanpur and Disa which his descendants still hold. In this year also (A.D. 1699) Amānat Khān, governor of Surat, died, and the Marāthās making a raid into the province, Shujāt Khān sent Nazar Ali Khān to drive them out. About this time an imperial order arrived, addressed to the provincial *dāda* directing him to purchase 1000 horses for the government at the average rate of £20 (Rs. 200).

In A.D. 1700 on the death of Firūz Khān Mewāti, deputy governor of Jodhpūr, the viceroy appointed in his place Muhammad Zāhid from Virangam. Rāja Ajitsingh of Mārwar was now ordered to repair to court, and as he delayed, a *rukhsat* or speed fine was imposed upon him in agreement with Shujāt Khān's directions. About this time an order came to Kamāl Khān Jhalori for the despatch to the emperor of some of the Palanpur *chitāhs* or hunting leopards which are still in demand in other parts of India. In the same year the manager of Dhandhūka on behalf of Durgādās Rāthod, asked the viceroy for aid against the Kāthis, who were plundering that district. The viceroy ordered Muhammad Beg, governor of Sorāth, to march against them. At this time Shujāt Khān despatched Nazar Ali Khān with a large force to join the imperial camp which was then at Panhala in Kolhāpur. Shujāt Khān, who had so long and ably filled the office of viceroy in a most critical time, died in A.D. 1703. In his place prince Muhammad Aāzam Shah, who was then at Dhār in Mālwa, was appointed thirty-ninth viceroy of Gujarāt, as well as governor of Ajmir and Jodhpur; and until his arrival the minister Khwājāh Abdul Hamid Khān was ordered to administer the province. Owing to the recall of the late governor's troops from many of the posts disorders broke out in the Pātan districts and the Kolis plundered the country and made the roads impassable.

On his way from the Dakhan to Ahmedābād, the chief of Jhābua, a state now under the Bhopāwar Agency, paid his respects to the new viceroy and presented him with a tribute of £1800 (Rs. 18,000). Among other arrangements the prince sent to Jodhpur Jāfar Kuli, son of Kizim Beg, as deputy governor, and appointed Durgādās Rāthod governor of Pātan. Shortly after, on suspicion of his tampering with the Rāthod Rajputs, an order came from the emperor to summon Durgādās to the prince's court at Ahmedābād, and there confine him or slay him.¹ Safidar Khān Bābi, who, in displeasure with Shujāt Khān had retired to Mālwa, returned and offered to slay or capture Durgādās, who was accordingly invited to the prince's court at Ahmedābād. Durgādās came and pitched his camp at the village of Bāreja on the Saharmati near Ahmedābād. On the day Durgādās was to present himself, the prince, on pretence of a hunt, had ordered the attendance of a strong detachment of the army.

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Mughal
Viceroys.

Aurangzib
Emperor,
1658-1707.

SHUJĀT KHĀN
KĀSTĀN
Khān)

Thirty-ninth
Viceroy,
1684-1703.

PRINCE
MUHAMMAD
AĀZAM
Thirty-ninth
Viceroy,
1703-1705.

Intrigue against
Durgādās Rāthod,
1703.

¹ Mirāt-i-Ahmedi, Persian Text, 372.

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Mughal
Viceroys.Aurangzib
Emperor,
1658-1707.PRINCE
MUHAMMAD
AZAM
Thirty-ninth
Viceroy,
1703-1705.Durgadās
Rāthod
Escapes.

When all was ready and Safdar Khān Bābi and his sons appeared mailed and gauntleted the prince sent for Durgadās. As this day was an eleventh or *agīdas* Durgadās had put off waiting on the prince until the fast was over. Growing suspicious of the number of messengers from the prince, he burned his tents and fled. Safdar Khān Bābi was sent in pursuit. He was overtaking Durgadās when Durgadās' grandson, praying his grandfather to make good his escape, stayed behind with a band of followers, charged the pursuers, and after a gallant combat, he and his Rājputs were slain. The grandson of Durgadās was killed in a hand-to-hand fight with Salābat Khān, the son of Safdar Khān Bābi. Emerald rings are to this day worn by youths of the Bābi families of North Gujarāt in memory of the emerald earrings which adorned the young Rājput and were afterwards worn by Salābat as trophies of this fight. Meanwhile Durgadās had reached Unjāh-Unāwa, forty miles east of Pātan, and from Unjāh made his way to Pātan. From Pātan, taking his family with him, he retired to Tharād, and from that to Mārwar, where he was afterwards joined by Ajitsingh of Mārwar, whom the emperor opposed on the ground of illegitimacy. The imperial troops followed and took possession of Pātan, putting to death the head of the city police.

In his old age the emperor Aurangzib became more and more strict in religious matters. In 1702 an imperial order forbade the making of almanacs as contrary to the Muhammadan law. Hindus were also forbidden to keep Muhammadan servants.

Surat,
1700-1703.

About this time (A.D. 1700) news arrived that the Marāthās with a force of 10,000 horse were threatening Surat from the foot of the Kāsra pass and the confines of Sultānpur and Nandurbār. The viceroy despatched a body of troops to guard Surat against their incursions. Disputes between the government and the Portuguese were also injuring the trade of the province. In A.D. 1701 the viceroy received an order from Court directing him to destroy the temple of Somnāth beyond possibility of repair. The despatch adds that a similar order had been issued at the beginning of Aurangzib's reign. In A.D. 1703, at the request of the merchants of Gujarāt, with the view of inducing the Portuguese to let ships from Surat pass unmolested and release some Musalmāns who had been imprisoned on their way back from Makkah, orders were issued that certain confiscated Portuguese merchandise should be restored to its owners. An imperial order was also received to encourage the art of brocade weaving in Ahmedābād. In A.D. 1704, Safdar Khān Bābi was raised to be governor of Bijāpur, about fifty miles north-east of Ahmedābād. Sarandās Khān was at the same time appointed to Sorath instead of Muhammad Beg Khān, who was placed in charge of the lands round Ahmedābād. As the Marāthās once more threatened Surat, Mustafa Kuli, governor of Broach, was sent with 1000 horse to defend the city.

Certain passages in Aurangzib's letters to prince Aāzam when (A.D. 1703-1705) viceroy of Gujarāt, show how keen and shrewd an interest the aged emperor maintained in the government of his viceroys. In Letter 19 he writes to prince Aāzam: To take the government of Sorath

from Fatah Jang Khān Bābi and give it to your chamberlain's brother is to break a sound glass vessel with your own hands. These Bābis have been time out of mind a respected race in Gujarāt and are well versed in the arts of war. There is no sense in giving the management of Sorath to anyone but to a Bābi. Sorath is a place which commanders of five thousand like Hasan Alikhān and Safshikan Khān have with difficulty administered. If your officers follow the principles laid down by the late Shujāsāt Khān, it will be well. If they do not, the province of Gujarāt is such that if order is broken in one or two places, it will not soon be restored. For the rest you are your own master. I say not, do this or do that; look that the end is good, and do that which is easiest. In another passage (Letter 37 to the same prince Āzām) Aurangzib writes: You who are a well intentioned man, why do you not retaliate on oppressors? Over Hājipūr Aminpūr and other posts, where atrocities occur every day, and at Kapadvanj where the Kolis rob the highways up to the posts, you have made your chamberlain and artillery superintendent your commandant. He entrusted his powers to his carrion-eating and fraudulent relatives. Owing to his influence the oppressed cannot come to you. . . . You ought to give the command to one of the Gujarātis like Safdar Khān Bābi or one of the sons of Bahlūl Shīrwāni who have earned reputations during the administration of the late Shujāsāt Khān and who are popular with the people. Else I tell you plainly that on the Day of Justice we shall be caught for neglecting to punish the oppressions of our servants.

In A.D. 1705, as the climate of Gujarāt did not agree with prince Āzām, Ibrāhīm Khān, viceroy of Kashmir, was appointed fortieth viceroy of Gujarāt, and his son Zabardast Khān, viceroy of Lahor, was appointed to the government of Ajmīr and Jodhpur. Prince Āzām at once went to Burhānpur in Khāndesh, handing charge of Gujarāt to the minister Abdūl Hamīd Khān until the new viceroy should arrive. Durgādās Rāthod now asked for and received pardon. Abdūl Hamīd Khān was ordered to restore the lands formerly granted to Durgādās, and Durgādās was directed to act under Abdūl Hamīd's orders. In A.D. 1705 the emperor learned that Khānji, a successor of Kutb the high priest of the Ismā'īlī Bohorās, had sent out twelve missionaries to win people to his faith, and that his followers had subscribed Rs. 1,14,000 to relieve those of their number who were imprisoned. The emperor ordered that the twelve missionaries should be secured and sent to him and appointed Sunni Mullās to preach in their villages and bring the Bohorās' children to the Sunni form of faith.

About this time (A.D. 1705) the Marāṭhās, who had long been hovering on the south-east frontiers of the province, bursting into south Gujarāt with an army 15,000 strong, under the leadership of Dhanājī Jadhav, defeated the local forces and laid the country waste. Abdūl Hamīd Khān, who was then in charge of the province, ordered all governors of districts and officers in charge of posts to collect their men and advance to Surat. Between Nazar Ali Khān and Safdar Khān Bābi, the officers in command of this

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Mughal
Viceroys.Aurangzib
Emperor,
1658-1707.PRINCE
MUHAMMAD
ĀZĀM
Thirty-ninth
Viceroy,
1703-1705.Ibrāhīm Khān
Fortieth Viceroy,
1705.The Marāṭhās
enter Gujarāt.

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Mughal
Viceroys.

Aurangzib

Emperor.

1658-1707.

Imrân Khân

Fortieth Viceroy,

1705.

Battle of
Ratanpūr.
Defeat of the
Musalmāns,
1705.Battle of the
Bāba Pīrah
Ford. Second
Defeat of the
Musalmāns,
1705.Koli
Disturbances.PRINCE
MUHAMMAD
BIDĀR BAKHT
Forty-first
Viceroy,
1705-1706.

army, an unfortunate jealousy prevailed. Not knowing where the Marāthās were to be found, they halted on the Nerbada near the Bāba Pīrah ford. Here they remained for a month and a half, the leaders contenting themselves with sending out spies to search for the enemy. At last, hearing of the approach of the Marāthās, they sent to head-quarters asking for artillery and other reinforcements. In reply, Abdūl Hamid Khān, a man of hasty temper, upbraided them for their inactivity and for allowing so much time to pass without making their way to Surat. Orders were accordingly at once issued for an advance, and the army next halted at Ratanpūr in Rājpipla. Here, apparently from the jealousy of the commanders, the different chiefs pitched their camps at some distance from each other. Finding the enemy's forces thus scattered, the Marāthās, under the command of Dhanōji Jadhav, lost no time in advancing against them. First attacking the camp of Safdar Khān Bābi, they defeated his troops, killed his son, and took prisoner the chief himself. Only a few of his men, with his nephew Muhammad Aāzam, escaped to the camp of Nazar Ali Khān. Next, the Marāthās attacked the army under Muhammad Purdī Khān Shirwāni; and it also they defeated. Of the Musalmān army those who were not slain, drowned in the Nerbada, or captured, reached Broach in miserable plight, where they were relieved by Akbar Ali Khān. Nazar Ali Khān burned his tents and surrendered to the Marāthās, by whom he was well treated.

The Marāthās now heard that Abdūl Hamid Khān was coming with an army to oppose them. Thinking he would not risk a battle, they went to the Bāba Pīrah ford, and there crossed the Nariada. That very day Abdūl Hamid Khān, with Muhammad Sher and Muhammad Salālat, sons of Safdar Khān Bābi, and others came to the spot where the Marāthās were encamped. All night long they were harassed by the Marāthās, and next morning found the enemy ready for a general attack. The Muhammadans, weary with watching, dispirited from the defeats of Safdar Khān, and inferior in number to their assailants, were repulsed and surrounded. The two sons of Safdar Khān Bābi, and two other nobles, seeing that the day was lost, cut their way through the enemy and escaped, Abdūl Hamid Khān, Nazar Ali Khān, and many others were taken prisoners. The Marāthās plundered the Muhammadan camp, declared their right to tribute, levied sums from the adjacent towns and villages and extorted heavy ransoms which in the case of Abdūl Hamid Khān was fixed at as large a sum as £30,000 (Rs. 3 lakhs). The Kolis, seeing the disorganized state of Gujarāt, began ravaging the country, and plundered Baroda for two days. At Ahmedabād Muhammad Beg Khān, who had been appointed governor of Sorath, was recalled to defend the capital. When the news of the defeat at Bāba Pīrah reached Delhi, the emperor despatched prince Muhammad Bidār Bakht with a large army to drive out the invaders. Before this force reached Gujarāt the Marāthās had retired.

Prince Muhammad Bidār Bakht arrived in A.D. 1705 as forty-first viceroy, and appointed Amānat Khān governor of the ports of Surat and Cambay. News was now received that Ajitsingh of Jodhpur and Verisalji of Rājpipla were about to rebel, and the prince took

measures to check their plans. About this time the emperor, hearing that an attack had been made on the Muhamadan post at Dwarka, ordered the temple to be levelled to the ground. It seems doubtful whether this order was carried out. Nazar Ali Khan, who had formerly enjoyed a grant of Halvad in Jhalavada, had been driven out by Chandrasingh, chief of Vankiner; but, on condition of his expelling Chandrasingh, these lands were again granted to him. Kamal Khan Jhalori, leaving under his son Firuz Khan at Palanpur a body of men for the defence of his charge, advanced to Ahmedabad to guard the city from Maratha attack. He petitioned that according to Gujarati custom his troops should receive rations so long as they were employed on imperial service. To this request the emperor agreed and issued orders to the provincial minister. Shortly after Durgadas Rathod took advantage of the general confusion to rejoin Ajitsingh, and an army was sent to Tharad against them. Ajitsingh was at first forced to retire. Finally he succeeded in defeating Kunwar Muhkamsingh, and marching on Jodhpur recovered it from Jaffer Kuli, son of Kазim Beg. Durgadas meanwhile had taken shelter with the Kolis. At the head of a band of robbers, meeting Shah Kuli the son of Kазim Beg on his way to join his appointment as deputy governor of Patan, Durgadas attacked and killed him. And soon after at Chaniar in the Chunval, laying in wait for Maasum Kuli, the governor of Viramgam, he routed his escort, Maasum Kuli escaping with difficulty. On condition of being appointed governor of Patan Safdar Khan Babi now offered to kill or capture Durgadas. His offer was accepted, and as from this time Durgadas is no more heard of, it seems probable that Safdar Khan succeeded in killing him. As the disturbed state of the province seemed to require a change of government Ibrahim Khan, who had been appointed viceroy in the previous year, was ordered to join his post. This order he reluctantly obeyed in A.D. 1706.

SECTION II.—Fifty Years of Disorder, 1707-1757.

With the death of the emperor Aurangzib, early in A.D. 1707, the period of strong government which had latterly from year to year been growing weaker came to an end. As soon as Aurangzib's death was known, the Marathas under Balaji Vishvanath burst into east Gujarati, marching by Jhabua and Godhra, where they were ineffectually opposed by the governor Murad Baksh. From Godhra they went to and plundered the town of Mahuda in Kaira, and proposed marching on Ahmedabad by way of Nadiad. The viceroy prepared to resist them, and, enlisting special troops, camped outside of the city near the Kankariya lake. Of the warlike population on the north bank of the Sabarmati opposite Ahmedabad nearly eight thousand Musalman horse and three thousand foot together with four thousand Rajputs and Kolis in three days gathered at the Kankariya camp. The viceroy was also joined by Abdal Hadi Pandemal the viceroy's minister, Abdal Hamid Khan provincial minister, Muhammad Beg Khan, Nazar Ali Khan, Safdar Khan Babi, and several other deputy governors with their retinues and artillery. Though strong in numbers the practised eye of the viceroy failed to find in the host that

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Mughal Viceroy.

Aurangzib
Emperor.
1658-1707.

PRINCE
MUHAMMAD
RIFAT BAKHT
Forty-first
Viceroy,
1705-1706.

Durgadas
Rathod again
in Rebellion.

IBRAHIM KHAN
Forty-second.
Viceroy,
1706.

The Marathas
advance to
Ahmedabad
and levy Tribute,
1707.

Chapter III.

Mughal
Viceroys.

Bahādur
Shāh I.
Emperor,
1707-1712.
Ibrāhīm Khān
Forty-second
Viceroy,
1706.

firmness and unity of purpose which could alone ensure victory over the Marāthā hordes. The Marāthās did much mischief, plundering as far as Batva, only four-and-a-half miles from the viceroy's camp. The author of the *Mirāt-i-Ahmedi*, whose father was an actor in these scenes, describes the panic in the capital of Gujarāt which since its capture by Muzaffar in A.D. 1583 had been free from the horrors of war. Crowds of scared and terror-stricken men women and children laden with as much of their property as they could carry were pressing from the suburbs into the city. In the city the streets were crowded with squatters. The cries of parents bereft of children, added to the din and turmoil of the soldiery, was like the horror of the Day of Resurrection. The dejected faces of the soldiers beaten in the late engagements added to the general gloom. The viceroy, thoroughly alarmed, concluded a treaty with Balāji, and on receiving a tribute of £21,000 (Rs. 2,10,000) the Marāthās withdrew. Meanwhile, in the contest between the princes for the throne of Delhi, prince Muhammad Nāẓim Shāh was defeated and slain, and prince Muhammad Mu'azzam Shāh mounted the throne with the title of Bahādur Shāh. Ibrāhīm Khān was confirmed in the post of viceroy of Gujarāt, but, fearing that the emperor might be displeased at his concession of tribute to the Marāthās, he went to Delhi to explain his conduct, and there resigned office.

Ghāzi-ud-dīn
Forty-third
Viceroy,
1708-1710.

In A.D. 1708, in consequence of Ibrāhīm Khān's resignation, Ghāzi-ud-dīn Khān Bahādur Firūz Jang was appointed forty-third viceroy of Gujarāt. The leaning of the new emperor towards Shīāh tenets and his order to insert in the Friday sermon the words the lawfulness of the Prophet after the name of 'Alī, the fourth Khalifah, besides giving general dissatisfaction, caused a small disturbance in Ahmedābād. On the first Friday on which the sermon was read the Turāni or Turk soldiers publicly called on the preacher to desist on pain of death. The preacher disregarding their threats on the next Friday was pulled down from the pulpit by the Turānis and brained with a mace. In the same year (A.D. 1708), hearing that the representative of Shāhī Alam had a copy of a Kurān written by the Imām 'Alī Taki son of Mūsā Razā (A.C. 810-823), the emperor expressed a wish to obtain a sight of it, and the viceroy sent it to him at Māndu in charge of Sayad Akil and Salālat Khān Bābi. In A.D. 1709, Shariāt Khān, brother of Abdūl Hamīd Khān, was appointed minister in place of his brother, who obtained the office of chief Kazi. Much treasure was sent to the imperial camp by order of the emperor. Ajātsingh of Mārwar now rebelled and recovered Jodhpur. As the emperor wished to visit Ajmīr the viceroy of Gujarāt was directed to join him with his army. At this time the pay of a horseman is said to have been £3 8s. (Rs. 34) and of a footman 8s. (Rs. 4) a month. During his administration Firūz Jang introduced the practice, which his successors continued, of levying taxes on grain piece-goods and garden produce on his own account, the viceroy's men by degrees getting into their hands the whole power of collecting. In A.D. 1710, when on tour exacting tribute, the viceroy fell ill at Dānta and was brought to Ahmedābād, where he died. As Firūz Jang had not submitted

satisfactory accounts, his property was confiscated, and in A.D. 1711 Amnat Khan, governor of Surat, was appointed deputy viceroy with the title of Shahamat Khan. When Shahamat Khan was levying tribute from the Kadi and Bijapur districts, he heard that a Maratha force had advanced to the Bāba Pārah ford on the Narbada. He at once marched to oppose them, summoning Sayad Ahmed Gilani, governor of Sorath, to his assistance. When he reached Ankleshvar, the Marathas met him, and a battle was fought in which the Marathas were defeated. Shahamat Khan then proceeded to Surat, and, after providing for its safety returned to Ahmedabad. In spite of their reverse at Ankleshvar the Marathas from this time began to make yearly raids into Gujarat.

In A.D. 1712, the emperor died, and was succeeded by his son Abul Fatah Muizz-ul-din Jehandar Shah, and Asif-ud-daulah Asad Khan Bahadur was appointed forty-fourth viceroy of Gujarat. As Muhammad Beg Khan, who was then at Kharkol, was a favourite of the new viceroy and through his interest was appointed deputy, he went to Ahmedabad, and Shahamat Khan was transferred to Malwa as viceroy. In the meantime Muhammad Beg Khan was appointed governor of Surat, and Sarbuland Khan Bahadur was sent to Ahmedabad as deputy viceroy. On his way to Gujarat, Sarbuland Khan was robbed in the Sagbara wilds to the east of Rajpipla. On his arrival he promptly marched against the rebellious Kolis of the Chunval and subdued them. At the end of the year, as Farrukhsiyar son of Azim-us-Shan, second son of the late emperor, was marching with a large army on the capital, Sarbuland Khan returned to Delhi.

This expedition of Farrukhsiyar was successful. He put Jehandar Shah to death and mounted the throne in A.D. 1713. As he had been raised to the throne mainly by the aid of Sayads Husain Ali and Abdollah Khan, the new emperor fell under the power of these nobles. Husain Ali was sent against Ajitsingh of Marwar, and concluded a treaty with that chief, whereby Ajitsingh engaged to send his son to court and to give his daughter to the emperor in marriage: and the marriage was solemnised in A.D. 1715. In A.D. 1714, shortly after this treaty was concluded, Ajitsingh sent his son Abheysingh to court, and on him in place of one Sayad Ahmed Gilani was conferred the post of governor of Sorath. Abheysingh remained at court and sent his deputy Kayath Fatehsingh to Junagadh. Abul Hamid Khan was appointed revenue officer of Surat. After some time he resigned his Surat office and went to court, where on being made superintendent of the shrine of Sheikh Ahmed Khattā he returned to Ahmedabad. In A.D. 1713 Muhtarim Khan was appointed to succeed him in Surat. Early in A.D. 1714, Shahamat Khan, who had been appointed forty-fifth viceroy of Gujarat, was superseded by Daud Khan Panni as forty-sixth viceroy. The reckless courage of Daud Khan Panni was renowned throughout India. His memory survives in the tales and proverbs of the Dakhan. On giving battle he used to show his contempt for his enemies by wearing nothing stronger than a muslin jerkin. So stern was his discipline that none of his Afghan soldiers dared to touch a leaf of the standing crops where they were encamped. When at

Chapter III.

Mughal
Viceroys.

Bahadur
Shah I.
Emperor.
1707-1712.
GRAZI-UD-DIN
Forty-third
Viceroy.
1708-1710.

Jehandar
Shah
Emperor.
1712-1713.
ASIF-UD-DAULAH
Forty-fourth
Viceroy.
1713-13.

Farrukhsiyar
Emperor.
1713-1719.

SHAHAMAT
KHAN
Forty-fifth
Viceroy.
1713.

Chapter III.

Mughal
Viceroys.Farukhsiyar
Emperor.

1713-1719.

DAUD KHÂN

FANNI

Forty-sixth

Viceroy.

1714-16.

Religious Riots

in Ahmedabad,

1714.

Ahmedabad he was either engaged in scattering the Kells or in coursing with greyhounds. He preferred life under canvas on the Sāharmati sands to the viceregal surroundings of the Bhadar Palace. His civil work he used to trust to Dakhan Brāhmins and Pandits. He was much devoted to the use of bhang. Until Dāud Khān's arrival Abdāl Hamīd Khān was appointed viceroy and took charge of the province from Shāhmat Khān. At this time, on the security of Rājā Mūhkamsingh of Nāgor, a sum of ₹5000 (Rs. 50,000) was granted to the brother of Durgādās Rāthod. In A.D. 1714 in Ahmedabad Harītm, the agent of Madan Gopāl a successful North Indian banker, who came to Ahmedabad as treasurer with Fīrūz Jang, while celebrating the Holi with his friends, seized a Musalmān gentleman and handled him with great roughness. Aggrieved with this treatment the Musalmān complained to a preacher of much eloquence and influence, Mulla Muḥammad Aī. The preacher took the Muslim to the Assembly Mosque and sent for Mulla Abdāl Azīz the chief or leading member of the Sunni Bohora community. He answered the call with a strong party of his men, and on his way was joined by numbers of Musalmāns both soldiers and citizens. With cries of 'Din' 'Din' they went to the mosque and carried off the insulted man and the priest and the Bohra leader to the house of the Kāzi Khair-ul-lah. The Kāzi closed his doors against the crowd who returned abusing him to the Jewellers' quarter pillaging and killing as they went. They next swarmed towards Madan Gopāl's Haveli in the Jewellers' quarters. But the Nagarsheth Kapurchand Bhansālī closed its strong gates and with his Musalmān soldiers met the swarm with firearms. The viceroy who was camped at the Shāhī Bāgh sent soldiers and under the influence of the leading citizens of both classes the disturbance was quelled. When the particulars of the riots were known in the imperial camp the Hindus, clamouring against Mulla Muḥammad Aī and Sheikh Abdāl Azīz Gujarātī, struck business and closed their shops. The emperor ordered mace-bearers to proceed to Gujarāt and bring the Musalmān ringleaders together with the Hindū Nagarsheth Kapurchand Bhansālī. Some Bohoras at the imperial camp, sending advance news to Ahmedabad, the Mullah and the Bohora Sheth and after him the Bhansālī started for the imperial camp. On reaching the camp the Mulla, who was very impressive and eloquent, preached a sermon in the Assembly Mosque and his fame reaching the emperor he was called to court and asked to preach. He and the Sheth were now able to explain their case to the emperor and the Bhansālī was imprisoned. It is said that the Bhansālī made the Mulla the medium of his release and that he and the Bohora returned to Gujarāt while the Mulla remained in honour at court till he died. About the same time a great flood in the Sāharmati did much damage.

Abdāl Hamīd Khān was now chosen governor of Sorath in place of Abheysingh, and Memin Khān was appointed from Delhi, governor of Surat, and was at the same time placed in charge of Baroda, Broach, Dholka, Petlad, and Nadiād. Dāud Khān the viceroy now went into Kāthiavāda and Navānagar to collect tribute, and on his return to Ahmedabad, married the daughter of the chief of Halvad in the

Jhalāvāḍa sub-division of Kāthiāvāḍa. It is related that this lady, who was with child, on hearing of Dāud Khān's death cut open her womb and saved the child at the sacrifice of her own life.¹ Dāud Khān, though an excellent soldier and strict disciplinarian failed to distinguish himself as a civil administrator. He introduced Dakhani *pandits* into official posts, who levied a fee called *chithyāman* from landholders and took taxes from the holdings of Sayads and otherwise made themselves unpopular.

About this time Momin Khān, governor of Surat, arrived in Gujarāt, and placing his deputies in Petlād, Dholka, Baroda, and Nadiād, went himself to Surat in A.D. 1715. Here he was opposed by the commandant of the fort, Zia Khān, who was obliged to give way, his subordinate, Sayad Kāsim, being defeated by Fida-ud-din Khān. At this time much ill feeling was caused by the plunder by Muhammadan troops of the shops of some Hindu merchants in Ahmedābād. On this account, and for other reasons, Dāud Khān was recalled, and Ghazni Khān Jhalori was directed to act in his place until the arrival of a new viceroy. In this year, A.D. 1715, the Mahārāja Ajitsingh was appointed forty-seventh viceroy of Gujarāt, and his son Kunvar Abheysingh was appointed governor of Sorath. Ajitsingh sent Vajerāj Bhandāri to act as his deputy until his arrival, and Fatelsingh Kāvath was chosen deputy governor of Sorath. Perhaps one of the most remarkable appointments of this time was that of Haidar Kūli Khān to be minister as well as military commandant of Baroda, Nanded, Arhar-Mātar in the district² of Kaira, and of the ports of Surat and Cambay. Haidar Kūli chose an officer to act for him as minister, and after appointing deputies in his different charges himself went to Surat.

The Mahārāja Ajitsingh, on reaching Ahmedābād, appointed Ghazni Khān Jhalori governor of Pālanpur and Jawān Mard Khān Bābi governor of Rādhanpur.³ During this year an imperial order conferred on Haidar Kūli Khān, Sorath and Gohilvād or south-east Kāthiāvāḍa⁴ then in charge of Fatehsingh, the viceroy's deputy.⁵ On receiving this order Haidar sent Sayad Akil as his deputy, and that officer went to Jambāsar, and, collecting men, set out to join his appointment. He

Chapter III.

Mughal
Viceroys.

Farrukhsiyar
Emperor,
1713-1719.

Dāud
Khan Fārrukh
Forty-sixth
Viceroy,
1714-15.

Further Riots
in Ahmedābād,
1715.

MAHARAJA
AJITSINGH
Forty-seventh
Viceroy,
1715-16.

¹ Mirāt-i-Ahmedi, Persian Text, 427-434.

² Arhar-Mātar is according to the Mirāt-i-Ahmedi (Persian Text, II, 126) the present Kaira sub-division of Matar. The Mirāt-i-Ahmedi places it twenty miles south-west of Ahmedābād. It is four miles south-west of Kaira.

³ In the beginning of Ajitsingh's administration the Sacrifice Id of the Musalmāns very nearly ended in a riot. An overzealous police officer belonging to the Kāthiāvār section of Ahmedābād, hoping to please the Hindu viceroy, by force deprived some of the Sunni Bohorās of that quarter of a cow which they had purchased for the sacrifice. The Bohorās in a mass appealed to the Kazi who not succeeding in his representation to the viceroy was obliged to allay the popular excitement by publicly sacrificing a cow after the Id prayers. Mirāt-i-Ahmedi Royal Asiatic Society MS., I, 567-568.

⁴ This is the first known mention of Gohilvād, the Gohils' country, as a separate district.

⁵ During the governorship of Haidar Kūli at Surat the Mirāt-i-Ahmedi (Royal Asiatic Society MS., I, 567-568) notices the death of Mulla Abdul Ghafūr the founder of the wealthy family of the Mullās of Surat. Haidar Kūli confiscated Abdul Ghafūr's property representing to the emperor that the Mulla died insolvent. But the Mulla's son Abdāl Hys proceeding to Dehli not only obtained from the emperor an order of restitution of property but the title of chief of merchants, Umda-tut-Tujjar, and an elephant.

Chapter III.

Mughal
Viceroys.

Farrukhsiyar

Emperor,

1713-1719.

MAHARAJA

AJITSINGH

Forty-seventh

Viceroy,

1715-16.

Disagreement

between the

Viceroy and

Haidar Kuli

Khan,

1715.

KHAN DAURAN

Nasrat Jung

Bahadur

Forty-eighth

Viceroy,

1716-1719.

Famine,

1719.

first camped at Lohianah, where the province of Sorath begins, and from Lohianah marched against Palitana and plundered the town. The viceroy, who was by no means well disposed to Haidar Kuli Khan, sent a message that if any injury was done in Sorath he would take vengeance on the aggressors; and as neither Ajitsingh nor Haidar Kuli Khan was of a very compliant temper, civil war was on the point of breaking out. By the help of Salabat Khan Babi, the deputy in Gohilvada, matters were arranged, and Sayad Akil returned from Sorath. Haidar was anxious to send Salabat Khan as deputy to Sorath. But as Salabat demanded too high a salary, Raza Kuli, brother of the late governor of Baroda, was chosen. When this officer, with his brother Maasum Kuli, reached Amreli Fatehsingh, the viceroy's deputy, evacuated Junagadh. After this Haidar Kuli Khan, in company with Kazim Beg, governor of Baroda, marched against and defeated the chief of Munjpur, now under Radhanpur, who had refused to pay the usual tribute. The viceroy went to Sorath to collect the imperial revenue, and, owing to his excessive demands, met with armed resistance from the Jam of Navanagar. Finally, the matter of tribute was settled, and after visiting the shrine of Dwarka, the viceroy returned to Ahmedabad.

In A.D. 1718, while the viceroy was at Dwarka, in consequence of numerous complaints against Ajitsingh and his Marwari followers, the emperor sent Samsam-ud-daulah Khan Dauran Nasrat Jung Bahadur as forty-eighth viceroy of Gujarat. As it was expected that Ajitsingh would not give up his government without a contest, an army was prepared to compel him to leave. On the arrival of the army Ajitsingh marched straight on Ahmedabad and encamped at Sarkhej, but Nahr Khan persuaded him to retire to Jodhpur without giving battle. In A.D. 1717, after the departure of Ajitsingh, Haidar Kuli Khan, who had been appointed deputy viceroy, leaving Surat set out for Ahmedabad. When Haidar arrived at Petlad, some of the Ahmedabad nobles, among whom was Safdar Khan Babi, went out to meet him. A dispute arose between one of Haidar's water carriers and a water-carrier in the army of the Babi, which increased to a serious affray, which from the camp followers spread to the soldiers and officers, and the Babi's baggage was plundered. Safdar Khan took serious offence, and returning to Ahmedabad collected his kingmen and followers and marched against Haidar Kuli Khan. In a battle fought on the following day Safdar Khan was defeated. The other Babis escaped to Palanpur, and Safdar Khan, who in the first instance had fled to Atarsumbha, joined his party at Palanpur. Muhammad Piruz Jhalori, governor of Palanpur, with the title of Ghazni Khan, afterwards succeeded in reconciling the Babis and Haidar Kuli Khan. A.D. 1719 was a year of great famine. Abdal Hamid Khan, who had filled so many appointments in Gujarat, went to court, and was made governor of Sorath. Haidar Kuli Khan now marched against the Mahi Kolis. In the meantime news was received of the appointment of a new viceroy, and Ghazni Khan, governor of Palanpur, was ordered to stay at Ahmedabad for the defence of the city.

Early in A.D. 1719, the emperor Farrukhsiyar was deposed and put to death by the Sayads; and a prince named Rafia-ud-Darajat, a grandson of the emperor, was raised to the throne. Rafia-ud-Darajat was put to death by the Sayads after a reign of three months, and his brother Rafia-ud-daulah, who succeeded him, also died after a few days' reign. The Sayads then raised to the throne prince Raushan Akhtar with the title of Muhammad Shah. After the murder of Farrukhsiyar, the most powerful vassal in the neighbourhood of Delhi was Ajitsingh of Marwar. To win him to their side the Sayads granted him the viceroyalty of Gujarat, and Mihr Ali Khan was appointed to act for him until his arrival, while Muhammad Bahadur Babi, son of Salabat Muhammad Khan Babi, was placed in charge of the police of the district immediately round Ahmedabad. Shortly after, through the influence of the Maharaja Ajitsingh, Nahir Khan superseded Mihr Ali Khan as deputy viceroy. Nahir Khan was also appointed to the charge of Dholka, Dohad and Petlad, and made superintendent of customs. About this time the head tax was repealed, and orders were issued that its levy in Gujarat should cease.

In the same year, A.D. 1719, Pilaji Gaikwar marched on Surat with a large army and defeated the imperial troops commanded by Sayad Akil and Muhammad Panah, the latter commander being taken prisoner and forced to pay a heavy ransom. Pilaji, finding Gujarat an easy prey, made frequent incursions, and taking Songad in the extreme south-east established himself there. Mihr Ali Khan, who had been acting for Nahir Khan, marched against and subdued the Kolis, who were committing piracy in the Mahi estuary. From this year Mughal rule in Gujarat was doomed. Pilaji Gaikwar was established at Songad, and in the anarchy that ensued, the great Gujarat houses of the Babis and Jhaloris, as well as the newly arrived Momin Khan, turned their thoughts to independence. Ajitsingh so hated Muhammadan rule that he secretly favoured the Marathas, and strove to establish his own authority over such portions of Gujarat as bordered on Marwar. In after years, Sarbuland Khan made a vigorous attempt to reassert imperial dominion, but the seeds of dissolution were sown and efforts at recovery were vain.

In A.D. 1720, Ajitsingh the viceroy sent Anopsingh Bhandari to Gujarat as his deputy. In this year Nizam-ul-Mulk, viceroy of Ujjain, was superseded by Sayad Dilawar Khan. While Dilawar Khan was yet on the Malwa frontiers the Nizam desirous of possessing himself of the Dakhan and its resources retired to Burhanpur pursued by Sayad Dilawar Khan, who giving battle was killed, the Nizam retiring to Aurangabad in the Dakhan. Alam Ali Khan, deputy viceroy of the Dakhan, was directed to march against him, while from north Gujarat Anopsingh Bhandari was ordered to send 10,000 horse to Surat, and Nahir Khan, the deputy viceroy, was instructed to proceed thither in person. The Nizam and Alam Ali Khan met near Balapur in the Berars and a battle was fought in which the Nizam was successful and Alam Khan was slain. At this time Anopsingh Bhandari committed many oppressive acts, of which the

Chapter III.

Mughal
Viceroys.

Muhammad
Shah
Emperor,
1721-1749.
MAHARAJA
AJITSINGH
Forty-ninth
Viceroy,
1719-1721.

Pilaji Gaikwar
at Songad,
1719.

Decay
of Imperial
Power,
1720.

Chapter III.

Mughal
Viceroys.

Muhammad
Shah
Emperor,
1721-1748.

Nizam-ul-Mulk
Prime Minister,
of the Empire,
1721.

HAIDAR KÖLI
KHAN
Fiftieth Viceroy,
1721-22.

Disorder in
Ahmedabad,
1721.

Leaves Dehli
for Gujarat,
1722.

chief was the murder of Kapurchand Bhansali, the leading merchant of Ahmedabad. The cause of Kapurchand's murder was that he had hired a number of armed retainers who used to oppose the Bhandari's orders and set free people unjustly imprisoned by him. To remove this meddler from his way the Bhandari got him assassinated. In A.D. 1721, Nizam-ul-Mulk was appointed prime minister of the empire, Abdül Hamid Khan was recalled from Sorath, and in his stead Asad Kuli Khan, with the title of Amir-ul-Umara, was appointed governor of Sorath and sent Muhammad Sharif Khan into Sorath as his deputy.

In A.D. 1721, in conjunction with Muhammad Amin and Saadat Khan, Haidar Kuli Khan freed the emperor from the tyranny of the Sayads, and was rewarded with the title of Muiz-ul-daulah Haidar Kuli Khan Bahadur Zafar Jang and the viceroyalty of Gujarat. He obtained the appointment of minister for his brother Jaafar Kuli Khan. Maissum Kuli Khan was dignified by the title of Shujaat Khan Bahadur and appointed deputy viceroy. As soon as this change was notified, the people of Ahmedabad, who were discontented with the rule of Anopsingh, attacked his palace, the Bhadar, and he escaped with difficulty. In consequence of the enmity between Haidar Kuli Khan and the Marwaris, Shujaat Khan, the deputy viceroy, attacked the house of Nahir Khan who had been Ajitsingh's minister, and forced him to pay £10,000 (Rs. 1 lakh) and leave the city. Shujaat Khan next interfered with the lands of Saifdar Khan Babi, the deputy governor of Godhra and his brothers. On one of the brothers repairing to Dehli and remonstrating, Haidar Kuli, who, above all things, was a Muhammadan and anxious to strengthen himself with the Muhammadan nobility of Gujarat, restored their lands to the Babis. In consequence of this decision ill-feeling sprung up between Shujaat Khan and the Babis, and when Shujaat Khan went to exact tribute he forced Muhammad Khan Babi, governor of Kaira, to pay a special fine of £1000 (Rs. 10,000). Shortly after one of the viceroy's officers, Kasim Ali Khan, while employed against the Kolis of that part of the country, was killed at Pethapur. Shujaat Khan advanced, and revenged Kasim Ali's death by burning the town. Next, he passed into Sorath, and after exacting tribute, crossed to Kachh. The chief opposed him, and in the fight that followed was beaten and forced to pay about £22,500 (Rs. 2½ lakhs).¹ In A.D. 1721, a Sayad was sent to Sorath as deputy governor in place of Muhammad Sharif, and Haidar Kuli was appointed governor of Kadi, the Chunval, and Halvad (called Muhammadnagar), and put in charge of Tharad, Arjanpur, Bhamnari, Pethapur, and Kheralr in place of Vakhtasingh, son of the Maharaja Ajitsingh.

Early in A.D. 1722, Nizam-ul-Mulk took up the office of prime minister of the empire, to which he had been appointed in the previous year. Strenuous efforts were made to embroil him with Haidar Kuli

¹ The sum is 6,75,000 *mahmudi*. Like the *chugtis* (see above page 222 note 2) the *mahmudi* seems to have varied in value from one-third to one-half of a rupee.

Khān, as the Nizām's austerity and craft were a source of not less anxiety to the Delhi court than Haidar Kūli's more daring and restless ambition. Haidar Kūli Khān, unable to contend with the Nizām, left Delhi and retired to Gujarāt. On his way the villagers of Dabhāli opposed him killing one of his chief men named Alif Beg Khān. Haidar burned the village and put all the people to death, a severity which caused such terror that throughout his rule no difficulty was experienced in realizing tribute or in keeping the roads safe. About this time, among other changes, Muhammad Bahādūr, son of Salabat Khān Bābi, was placed in charge of Sādra and Vīrpur, with the title of Sher Khān. Shortly after his arrival the viceroy marched against and subdued the rebellious Kolis of the Chunnāl, appointing Rustam Ali Khān his governor there. Then, returning to Ahmedābād, he took up his residence in the Bhadra. There is little doubt that at this time Haidar Kūli aimed at bringing all Gujarāt under his rule. He seized the imperial horses which passed through Ahmedābād on their way to Delhi, and confiscated many estates and gave them to his own men. On his way to enforce tribute from the Dungarpūr chiefs, he levied £8000 (Rs. 80,000) from Lunāvāda. Through the mediation of the Udepūr Rāna, and as he agreed to pay a tribute of £10,000 (1 *lakh* of rupees), the Rāval of Dungarpur escaped. Haidar Kūli next proceeded to Bijāpur, north of Ahmedābād, but hearing that the emperor was displeased at his assumption of the power of giving and changing grants of land, he returned to Ahmedābād and restored several estates which he had confiscated. The court continued to distrust him, and at the close of A.D. 1722 appointed Jumlat-ul-Mulk Nizām-ul-Mulk fifty-first viceroy.

Haidar Kūli Khān, finding himself no match for the Nizām, was induced to retire quietly, and accordingly left Gujarāt by way of Dungarpur. Shujāat Khān and Rustam Ali Khān accompanied him as far as Dungarpur, and then returned to Ahmedābād. In the meantime the Nizām had reached Ujjain, and thence directed Safdar Khān Bābi to carry on the government till he should arrive, appointing at the same time his uncle Hāmid Khān as deputy viceroy and Fidwi Khān as minister. Subsequently the Nizām came to Gujarāt and chose officers of his own for places of trust, the chief of whom was Momīn Khān, who was appointed governor of Surat. The Nizām then returned to Delhi, but, after a short time, disgusted with his treatment at court, he retired to the Dakhan, where, making Haidarabad his capital, he gradually began to act as an independent ruler. Meanwhile in Gujarāt dissensions sprang up between Hāmid Khān and other officers, but matters were arranged without any outbreak of hostility. Tribute was exacted from the chiefs on the banks of the Vātrāk and from Modhera an unruly Koli village was burned down, and garrisons were placed in the Koli country. In A.D. 1723 Rustam Ali Khān and Shujāat Khān were ordered from Delhi to march on Jodhpur, which they captured and plundered, and then returned to Ahmedābād.

In A.D. 1723 Pilāji Gaikwār, who had been long hovering on the frontier, marched on Surat and was opposed by Momīn Khān, whom he defeated. After levying contributions from the surrounding country,

Chapter III.

Mughal
Viceroys.

Muhammad
Shah
Emperor,
1721-1748.
HAIDAR KULI
Khan
Fifty-first Viceroy,
1722.

Shows Signs of
Independence
and is Recalled,
1722.

NIZAM-UL-MULK
Fifty-first
Viceroy,
1722.

Hamid Khan
Deputy Viceroy;
Momīn Khān
Governor of
Surat,
1722.

Increase of
Maratha Power,
1723.

Chapter III.

Mughal
Viceroy.

Muhammad
Shah
Emperor.
1721-1748.
SARBUKAND
KHAN
Fifty-second
Viceroy.
1723-1730.

Appoints
Shujaat
Khan
his Deputy.

Nizam-ul-Mulk
and Sarbuland
Khan.

Sarbuland
Khan's
Deputy
Defeated,
1724.

he returned to his head-quarters at Sengad, and from this overran a considerable portion of the Surat territory, building several forts in the Rajpipla country. At the same time Kantaji Kadam Bande, invading Gujarat from the side of Dohad, began to levy fixed contributions. Though before this occasional demands had often been made, A.D. 1723 was the first year in which the Maráthas imposed a regular tribute on Gujarat. Momín Khan was now appointed provincial minister, and Rustam Ali Khan succeeded him as revenue officer of Surat, and, as the Nizam had gone to the Dakhan without the emperor's leave, Mubáriz-ul-Mulk Sarbuland Khan Bahádur Diláwar Jang was appointed fifty-second viceroy of Gujarat. He selected Shujaat Khan as his deputy, and made other arrangements for the government of the province. Hámid Khan, uncle and deputy of the Nizam, prepared to oppose Shujaat Khan, but through the intervention of Bábis Salábat Khan, Safdar Khan, and Jawán Mard Khan, Hámid Khan evacuated the Bhadra, and withdrew to Dohad. Shujaat Khan now went to collect tribute, leaving Ibrahim Kúli Khan at Ahmedábád, while Hámrái was posted at Mahudha in Kaira, with orders to watch the movements of Hámid Khan. As the viceroy was in need of money, he farmed to one Jivan Jugal the districts of Jambásar, Makhúlábad or Ámod about twenty-two miles north of Broach, Dholka, and Broach. In A.D. 1724, he came to Ahmedábád with Ali Muhammad Khan father of the author of the *Mirát-i-Ahmedi*, as his private minister.

Rustam Ali, governor of Surat, having succeeded twice or thrice in defeating the Maráthas under Piláji Gaikvár, now offered, in conjunction with his brother Shujaat Khan, that if 20,000 men were placed under their orders, they would march against the Nizam. The emperor accepted this offer, allowing Rustam Ali to draw on the Surat treasury to the extent of £20,000 (Rs. 2 *lákhs*). Rustam Ali accordingly, with the aid of Ahmed Kúli his brother's son, equipped an army. In the meantime the Nizam was not idle. He promised to Kantaji Kadam Bande a one-fourth share of the revenue of Gujarat, provided he should be able, in concert with Hámid Khan, to re-conquer the province from Mubáriz-ul-Mulk. Shujaat Khan, who was now at Kadi, instead of following the advice of his minister and carefully watching Hámid Khan's movements from Kapadvani, went to a distant part of the province. Hámid Khan seeing his opportunity, united his forces with those of Kantaji Kadam, and marched to Kapadvanj. Shujaat Khan hearing of this, advanced towards Ahmedábád and encamped at Dabhora under Bahyal, eighteen miles east of Ahmedábád and thence proceeded to Mota Medra, about six miles east of the capital. When he came so near Ahmedábád, many of his soldiers went without leave into the city to visit their families. The Maráthas attacked his rear guard, and his men giving way took to flight. Hámid Khan seeing that Shujaat Khan had but a small force, marched between him and the capital. A battle was fought, in which Shujaat Khan was slain, and his two sons Hasan Kúli and Mustafa Kúli were taken prisoners. Shujaat Khan's head was cut off and sent to Safdar Khan Bábi, to be sent to Ibrahim Kúli his son, who was doing duty as commandant at Ahmedábád. Hámid Khan took up his quarters in

the Shāhi Bāgh, and got possession of all Ahmedābād except the city. Hāmid Khān now sent a message to the emperor, that the Marāthās had been successful in defeating Shujāāt Khān and conquering Gujārat, but that he had defended Ahmedābād against them. The emperor sent him a dress of honour, but after a few days discovered that Hāmid's message was false. The Marāthās now marched through the country, collecting their *charath* or one-fourth and their *sardeshmukhi* or one-tenth shares of the revenue. Kāntāji went to Viramgām and besieged the town, but on the promise of one of the chief inhabitants to raise a sum of £35,000 (Rs. 3½ lakhs) the Marāthās retired. Hāmid Khān who was now independent began to bestow lands and districts many of which remained with the grantees and were never recovered by future governors. Ibrāhīm Kūli, son of Shujāāt Khān, in revenge for his father's death, determined to assassinate Hāmid Khān. The attempt failed. Hāmid Khān escaped and Ibrāhīm Kūli was slain.

Rustam Ali Khān, governor of Surat, in the hope of being revenged on Hāmid Khān, invited the aid of Pilāji Gaikwār, and it was agreed that they should meet on the north bank of the Nerbada. Pilāji promised to aid Rustam Khān, and the allied armies, crossing the Mahi, encamped at Aras in the plain between Anand and the Mahi. Hāmid Khān, accompanied by Mir Nathu, Muhammad Salābat Rohila, and Kāntāji Kadam, marched to oppose Rustam Khān. Hāmid Khān also entered into secret negotiations with Pilāji Gaikwār, who resolved to remain neutral and side with the conqueror. A battle was fought, in which, though Pilāji took no part, Hāmid Khān was defeated and put to flight, and Mir Nathu was killed. After the fight Rustam Ali remained on the field of battle and liberated his nephews, plundering Hāmid Khān's camp. Pilāji plundered Rustam Ali's camp and then moved off, while Kāntāji carried away what was left in the camp of Hāmid Khān. Hāmid Khān reproached Kāntāji for his inactivity; but he pleaded in excuse that he was watching the mode of warfare amongst Muhammadans, and promised to attack Rustam Ali shortly. Now, as the Marāthās really desired to ruin Rustam Ali, who was their bitter foe, they after a few days surrounded him and cut off his supplies. Rustam Ali stood a blockade of eight days, and then forced his way through his enemies and went to Nāpād, about fourteen miles west of the Vāsād railway station in the Anand sub-division of the Kaira district, and thence through Kalamsar to Nāpa or Nāba under Petlād. The Marāthās still pursuing Rustam Ali retired to Vasu under Petlād, ten miles east of Nāpād and about twenty-five miles south of Ahmedābād, where he gave battle, and by a furious charge broke the Marāthā line. The Marāthās rallied, and Rustam Ali and his men were defeated, Rustam Ali being slain and his nephews again taken prisoners. Rustam was buried on the field of battle and his head sent to Ahmedābād.

Hāmid Khān returned to Ahmedābād with the Marāthās, who saw that their only means of effecting a permanent footing in the province was by supporting him. Hāmid Khān then assigned a one-fourth share of the revenue of the territory north of the Mahi to Kāntāji, and to Pilāji a corresponding interest in the territory south of the Mahi,

Chapter III.

Mughal
Viceroys.

Muhammad
Shah
Emperor,
1721-1748.
SARFARAZ
Khān
Fifty-second
Viceroy,
1723-1730.

The Marāthās
engaged as
Allies.

Battle of Aras.
Hāmid Khān
defeated by
Rustam Ali,
1723.

Marāthās join
Hāmid Khān
against
Rustam Ali.

Chapter III.

Mughal
Viceroys.

Muhammad

Shah.

Emperor,

1731-1748.

SARHULAND

Kalis

Fifty-second

Victory.

1722-1730.

Mubáriz-ul-Mulk

sent against the

Maráthas,

1723.

Hamid Khán

and other

Maráthas

Retire.

Mubáriz-ul-

Mulk enters

Ahmedábád,

1725.

including Surat and Baroda. After this Hámíd Khán acted tyrannically. He extorted large sums from the rich, and poisoned the two sons of Shuját Khán. When the news of Fántaji's and Pílaji's success reached the Dakhan, Trimbakráv Dháháde, son of Khandarav Senápati, came with a large army and laid siege to Cambay. While the siege was being pressed a quarrel among the Maráthá leaders culminated in strife and bloodshed. Trimbakráv Senápati was wounded and the Maráthá army had to disperse and retire.¹ Salábat Khán, leaving Ahmedábád, went to Virangám, and after some time, placing his nephew at Virangám, he went into Gohilráda. When the news of the defeat and death of Rustam Áli reached Dehli, the emperor ordered Mubáriz-ul-Mulk to take a strong army and proceed in person to Gujarát and expel Hámíd Khán and the Maráthas. Mubáriz-ul-Mulk marched on Gujarát with a large army, assisted by Mohárája Alhasingsh of Jodhpur, Chatarsingh Rájá of Narwar in Bandeláhand, Gandrasingh and the Mahárája of Udepur. On his arrival at Ajmir Mubáriz-ul-Mulk was received by his private minister Áli Muhammad Khán, who afterwards joined Jawán Mard Khán Bábi in Rádhampur, and united their troops with those under Mubáriz-ul-Mulk. At that time Salábat Khán was removed from his government, and Saftar Khán Bábi died. In obedience to the imperial order, Mubáriz-ul-Mulk marched from Ajmir and came to the Gujarát frontier. On his approach Hámíd Khán returned to Ahmedábád. He placed Rúpsingh and Sardar Muhammad Ghorni in charge of the city and himself withdrew to Mehmúdábád. Mubáriz-ul-Mulk now sent Sheikh Aliyár in advance with an army against Ahmedábád. When Sheikh Aliyár arrived before the city, Muhammad Ghorni, who was dissatisfied with Hámíd Khán for bringing in the Maráthas, persuaded Rúpsingh to fly. In the meantime Mubáriz-ul-Mulk with the main body of his forces reached Sidhpur. Hámíd Khán, accompanied by a detachment of Maráthá horse, now returned to Ahmedábád; but Muhammad Ghorni closed the gates, and would not suffer him to enter the city. Mubáriz-ul-Mulk marched to Mesána. About this time Áli Muhammad Khán, the father of the author of the *Mirát-i-Ahmedí*, who was now with Mubáriz-ul-Mulk at Mesána, advised him to conciliate the influential Muhammadan family of Bábi. Under his advice, Salábat Muhammad Khán Bábi was appointed governor of Virangám, and Jawán Mard Khán governor of Pátan. Shortly afterwards Murlidharis, the Gujaráti minister of Hámíd Khán, deserted his master's declining cause. When Kantaji heard that Mubáriz-ul-Mulk had arrived at Pethápúr, only eighteen miles from Ahmedábád, he retired to Mehmúdábád. Before the close of A.D. 1725, Mubáriz-ul-Mulk reached Ahmedábád, where he was well received by the officials and merchants.

¹ See note 1 page 312. The author of the *Mirát-i-Ahmedí* (Pennin Text Royal Asiatic Society's Library Edition, I. 658) says Trimbakráv was slain. This seems an oversight as in another passage (Ditto, 728-730, see below page 312) he states that Trimbakráv was killed in 1731. The latter statement is in agreement with Grant Duff (*History of the Maráthas*, I. 364).

Hāmid Khān and Kāntāji, who had by this time reached the banks of the Mahi, were now joined by Pilāji Gaikwār. The Marāthā leaders, seeing that the only way to preserve their footing in the province was to espouse the cause of Hāmid Khān, united their forces with his, and prepared to march on Ahmedābād. Mubārīz-ul-Mulk deputed his son Khānahzād Khān with an army to oppose them, and made several appointments, among other changes raising Ali Muhammad Khān to the post of minister. Khānahzād Khān met the Marāthās near Sojitra, about ten miles north-west of Petlād, and defeated them, pursuing them as far as the Mahi. Then, returning, he was reinforced by his brother Shāh Nawāz Khān, and marched against the Marāthās, who were encamped at Kapadvanj. Another battle was fought, and the Marāthās were again defeated and pursued as far as the hills of Ali-Mohan, now Chota Udepur in the extreme east of the province. Khānahzād Khān now appointed Hasan-ud-din governor of Baroda, Broach, Jambāsar, and Makbulābād. Meanwhile Antāji Bhāskar, a Marāthā noble, entering Gujarāt from the side of Idar, laid siege to the town of Vadnagar, which according to the old Gujarāt proverb, with Umreth in the Kaira district, are the two golden feathers of the kingdom of Gujarāt. Vadnagar was inhabited by wealthy Brāhmins of the Nāgar caste who prayed Mubārīz-ul-Mulk to march to their relief; but as both his sons were in pursuit of the other Marāthā bands defeated at Kapadvanj, the viceroy had no troops to spare from the Ahmedābād garrison. The Nāgars accordingly, seeing no prospect of help, paid a sum of £40,000 (Rs. 4 lakhs) and Antāji Bhāskar retired. Kāntāji and Pilāji, encouraged by this raid of Antāji's, entered Gujarāt from different quarters. Kāntāji again laid siege to Vadnagar. The Nāgars, unable to pay the contribution demanded, leaving their property fled and Kāntāji in his attempts to unearth the buried treasure burned down the town. Shortly afterwards Umreth in the Kaira district suffered a similar fate at the hands of Kāntāji. In one of his raids Pilāji Gaikwār advancing as far as Baroda was met by Khānahzād Khān, the son of the viceroy. Distrusting the issue of a battle Pilāji fled to Cambay, and from Cambay withdrew to Sorath. For these services the emperor raised Khānahzād Khān to the rank of a noble, with the title Ghālib Jang. About this time Ali Muhammad Khān was dismissed from the post of minister, and in his stead first Muhammad Sayad Beg and afterwards Muhammad Sulaimān were appointed. Not long afterwards Ali Muhammad Khān was again entrusted with a command and raised to be governor of Dholka.

The Marāthās retired to the Dakhan, but, returning in A.D. 1726, compelled Mubārīz-ul-Mulk to confirm his predecessor's grants in their favour. The emperor refused to acknowledge any cessions of revenue to the Marāthās; and the viceroy, hard pressed for money, unable to obtain support from the court and receiving little help from his impoverished districts, was forced to impose fresh taxes on the citizens of Ahmedābād, and at the same time to send an army to collect their tribute from the Mahi chiefs. As part of the agreement between Mubārīz-ul-Mulk and the Marāthā chiefs Pilāji was to receive a share in the

Chapter III.

Mughal
Viceroys.

Muhammad
Shah
Emperor,
1721-1748.
SAIBULAND
KHAN
Fifty-second
Viceroy,
1723-1750.

Defeat of the
Marāthās at
Sojitra and
Kapadvanj,
1726.

Marāthā
Expedition
against
Vadnagar,
1726.

Mubārīz-ul-Mulk
pays the Marāthā
Tribute,
1726.

Chapter III.

Mughal
Viceroys.

Muhammad
Shah
Emperor.
1721-1748.
SARFUDIN
Khan
Fifty-second
Viceroy.
1723-1739.

Alliance with
the Peshwa,
1727.

Pilaji Gaikwar
obtains Baroda
and Dabhoi,
1727.

Capture of
Champāner by
the Marāthas,
1728.

revenue of the districts south of the Mahi. But Peshwa Bājirāv Balāl, to whom, as agent of his rival Khandarāv Dābhāde, Pilāji was obnoxious, sent Udāji Pavār to drive Pilāji away. In this Udāji was successful, and defeating Pilāji forced him to seek the aid of Kāntāji. Kāntāji, perceiving that if the Peshwa became supreme his own independence would suffer, joined Pilāji, and marching together upon Baroda they endeavoured, but without success, to prevent the Musalmān governor Sadr-ul-din Khān from entering the city. About this time want of funds forced Mubārīz-ul-Mulk to sell the greater part of the Dholka district to different landholders.

In the following year, A.D. 1727, Bājirāv Peshwa began to negotiate with Mubārīz-ul-Mulk, undertaking that if the one-fourth and one-tenth shares in the revenue of the province were guaranteed to him, he would protect Gujarāt from other invaders. Though he did not consent to these proposals, the viceroy so far accepted the alliance of the Peshwa as to allow the governor of Baroda to aid Udāji Pavār against Pilāji. Pilāji and Kāntāji outmanœuvred Udāji and prevented him from effecting a junction with the governor of Baroda, who in the end was forced to abandon both that city and the stronghold of Dabhoi, while Udāji retired to Mālwa. Pilāji Gaikwar now obtained possession of Baroda. Mubārīz-ul-Mulk, still sorely pressed for funds, marched into Sorath to exact tribute. On reaching Viramgām, Salābat Muhammad Khān Bābi, on behalf of the Jām of Navānagar, presented the viceroy with £10,000 (Rs. 1 *lakh*), and for this service was rewarded with the gift of an elephant. Mubārīz-ul-Mulk then marched against Chhāya, the capital of the chief of Porbandar in the south-west of Kāthiāvāda. This chief, by putting to sea, hoped to escape the payment of tribute. But on hearing that the viceroy proposed to annex his territory and appoint an officer to govern it, he returned and agreed to pay a tribute of £4000 (Rs. 40,000).¹ On his way back to Ahmedābād, Mubārīz-ul-Mulk passed through Halvad in Jhālāvāda, and there married the daughter of Jhālā Pratāpsingh, the chief of that district, whom he accordingly exempted from the payment of tribute. About this time the viceroy received orders from the emperor to restore certain land which he had confiscated, and as he neglected to obey, certain estates of his in the Panjāb were resumed. In the meantime Krishnāji, foster son of Kāntāji, made a sudden attack upon Champāner and captured that fortress, and from that time Kāntāji's agents remained permanently in Gujarāt to collect his share of the tribute.

In A.D. 1728 the minister Momīn Khān died, and in his place the emperor selected Momīn Khān's brother Abd-ul-Ghani Khān. About this time Asad Ali, governor of Jūnāgadh, also died, and on his death-bed appointed Salābat Muhammad Khān Bābi deputy governor of that fortress. Salābat Muhammad Khān sent his son Sher Khān Bābi to act on his behalf. When the emperor heard of the death of Asad Ali, he appointed Ghulām Muhy-ud-din Khān, son of the late Asad Ali, governor. Ghulām Muhy-ud-din did not proceed to Jūnāgadh but continued Sher Khān Bābi as his deputy. Mubārīz-ul-Mulk, now

¹ The amount was 1,25,000 *mahmūdīs*.

perceiving that neither Pilāji nor Kántāji afforded any protection to Gujarāt, but rather pillaged it, closed with the offers of Bājirāi Peshwa, and in A.D. 1729 formally granted to him the one-fourth and one-tenth shares of the revenue of the province. The Peshwa accordingly sent his brother Chinnājirāi to collect the tribute. Chinnājī plundered Dholka and the country near Chāmpner, while Mubriz-ul-Mulk exacted tribute from the chiefs on the banks of the Vātrak. Kántāji now entered Gujarāt and prepared for war in case Chinnājī and the viceroy should unite against him. His movements were not interfered with, and after collecting his share of the tribute, he retired to Sorath. The viceroy now marched against the Kolis, and after destroying many of them together with their wives and children, returned to Ahmedābād by way of Modasa and Ahmednagar. Ghulām Muhy-ud-din Khān, governor of Jūnāgadh, who had not yet proceeded to his command, appointed a second deputy. Through the influence of the viceroy this appointment was not confirmed, and instead Sher Khān Bāli, son of Salābat Muhammad Khān, was placed in charge of that fortress.

In Surat the year A.D. 1729 was marked by a severe flood in the Tāpti and by a somewhat serious local disturbance. The chief cause of the disturbance was Mulla Muhammad Ali, a rich Musalmān trader of Surat. This man who, as Ūmda-tut-tujjār or chief of the merchants, had already a special rank in the city, was tempted to take advantage of the disorders of the time to raise himself to the position of an independent ruler. With this object he chose as his head-quarters the island of Pīram in the Gulf of Cambay, near the port of Gogha, and there spent considerable sums in strengthening the island and tempting settlers to place themselves under his protection. As Pīram was not popular Mulla Muhammad fixed on the village of Athva, on the left bank of the Tāpti, about twelve miles from its mouth. Here he began to build a fort, but was ordered to desist by Sohrāb Khān, the governor of Surat, from which city the proposed stronghold was only three miles distant. Mulla Muhammad so far from obeying, persuaded Beglar-Beg Khān the commander of the fort of Surat to side with him. Accordingly, next day, Beglar-Beg Khān bombarded the governor Sohrāb Khān's residence, proclaiming that his own brother Teghibeg Khān was appointed governor of Surat. In the end Mulla Muhammad Ali induced the chief merchants of the city to pray for the removal of Sohrāb who pending receipt of orders from the emperor was made to hand over his official residence in the city to Teg-Beg Khān.

In the same year, A.D. 1729, Jawān Mard Khān Bāli was chosen governor of Petlād, Ali Muhammad Khān was made collector of Ahmedābād, and Ali Muhammad's son, the author of the *Mirāt-i-Ahmedi* and his brother were appointed governor and superintendent of the customs of that district. Ali Muhammad Khān shortly resigned and was succeeded by Rū-in Khān. At this time Jawān Mard Khān Bāli, while punishing the Kolis of Bālor, probably Bhādot about fifteen miles east of Broach, was killed by a man of that tribe, and in revenge for his death the town of Bālor was plundered. On the death of Jawān Mard Khān, at the request of Salābat Muhammad Khān Bāli, his eldest son Kamāl-ud-din Khān Bāli received the districts of

Chapter III.

Mughal
Viceroys.

Mohammad
Shah
Emperor,
1721-1748.
SABDULAND
KHAN
Fifty-second
Viceroy,
1723-1730.

Grant of Tribute
to the Peshwa,
1729.

Mulla
Muhammad
Ali causes a
Disturbance
at Surat,
1729.

Nadīād given
in Fārm,
1729.

Chapter III.

Mughal
Viceroys.

Muhammad
Shah.
Emperor.
1721-1748.
SADR-UL-
KHAIR
Fifty-second
Viceroy,
1723-1730.

Athva Fort,
1730.

The Viceroy
in Kathiavada
and Kachh,
1730.

Riots at
Ahmedabad.

MAHARAJA
ABHAYSINGH
Fifty-third
Viceroy,
1730-1733.

Sami and Munjpur and the title of Jawán Marī Khán. At the same time the second son, Muhammad Anwar, with the title of Saifdar Khán, was appointed to the government of Rádhampur. The viceroy now went to Nadiád, where Rái Kishandás, agent of Jawán Marī Khán, received the district of Petlád in farm. From Nadiád Mubáriz-ul-Mulk went to collect tribute from Sardársingh, the chief of Bhádarya in the Rewa Kántha about fifteen miles north of Baroda, on the banks of the Mahi, who, after some fighting, agreed to pay a sum of £2000 (Rs. 20,000). On his way back to Ahmedábad the viceroy levied tribute from the chief of Úmeta, fifteen miles west of Baroda. As Rái Kishandás failed to pay the sum agreed on for the farm of Petlád, an order was issued for his imprisonment. To save himself from the indignity he committed suicide.

When Kántáji returned from Sorath he camped at Sánand, and his advanced guard carried off some of the viceroy's elephants which were grazing there. Men were sent in pursuit, but in vain, and the Maráthas escaped. Meanwhile, at Surat, Mulla Muhammad Ali continued to build the fort at Athva. At last his accomplice, Beglar-Beg Khán the commander of the Surat fort, began to perceive that if the Athva fort were completed the Mulla would be in a position to obstruct the trade of the port of Surat. He consequently ordered him to stop building. In spite of this the Mulla succeeded in persuading Sohráb Khán to allow him to go on with his fort promising in return to get him confirmed as governor of Surat. Sohráb Khán agreed, and the fort was completed, and Sohráb Khán was duly appointed governor. As the fort was immediately below Surat the revenue of Surat was greatly diminished, and Sohráb Khán, when it was too late, saw his mistake.

In A.D. 1730 Mubáriz-ul-Mulk went into Gohilvada in south-east Káthiavada and levied tribute from Bhávsingh, chief of Sihor; thence he proceeded to Mádhupur, a town under Porbandar, and laid it waste. While engaged at Mádhupur, Momín Khán, son-in-law of the late Momín Khán, owing to some misunderstanding with the viceroy suddenly set out for Ahmedábad and from Ahmedábad proceeded to Ágra. The viceroy now marched in the direction of Kachh and refusing the offer of a yearly tribute of about £33,000 (10,00,000 *mahmúdiya*), advanced against Bhuj. He experienced great difficulty in crossing the Ran, and as the Ráo had cut off all supplies, and as at the same time news arrived of disturbances in Ahmedábad, he was obliged, after a month and a half, to retire to Rádhampur. The author of the *Mirát-i-Ahmedi* was ordered to suppress the Ahmedábad riots, which had arisen out of the levy of some fresh taxes, and was invested with the title of Hasan Muhammad Khán. In this year Udaikaran, Desai of Viramgám, was murdered by a Kachhí of that town named Ali, and Salábát Muhammad Khán Bábi, who was sent to investigate this murder, died on his way at Páldi, a village on the right bank of the Sátarmati opposite to Ahmedábad.

News was now (A.D. 1730) received that Maharaja Abhaysingh of Jodhpur had been appointed viceroy and had reached Pálanpur.

¹ Kachhís are the descendants of the Musalman garrisons of some towns of north Gujarat. The Kachhís of Viramgám were originally Tánk Rájputs.

The friends of order endeavoured to arrange a peaceable transfer between the Mahārāja and the late viceroy, but Mubārīz-ul-Mulk determined to try the chances of war, and prepared for resistance. At this time Mir Ismā'īl, deputy of Ghulām Muhy-ud-dīn Khān, arrived and took charge of the government of Jūnāgadh from Sher Khān Bābi. Mahārāja Abheysingh, after making various appointments, set out with his brother Vakhatsingh and 20,000 men to take over the government of Gujarāt. When he reached Pālanpur and saw that Mubārīz-ul-Mulk was determined on resistance, he sent an order to Sardār Muhammad Gharni appointing him his minister and directing him to take possession of the city of Ahmedābād and drive out the late viceroy. As Sardār Muhammad was not strong enough to carry out these orders he awaited the Mahārāja's arrival. When the Mahārāja reached Sidhpur he was joined by Safdar Khān Bābi and Jawān Mard Khān Bābi from Rādhanpur. They then advanced together to Adālaī, distant only about eight miles from the capital, their army increasing daily. Mubārīz-ul-Mulk was already encamped between Adālaī and the city, and on the approach of the Mahārāja a battle was fought in which the Mahārāja was defeated. Abheysingh changed his position, and another and bloodier engagement took place, in which both sides tried to kill the opposing commander. But as both Mubārīz-ul-Mulk and the Mahārāja fought disguised as common soldiers, neither party succeeded. At first the Mahārāja who had the advantage in position repulsed the enemy, but Mubārīz-ul-Mulk fought so desperately in the river-bed that the Rāthods gave way. They rallied and made one more desperate charge, but were met, repulsed, and finally pursued as far as Sarkhej. The Mahārāja, who had not expected so determined an opposition, now sent Momin Khān and Amarsingh to negotiate with Mubārīz-ul-Mulk, who was still determined to resist to the uttermost. It was finally agreed that Mubārīz-ul-Mulk should receive a sum of £10,000 (Rs. 1 lākh) and should surrender Ahmedābād to the Mahārāja. Mubārīz-ul-Mulk accordingly quitted the city and left for Agra by way of Udepur.

The Mahārāja entering Ahmedābād, appointed Ratansingh Bhandāri his deputy, and placed Fida-ud-dīn Khān, cousin of Momin Khān, in charge of the city police. Shortly afterwards Karīmād Khān Jhālōri, governor of Pālanpur, who had accompanied the Mahārāja into Gujarāt, died. After the death of Salābat Muhammad Khān Bābi, his son, Sher Khān Bābi, was dismissed from the government of Jūnāgadh. He retired to his estate of Gogha, and when the Mahārāja arrived in Ahmedābād he paid his respects, presenting the viceroy with an elephant and some horses. The Mahārāja confirmed the lands assigned to his father, and reported his action to the emperor. Momin Khān was made ruler of Cambay, and Fida-ud-dīn Khān, his cousin, was made governor of the lands near that city, the revenue of which had been assigned to the Mahārāja. So great was the fear of the Marāthas, that Mustafid Khān, the governor elect of Surat, instead of proceeding direct by land, went to Cambay. From Cambay he moved to Broach, and from Broach entered into negotiations with Pilāji Gaikwār, promising, if allowed to retain

Chapter III.

Maghal
Viceroys.

Muhammad Shah
Emperor.
1721-1748.
MAHARAJA
ABHEYSINGH
Fifty-third
Viceroy,
1730-1733.

Mubārīz-ul-Mulk
Resists the New
Viceroy.

Battle of Adālaī +
the Mahārāja
defeated by
Mubārīz-ul-Mulk.
1731.

Mubārīz-ul-Mulk
Retires.

Government of
Abheysingh.

Momin Khān
Ruler of Cambay,
1730.

Chapter III.

Mughal
Viceroys.

Muhammad
Shah
Emperor,
1721-1748.
MAHARAJA
ABHAYSINGH
Fifty-third
Viceroy,
1739-1733.

The Peshwa and
Viceroy against
Pilaji Gaikwar,
1731.

The Peshwa
Withdraws.

Defeats his
Opponents.

Abdullah Beg
appointed the
Nizam's Deputy
at Broach.

possession of Surat, to pay Pilaji the one-fourth share of its revenues. Pilaji agreed, but Sohrab Khan, who was still in possession of Surat, refused to hand it over to Mustafid Khan. In this year also Vakhatsingh, brother of the Maharaja Abheysingh, was appointed governor of Patan, and sent a deputy to act for him. About the same time Mir Fakhr-ud-din, a follower of the late viceroy Mubáriz-ul-Mulk, leaving him secretly, came to Ahmedabad, and in an interview with the Maharaja obtained for himself the post of deputy governor of Janagadh. When he proceeded to take up his appointment he was opposed by Mir Ismail, and was killed in a battle fought near Amreli in central Kathiavada. Muhammad Pahar, son of Karimdad Khan Jhalori, was appointed governor of Palanpur in succession to his father, and Jawan Mard Khan was sent to Vadnagar.

In the following year, A.D. 1731, Bajarav Peshwa, entering Gujarat at the head of an army, advanced against Baroda, then in the possession of Pilaji Gaikwar. Afterwards, at the invitation of the Maharaja, he visited Ahmedabad and had a meeting with the viceroy in the Shahi Bagh. At this meeting it was agreed that Bajarav should assist Azmatullah, the governor of Baroda, in taking possession of that town and in expelling Pilaji Gaikwar. By this arrangement the viceroy hoped by playing off the Peshwa against Pilaji, to succeed in getting rid of the latter, while the Peshwa intended that if Pilaji was forced to give up Baroda, he himself should gain possession of that city. Accordingly the Peshwa, together with an army from the viceroy, marched on Baroda. They had scarcely laid siege to the city, when the Peshwa heard that Nizam-ul-Mulk was advancing on Gujarat against him. Abandoning all operations against Baroda, the Peshwa withdrew, with all speed, to the Dakhan. On his way he encountered the army of Trimbakrav Senapati, who, together with Pilaji Kantaji and Udaji Pavar, had united to resist the pretensions of the Peshwa in Gujarat, and were also secretly leagued with the Nizam. An engagement was fought in which the Peshwa was victorious and Trimbakrav was slain.¹ The Peshwa at once pushed on to the Dakhan, contriving to avoid the Nizam, though his baggage was plundered by that chief, who had camped at Ghala Kamrej, on the river Tapi, about ten miles above Surat.

During these changes the city of Broach, which on account of the strength of its fort the Marathas had failed to take, was governed by Abdullah Beg, an officer originally appointed to that command by Mubáriz-ul-Mulk. Dissatisfied that the government of Gujarat should be in the hands of Abheysingh, Abdullah Beg, in A.D. 1731, entered into negotiations with the Nizam, offering to hold Broach as the Nizam's deputy. Nizam-ul-Mulk agreed, appointed Abdullah his deputy, and ennobled him with the title of Nek Alam Khan. About the same time Vakhatsingh, brother of the viceroy, withdrew to his chiefship of Nagar in Jodhpur, and Azmat-ullah went to Agra. After his safe arrival in the Dakhan Bajarav Peshwa entered into an agreement

¹ See note on page 306.

with the Nizâm under the terms of which the grants of Dholka, Broach, Jambusar, and Makbulâbâd were continued to the Nizâm. Momin Khân received the farm of Petlâd, and Kântâji was confirmed in the share he had acquired of the revenues of Gujârât. In A.D. 1732 the paymaster, Amânatdâr Khân, died, and was succeeded by Ghulâm Hasan Khân, who sent Mujahid-ud-din Khân to act as his deputy. Through the influence of Mulla Muhammad Ali, Sohrâb Ali was now confirmed as governor of Surat, and Mustafid Khân was obliged to return to Ahmedâbâd.

Pilâji Gâikwâr as the agent of the deceased Khanderâv Dâbhâde Senâpati, as the owner of the fort of Songad, and as the ally of the Bhils and Kôlis, was naturally a thorn in the side of the viceroy Abheysingh. The recent acquisition of the town of Baroda, and of the strong fortress of Dabhoi had made Pilâji still more formidable. Under these circumstances, Abheysingh, who had long wished to recover Baroda and Dabhoi determined to assassinate Pilâji, and this was effected by a Mârvâdi at the holy village of Dâkor. The Marâthâs slew the assassin and withdrew across the Mahi, burning the body of Pilâji at the village of Sâboli or Sâonli, fourteen miles north of Baroda. They then evacuated the district of Baroda, retiring to the fortress of Dabhoi. On hearing of the death of Pilâji the viceroy immediately advanced against the Marâthâs, and, after taking possession of Baroda, laid siege to Dabhoi. He failed to capture this fortress, and as the rainy season had set in and provisions were scarce, he was obliged to retire. He then went to Baroda, and after placing Shur Khân Bâbi in charge of the city, returned to Ahmedâbâd. In this year, A.D. 1732, Gujârât was wasted by famine.

Meanwhile at Surat Mulla Muhammad Ali of Athva was again the cause of disturbance. Resisting with force the demand of a sum of £10,000 (Rs. 1 lakh) by Sohrâb Khân, the governor of Surat, he succeeded in driving Sohrâb Khân out of the city, and the government of Surat was then usurped by Teghbeg Khân, a brother of Beglar-Beg Khân. The success of the Mulla against Sorâb Khân made him so forgetful of his position that he arrogated to himself all the emblems of the governor's office and wrote to the emperor asking a patent of the governorship of Surat in the name of his son Mulla Fakhr-ud-din. The messengers bearing these communications were intercepted at Broach by the partisans of Teghbeg, who determined to remove this powerful cause of anxiety. Teghbeg Khân, inviting Muhammad Ali to an entertainment, placed him in confinement, and after keeping him in prison for two years, in A.D. 1734 put him to death. Teghbeg also took possession of the fort of Athva, and plundered it. Sohrâb Khân, seeing that he could not recover Surat, went with Sayad Wali to Gogha, where his relatives lived, and from that, proceeding to Bhavnagar settled there. When the emperor heard what had happened, he appointed Momin Khân to Surat and Teghbeg Khân to Cambay. Momin Khân sent Sayad Nârullah to act for him, but he was defeated by Teghbeg Khân, who afterwards contrived, in A.D. 1733, to be formally appointed governor of Surat with the title of Bahâdur.

Chapter III.

Mughal
Viceroys.

Muhammad
Shah
Emperor.
1721-1748.
MAHARAJA
ABHEYSINGH
Fifty-third
Viceroy,
1730-1733.

The Viceroy
procures the
Death of
Pilâji (Gâikwâr,
1732 ;

and takes Baroda.

Famine,
1732.

Affairs at Surat,
1732.

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Teghbeg Khân
Governor of
Surat.

Chapter III.

Mughal
Viceroys.

Muhammad
Shah
Emperor,
1721-1749.
MAHARAJA
ARJAYSINGH
Fifty-third
Viceroy,
1730-1733.

RAYANSINGH
BHANDARI
Deputy Viceroy,
1733-1737.

The Maráthás
Return.

Contest for the
government of
Gogha.

Disturbance
at Viramgam,
1734.

Baroda
recovered by the
Maráthás,
1734.

When Umábái, widow of Khanderáv Senapati, heard of the assassination of Piláji Gaikwár, she determined to avenge his death. Collecting an army and taking with her Kántáji Kadam and Dámaji Gaikwár, son of Piláji, she marched upon Ahmedábád. As the Maráthás failed to do more than slay a Rájput leader named Jívaráj they came to terms. In the end it was agreed that in addition to the one-fourth and the one-tenth shares of the revenue a sum of £8000 (Rs. 80,000) should be paid from the Ahmedábád treasury, Jawán Mard Khán being kept as a hostage till the payments were made. For his services on this occasion Jawán Mard Khán was made governor of Viramgam. During this year an imperial order appointed Khushálchand Sheth, son of Santidas, Nagar Sheth or chief merchant of Ahmedábád. The Maráthás plundered Rasúlábád a mile south of Ahmedábád and its excellent library was pillaged. Umábái now marched upon Baroda, and the governor, Sher Khán Bábi, prepared to oppose the Maráthás. But Umábái, sending a message to Sher Khán, explained that she had just concluded a peace with the Mahárája, and was suffered to pass unmolested. The emperor, satisfied with the arrangements made by the Mahárája, presented him with a dress of honour. In this year the Mahárája went to court by way of Jodhpur, and appointed Ratansingh Bhandári as his deputy, and the author of the *Mirát-i-Ahmedi* as news recorder. In the same year, A.D. 1733, Ghulám Muhy-ud-dín Khán, governor of Júnágadh died, and his son Mir Hazabr Khán was selected to fill his place.

Meanwhile as the Maráthás had not received their rights, Jádoji Dákháde, son of Umábái, returned to Gujarat. Peace was concluded on the former basis, and Jádoji marched into Sorath to exact tribute. In this year the Kolia of the Chúnval and Kámkrej committed many excesses, and a Rájput noble was robbed in the Pátan district. In the meantime Sohrib Khán, the former governor of Surat, who had been kindly received by Bhávsinghji the chief of Sihar, began to raise a following and was appointed collector of arrears in Sorath. He chose Sayad Núrullah as his deputy, and sent him to recover the revenue for the current year.

On the death of Salábat Khán Bábi, though the Mahárája had endeavoured to get Sher Khán Bábi appointed in place of his father, Gogha had been granted to Burhán-ul-Mulk, who chose Sohrib Khán as his deputy. At this time Sher Khán Bábi was at Baroda, and his younger brother, though he resisted, was compelled to leave Gogha. The deputy governor of Sorath complained to the governor of the oppressive conduct of Sohrib Khán. But Burhán-ul-Mulk supported Sohrib and having obtained for himself the government of Sorath, sent Sohrib Khán as his deputy to Júnágadh. In A.D. 1734, Ratansingh Bhandári, the deputy viceroy, who held in hatred Bhávsingh, son of Udaikaran, the hereditary officer of Viramgam, persuaded Jawán Mard Khán to imprison him and send him to Ahmedábád. Jawán Mard Khán went so far as to arrest Bhávsingh, but was forced by his supporters to release him.

In this year Sher Khán Bábi, governor of Baroda, went to visit his lands at Bálásinor, leaving Muhammad Sarbóz in command at Baroda,

Mahadaji Gaikwar, brother of Pilaji, who then held Jambharsar, sending to Sengad to Damaji for aid, marched on Baroda with a strong force. The garrison made a brave defence, and Sher Khan hearing of the attack at Balasinor, called for aid from Ratan Singh Bhandari, the deputy viceroy, who directed Momin Khan, the governor of Cambay, to join Sher Khan and drive back the Marathas. Sher Khan started at once for Baroda. But Mahadaji leaving a sufficient force before the town pushed on with the bulk of his army to meet Sher Khan, and, though he and his men fought bravely, defeated him, and then returned to Baroda, Sher Khan retiring to Balasinor. Momin Khan, who arrived after Sher Khan's defeat, did not deem it prudent to engage the Marathas, and retired to Cambay. In the meantime the garrison of Baroda, hopeless of succour, surrendered the town, and since that day Baroda has continued to be the head-quarters of the Gaikwar family.

Since Jawan Mard Khan's capture of Bhavsingh of Virangam he had become much disliked. For this reason Ratan Singh Bhandari, the deputy viceroy, transferred him to Kadi and Bijapur, and in his place appointed Sher Khan Babi, whose father Muhammad Salabat Khan Babi had been a popular governor of Virangam. At this time Dhanraj Bhandari, governor of Petlad, died, and the farm of the districts of Nadiad, Arhar-Matar, Petlad, and Mahudha was given to Momin Khan. Mulla Muhammad Ali managed to write letters from his confinement at Surat to the Nizam; and as that chief was now not far from Surat, he wrote urgently to Teghbeg Khan to release him. Teghbeg Khan put the Mulla to death, and bribing the Nizam's messenger, gave out that he had died of joy at his release. Khusalchand, the chief of the merchants of Ahmedabad, having had a difference with Ratan Singh, was forced to leave the city, and sought shelter at Cambay and afterwards at Junagadh. Jawan Mard Khan, who was of an ambitious temperament, now conceived the design of conquering Idar from Anand Singh and Raisingh, brothers of the Maharaja Abhaysingh. He accordingly marched upon Idar, taking with him as allies Aghraji Koli of Katosan and Koli Amra of Elol Kanrah. In this strat Anand Singh and Raisingh sought the aid of Malharrao Holkar and Ranoji Sindia, who were at this time in Matwa. The Maratha chiefs at once marched to the help of Idar, and Jawan Mard Khan, disbelieving the report of Maratha aid, continued to advance until he found himself opposed by an overwhelming force. Negotiations were entered into, and Jawan Mard Khan agreed to pay a sum of £17,500 (Rs. 1,75,000). Of the total amount £2500 (Rs. 25,000) were paid at once, and Zorikar Khan, brother of Jawan Mard Khan, and Ajabsingh, agent of Aghraji Koli, were kept as hostages until the balance should be paid. In this year Teghbeg Khan of Surat caused a wealthy merchant named Ahmed Chalabi to be assassinated, and confiscated his property. He also caused a fanatic named Sayad Ali to be put to death by certain Afghans, as he considered that he might excite sedition.

In the following year (A.D. 1735) Dholka was assigned to Ratan Singh Bhandari, and through the influence of Burhan-ul-Mulk, Sadr

Chapter III.

Mughal
Viceroys.

Muhammad

Shah

Emperor,

1721-1748.

RATAN SINGH

BHANDARI

Deputy Viceroy

in charge,

1733-1737.

Change of
Governor at
Virangam.Jawan Mard
Khan falls in
an attempt on
Idar.Rivalry of Ratan-
singh Bhandari and
Sohrab Khan,
1735.

Chapter III.

Mughal
Viceroys.

Muhammad
Shah
Emperor.
1721-1748.

RATANSINGH
BHANDARI

Deputy Viceroy
in charge.
1723-1737.

Battle of Dholi.
Defeat and Death
of Sohráb Khán,
1735.

Khán was appointed governor of Viramgám. Ratansingh resented this, and eventually Viramgám was conferred on the Mahárája Abhoyasingh. When this order reached Sohráb Khán, he forwarded it to Burhán-ul-Mulk, and in consequence of Burhán-ul-Mulk's remonstrances, the arrangements were changed and Sohráb Khán appointed governor. Upon this Sohráb Khán, leaving Sádak Ali as his deputy in Junágadh, marched for Viramgám; while Ratansingh Bhandári, hearing of Sohráb Khán's approach, summoned Momín Khán and others to his assistance, and with his own army proceeded to Dholka and plundered Koth. From Koth he advanced and pitched at Harálah, about ten miles from Sohráb Khán's camp, and here he was joined by Momín Khán and others whom he had summoned to support him. After the union of these forces he marched to Dholi, six miles from Dhandhuka, at which place Sohráb Khán was then encamped. Ratansingh Bhandári now proposed that peace should be concluded, and that Sohráb Khán should enjoy Viramgám until final orders were passed by the emperor. Safdar Khán Bábi and others went to Sohráb Khán and endeavoured to bring him to consent to these terms; but he would not listen, and on both sides preparations were made for battle. During the following night Ratansingh Bhandári planned an attack on Sohráb Khán's camp. The surprise was complete. Sohráb Khán's troops fled, and himself, mortally wounded, shortly afterwards died. By the death of Sohráb Khán the family of Kázim Beg Khán became extinct. He was buried at Sihor in Káthiáváda.

Rivalry between
Ratansingh
Bhandári and
Momín Khán,
1735.

After this success a single horseman attacked and wounded Ratansingh Bhandári in two places. The horseman was at once slain, but no one was able to recognize him. Ratansingh, who in two months had recovered from his injuries, now determined to attack Momín Khán, as that officer in the recent struggle had taken part with Sohráb Khán. Momín Khán hearing of Ratansingh's intentions, withdrew to Cambay. In the course of this year, on the expiry of the period of the farm of Mahudha, Arhar-Mátar, and Nadiad, these districts were transferred from Momín Khán to Safdar Khán Bábi. Kálianchand, a man of low origin, was appointed to Viramgám in place of Sher Khán Bábi, and instead of Sohráb Khán, Muhsin Khán Khálvi was made deputy governor of Sorath.

MAHÁTRA
AFFAIRS.
Dámáji Gaikwár
and Kántáji,
1735.

Battle of
Anand-Mogri.
Defeat of
Kántáji.

About this time Dámáji Gaikwár, who had been chosen by Unáthá as her representative in Gujarát, appointed Rangoji to act as his agent. Kántáji being dissatisfied with this arrangement, in which his rights were ignored, marched into Gujarát. Rangoji met him, and a battle was fought at Anand-Mogri, twenty-five miles south-east of Kaira, in which Kántáji was defeated and his son killed. In consequence of this reverse Kántáji retired to Petlád. Momín Khán, who with his army was drawn up near Petlád to oppose Rangoji, was compelled to retire to Cambay, where peace was concluded on condition that Dámáji should receive the one-fourth share of the revenues of the country north of the Mahi. As the districts where these battles were fought were held in farm by Safdar Khán Bábi, he suffered much loss, and consequently retired to Rádhanpur. Rangoji was joined by Dámáji Gaikwár, and these two leaders went together to Dholka. While they

were there, Bhávsingh of Viramgám invited them to that town, both on account of the annoyance he suffered from the Márvadis and that he might take vengeance on the Kasbátis for the murder of his father Udaikaran. He accordingly treacherously admitted the Maráthás and slew Daulat Muhammad Támk, brother of the murderer of his father, and expelled the rest of the Kasbátis, while Kalian, the Márvadí administrator, was permitted to go to Ahmedábád. Leaving Rangoji at Viramgám, Dámáji marched into Sorath to levy tribute from the chiefs, and after collecting a portion of his dues, returned to the Dakhan. In the following year (A.D. 1736) Rangoji advanced as far as Bávla near Dholka wasting the country. Ratansingh Bhandári, the deputy viceroy, marched against him, and forced him to retire to Viramgám. Ratansingh pursued the Maráthás to Viramgám, attacked and defeated them capturing their baggage, but failed to prevent them taking shelter in the town. About this time some Marátha horse who were at Sarnál, otherwise called Thásra, joined the Kolis of those parts, advanced with them against Kapadvanj and without any serious resistance succeeded in capturing the town. Meanwhile though Ratansingh had summoned Momín Khán to his aid, he delayed coming, as he began to scheme independence at Cambay.

Ratansingh Bhandári heard that Pratáprá, brother of Dámáji, and Deváji Tákar were advancing on Ahmedábád with 10,000 horse. At first he thought this a device to draw him from Viramgám, to whose walls his mines had reached. On ascertaining from trusty spies that the report was true, he raised the siege of Viramgám, returned rapidly to Ahmedábád, and pushing forward to meet Pratáprá, exacted tribute from the chiefs on the banks of the Vátrak. As Pratáprá drew near, the governor of the Bhíl district retired before him, and he continuing his advance, passed through Valad and Pethápur, and so by way of Chhála reached Dholka. Here, through Muhammad Ismáíl, the governor of Dholka, he demanded from the Bhandári his share of the revenue. Afterwards, leaving 2000 horse in Dholka, he went to Dhandhuka. In the meantime Kántáji, who was a follower of Bájíráv Peshwa, joining with Malhárrá Holkar, advanced upon Idar, and coming against Dánta, plundered that town. Some Nágár Bráhmans of the town of Vadnagar, who were settled in Dánta, tried to escape to the hills, but were intercepted and pillaged. The Maráthás then proceeded to Vadnagar and plundered the town. From Vadnagar they went as far as Pálanpur, where Pahár Khán Jhálóri, being unable to oppose them, agreed to pay a tribute of £10,000 (Rs. 1 lakh). Kántáji and Malhárrá Holkar then marched into Márwár, while Pratáprá and Rangoji crossed over from Dhandhuka into Káthiáwada and Gohilvada. About this time Muhammad Pahár Khán Jhálóri was appointed deputy governor of Pátan on behalf of Vakhatsingh. As no settlement of his demands on the revenues of Dholka had yet been made, Pratáprá returned to that town and sent Narhar Pandit to receive the tribute due to him. Afterwards proceeding to Baroda with Rangoji they were summoned to Sorath by Dámáji to assist him. Sher Khán Bábi, who up to his time had been at Kaira, now came to Ahmedábád, and as the deputy viceroy

Chapter III.

Mughal
Viceroys.

Muhammad
Sháh
Emperor.
1721-1748.

RATANRINGH
BHANDARI

Deputy Viceroy
in charge,
1733-1737.

The Maráthás
help Bhavsingh
to expel the
Viramgám
Kasbátis.

The Gáikvár
and Peshwa
Plunder the
Country.

Chapter III.

Mughal
Viceroys.Muhammad
Shah
Emperor,
1721-1748.Momin Khán
Fifty-fourth
Viceroy,
1737.

was displeased with Momin Khán's conduct when Virangam was besieged, he appointed Sher Khán his own deputy at Petlád, Arhar-Mátar, and Nadiád. Afterwards on Momin Khán's remonstrance Subháchand Márvádi was appointed to examine the accounts and receive the revenue in place of Sher Khán. In A.E. 1737 Dámáji's brother Pratápráy, returning to his country after exacting tribute from the chiefs of Sornth, died of small-pox at Kánkar near Dholka. Momin Khán seeing that Sher Khán had not yet left Kaira, collected some men and came to Petlád, while Sher Khán went to Dehgám and awaited the departure of Rangoji. Ratansingh Bhandári made preparations to help Sher Khán and Momin Khán returned to Cambay.

At this time as the Mahárája Abheysingh was not in favour at court, Momin Khán was appointed fifty-fourth viceroy. As he was unable to effect anything by himself he persuaded Jawán Mard Khán Bábi to join him by a promise of the government of Pátan and directed him to proceed and take up that appointment. Now the Jháloris were allies of the Ráthods, and Pahár Khán Jhálori, then in command of Pátan, opposed Jawán Mard Khán, but was finally obliged to vacate Pátan. Momin Khán, who had not hitherto produced the order appointing him viceroy, now made it public and began to act as viceroy with the title of Najm-ud-dauláh Momin Khán Bahádur Firóz Jang, and in A.D. 1737 sent a copy of this order to Aldól Husain Khán, the deputy minister, and to Mustafid Khán, who held the office of Kázi.

Sher Khán Bábi, wishing to remain neutral, retired to Balásinor and Momin Khán summoned Rangoji, who was in the neighbourhood of Cambay, to his assistance. Rangoji agreed to aid him in expelling the Márvádis, on condition that, if successful, he should be granted one-half of the produce of Gujarat except the city of Ahmedábád, the lands in the neighbourhood of the city, and the port of Cambay. This disastrous alliance with the Maráthás gave the last blow to Mughal power in Gujarat, which otherwise might have lingered for at least a quarter of a century. Momin Khán lived to repent his conduct.

When Ratansingh Bhandári heard of the appointment of Momin Khán to be viceroy he wrote to Mahárája Abheysingh for orders. Meanwhile he sent Muhammadan officials to Cambay to persuade Momin Khán to take no further steps until a reply should be received to the reference Momin Khán had made to Agra. The reply of the Mahárája was that Ratansingh should resist Momin Khán if he could. Ratansingh prepared to defend Ahmedábád while Momin Khán collecting an army, camped at the Náransar lake.

From the Náransar lake where Momin Khán remained encamped for one and a half months collecting his partisans he advanced to Sojitra, where he was joined by Jawán Mard Khán Bábi; and proceeding together they came to Vasu under Petlád, about twenty-six miles from Ahmedábád, and from Vasu to Kaira, about eighteen miles from the capital. At Kaira they encamped on the banks of the Vátrak, where, owing to the incessant rain, they were forced to remain for about a month. When the rain abated and the rivers were fordable, Momin Khán, moving to Ahmedábád, encamped in front of the city

on the Kánkariya tank and prepared for a siege. About the same time Momín Khán's manager, Vajerám, whom he had sent to Songad to solicit Dámáji to march in person to his assistance, arrived and informed him that Dámáji would join him shortly. Zoráwar Khán, who had been left at the Maráthá camp as security for the payment of the tribute, was recalled, and instead the district of Parántij was formally assigned to the Maráthás in payment of their demands. Some of the Mahárája's guns, which were being sent to Ahmedábád by his agents at Surat through Cambay for facility of transit, were about this time captured by a party of Momín Khán's men. When Ratansingh Bhandári wrote to the Mahárája of Momín Khán's advance on Ahmedábád, the Mahárája was much displeased, and went from the emperor's presence in anger. The nobles fearing the consequences, recalled him, and persuaded the emperor to re-appoint him viceroy of Gujarát.

Momín Khán was secretly enjoined to disregard the Mahárája's appointment and persevere in expelling the Ráthods, and was assured of the emperor's approbation of this line of conduct. He therefore continued to prosecute the siege with vigour. In the meantime another order was received from the imperial court, confirming the reappointment of the Mahárája and appointing Fidá-ud-dín Khán to guard the city with 500 men, directing also that Momín Khán should return to Cambay. It was further stated that, as Ratansingh Bhandári had acted oppressively, some other person should be appointed deputy to fill his place, and that in the meantime a Rájput noble, named Abhaikaran, was to carry on the government. Shortly before this Muhammad Bákir Khán, son of Muátamid Khán, joined Momín Khán from Surat, while Sádik Ali Khán and his nephew reinforced him from Junágadh. When Momín Khán was informed of the purport of the imperial order he agreed to return to Cambay, provided Ratansingh Bhandári would quit the city, hand over charge to Abhaikaran, and admit Fidá-ud-dín Khán and his men into the city.

Ratansingh Bhandári determined not to leave the city, and prepared to defend himself to the last. Dámáji Gáikwár now joined Momín Khán from Songad. Momín Khán met Dámáji at I'sanpur, three miles from Ahmedábád, and made great show of friendship, calling him his brother. When Ratansingh Bhandári heard of the arrangements made between Dámáji and Momín Khán, he sent a message to Dámáji saying, 'Momín Khán has promised Rangoji half of the revenues of Gujarát excepting the city of Ahmedábád, the lands immediately round it, and Cambay. If you will join me, I will give you half of everything not excepting the city nor Cambay, and will send to your camp some of my chief landholders as security if you agree.' Dámáji showed this to Momín Khán, and asked him what he proposed to do. Momín Khán now perforce agreed to do the same; but instead of Cambay offered to make over to the Maráthás the whole district of Viramgám. Dámáji, accepting these terms, ceased to negotiate with Ratansingh. He then went on pilgrimage to Dúdesar, and returning in the same year, A.D. 1738, he and Rangoji began active operations against Ahmedábád. Their bombardment did so much

Chapter III.

Mughal
Viceroys.

Muhammad
Shah
Emperor.
1721-1748.
Momin Khán
Fifty-fourth
Viceroy,
1737.

Lays Siege to
Ahmedábád.

MAHÁRÁJA
ABHEESINGH
Fifty-fifth
Viceroy,
1737.

Momin Khán
continues the
Siege of
Ahmedábád.

Defence of the
City by
Ratansingh
Bhandári.

Chapter III.

Mughal
Viceroys.

Muhammad
Shah
Emperor,
1721-1748.
MAHARAJA
ANNEYSINGH
Fifty-fifth
Viceroy,
1737.

Momin Khan
captures
Ahmedabad,
1738.

damage to the city that Momin Khan repented having called them to his aid, and foresaw that if the Maráthas once gained any portion of the city it would be no easy matter to drive them out. Momin Khan now sent the writer of the Mirát-i-Ahmedi to Ratansingh Bhandári, in hopes that he might withdraw peaceably, but Ratansingh refused to listen to any terms. After some time the Musalmáns under Kázim Ali Khan and others, and the Maráthas under Báburáv endeavoured to take the city by storm, but after a bloody contest were forced to retire. Next day Ratansingh, seeing that he could not long hold the city, entered into a negotiation with Momin Khan, and, on receiving a sum of money for his expenses, and on being allowed to retire with the honours of war, left the city.

Momin Khan entered Ahmedábád. On the capture of the city, in accordance with Momin Khan's engagement, half of it was handed to the Maráthas. Momin Khan sent news of what had taken place to the emperor, and appointed Fidá-ud-din Khan his deputy. Dámáji, who in the meantime had been to Sorath, now returned and was met by Rangoji, who accompanied him as far as the banks of the Muhi, whence Rangoji proceeded to Dholka. After spending a few days at Dholka, Rangoji returned to Ahmedábád and took charge of his share of the city, which comprised the Raikhar, Khánjehán, and Jamálpur quarters as far as the Astoria and Raipur gates. The city was thus equally divided, and the Astoria and Raipur gates were guarded by the Maráthas. At that time the inhabitants of Ahmedábád were chiefly Muhammadans, and the Maráthas, accustomed to extortion, attempting to oppress them, they rose against the strangers, and after a severe affray expelled the greater part of them from the city. Momin Khan, though secretly pleased, affected ignorance and sent Fidá-ud-din Khan to reassure Rangoji. This with some difficulty he succeeded in doing and Rangoji remained in the city. Jawán Maril Khan was sent to Pátan, and, instead of Parántij, the district of Kherálú was granted to Zoráwar Khan Babi.

Momin Khan
Fifty-sixth
Viceroy,
1738-1743.
Prosperity of
Ahmedabad,
1738.

With the cessation of Marátha oppression, Ahmedábád began to recover its splendour and opulence. The emperor was much pleased with Momin Khan, and, raising his rank, presented him with a dress of honour, a sword, and other articles of value. At the close of the rainy season Momin Khan went to levy tribute from the chiefs on the banks of the Sábarmati, and Rangoji was asked to accompany him. They marched to Adáláj whence Fidá-ud-din Khan, the deputy viceroy, returned to the city accompanied by Rámáji as deputy of Rangoji. Jawán Mard Khan and Sher Khan Babi now joined the viceroy's camp, and, about the same time Hathising, chief of Pethápur, paid a visit to the viceroy and settled his tribute. From Adáláj they advanced to Mánsa, and were met by the Mánsa chief. From Mánsa they proceeded to Kadi, and from Kadi to Bījápúr. After Momin Khan left the people of Ahmedábád were badly treated, and Rangoji, leaving his brother Akoji in camp, returned to the capital, whence he marched towards Virangám and Sorath. Momin Khan went from Bījápúr to Ídar, and there levied tribute from the chiefs of Mohanpur and Ranásan.

When Momin Khán arrived at Idar, Anandsingh and Raisingh, brothers of Mahārāja Abheysingh, went to him and paid the tribute of Mohanpur and Hanisan as being within the limits of the Idar territory. The matter was amicably settled, and the two brothers accompanied the viceroy as far as the Idar frontier, when Anandsingh returned to Idar, and Raisingh, at Momin Khán's request, remained with him. Momin Khán undertaking to pay the expenses of his men. Pruthiraj, the chief of Mánasa, agreed to pay £2300 (Rs. 23,000) and the chief of Varsoda £1000 (Rs. 10,000) as tribute. At this time Sher Muhammad Khán Bábi was appointed to succeed Mir Dost Ali as deputy governor of Sorath. The Maráthas, who had attempted to deprive some of the Rasúlábád and Batwa Sayads of their land, were attacked by the Muhammadan population, and a few men were wounded on either side. Momin Khán, receiving tribute from various chiefs, had now reached Palanpur, and Páhar Khán Jhálari, the governor of that place, was introduced to the viceroy by Sher Khán Bábi. As news was now received that Devaji Tákpar was advancing through the Baroda districts, Momin Khán marched towards Ahmedábád, dismissing Páhar Khán Jhálari on the Palanpur frontier. Jawán Mard Khán Bábi, appointing his brother Saifdar Khán Bábi as his deputy at Pátan, pushed forward in advance for Ahmedábád. Mámúr Khán, who had been chosen by Mir Huzab Ali as his deputy in Sorath, now arrived and complained to Momin Khán regarding Sher Khán Bábi's appointment. Momin Khán said that, as neither had assumed charge of their duties, they should await final orders from the emperor. He then advanced to Hajipur, and thence encamped on the side of the city near Bahrámpur and occupied himself in strengthening the city defences. From that camp he proceeded to Isanpur four miles south of Ahmedábád on his way to levy tribute from the Koli chiefs of the banks of the Vátrak. After this he proceeded to Kúlej on the Vátrak and levied tribute from the Koli chiefs of that neighbourhood. Hearing that Dámáji had left Songad, and crossing the Mahi had gone to Arás, Momin Khán struck his camp and returned to the city, while Dámáji going to Dholka marched from that to Sorath. Momin Khán now permitted Sher Khán to return to his lands in Gogha, whence he proceeded to Júnágadh and took charge of the office of deputy governor.

In A.D. 1738, Mir Huzab Khán, the governor of Sorath, died, and as Sher Khán had occupied Júnágadh, and taken into his employ all the troops of Mir Dost Ali, Mámúr Khán was obliged to resign his pretensions and return. The emperor now appointed Himmatt Ali Khán, nephew of Momin Khán, governor of Sorath, and he wrote to his uncle to choose a fitting deputy. Momin Khán, as the Marátha incursions into Sorath increased yearly, and as Sher Khán Bábi was a man able to hold his own with them, suffered him to remain as deputy. When Dámáji returned to Virangám, after levying tribute from the chiefs of Sorath, he was obliged to march against Kánji Koli, the chief of Chhaníár in the Chúnval. As he could not prevail against them he was forced to call on Momin Khán for aid. Momin Khán sent Fidá-ud-dín Khán at the head of a well-equipped army. On their approach the

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Mughal
Viceroys.

Mahammad
Shah
Emperor,
1721-1748.

Momtaz Khatun
Fifty-sixth
Viceroy,
1738-1743.

The Viceroy
collects Tribute,
1738.

Sher Khán Bábi
Deputy Governor
of Sorath,
1738.

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Mughal
Viceroys.

Mahammad
Shah
Emperor,
1721-1748.

Momin Khan
Fifty-sixth
Viceroy,
1738-1743.

The
Deputy Viceroy
collects Tribute,
1739.

Capture of
Bassein by
the Maráthás,
1739.

Tribute
Expedition,
1740.

Kolis fled, and the village was burned, and Fidá-ud-din Khán returned to the capital. Dámáji, leaving Rangoji as his deputy, returned to Songad. In this year, A.D. 1738, Hindustán was invaded by the great Persian Nádir Sháh, Dehli sacked, and the emperor made prisoner. Except that coin was struck in Nádir's name, the collapse of Mughal power caused little change in Gujarát.

In A.D. 1739 Fidá-ud-din Khán was sent to levy tribute from the chiefs on the banks of the Sábarmati, and, accompanied by Jawán Mard Khán Bábi and Rája Ráisingh of Idar, marched to Charárah. As the village of Pámul under Bijápur had been assigned to the author of the Mirát-i-Ahmedi, he accompanied Fidá-ud-din Khán, who marched to Ahmednagar, and demanded tribute from Jitsingh of Mohanpur and Ranáan. Jitsingh resisted and a doubtful battle was fought. Next day Fidá-ud-din Khán changed his position and again attacked Jitsingh, who being defeated agreed to pay £1000 (Rs. 10,000). They then went to Idar, where they were hospitably received by Rája Ráising, who presented the leaders with horses. From Idar they proceeded to Vadnagar, which was under Jawán Mard Khán, who also received them courteously and presented horses. The army then marched to Visalnagar. On the arrival of the troops at Visalnagar, Jawán Mard Khán requested Fidá-ud-din Khán to subdue Jámáji the Koli chief of Thara-Jámpur in the Kámkrej, who was then at Bálisana under Pátan and who was continually plundering the country. Fidá-ud-din Khán marched to Bálisana, but Jámáji fled to Thara-Jámpur without risking a battle and the Muhammadans plundered Thara-Jámpur. From Bálisana Fidá-ud-din Khán marched to Kadi, and allowing Jawán Mard Khán to return to Pátan proceeded to Ahmedábád.

At Ahmedábád disputes between Rangoji and Momin Khán regarding the government of the city were frequent. In one serious disturbance Momin Khán was worsted and forced to sue for peace and grant Rangoji his half share both in the government and revenue, which, since the affray in A.D. 1738, Momin Khán had withheld. A formal agreement was drawn up but did not long remain in force. About this time Momin Khán's nephew Muhammad Momin Khán Bakhshi received a patent granting him the title of Nazar Ali Khán. The year A.D. 1739 was marked by a disastrous flood in the Sábarmati. In this year also the Maráthás under Chimnáji Apa achieved the memorable success of taking the fort of Bassein from the Portuguese.

In A.D. 1740 on his return from Sorath, Dámáji Gaikwár took Rangoji to the Dakhan and appointed Malhárráv Khúni his deputy at Ahmedábád. Fidá-ud-din Khán met the new deputy at Isanpur and escorted him to the city. Shortly after Fidá-ud-din Khán and Nazar Ali Khán started to collect tribute, and Jawán Mard Khán sent his brother Zoráwar Khán Bábi to accompany them. They advanced against Dábhora under Bahyal eighteen miles east of Ahmedábád in the Bhíl district and fought with the chief, who agreed to pay tribute. Thence they went to Atarumba, where the Kolis after a vain attempt to carry off their cannon agreed to pay tribute. The force then proceeded to Mándva and levied a contribution from the Mándva chief. They next went to Kapadvanj, and passing

through Bálásinor reached Virpur under Lunáváda. Here, from Sultánsingh, agent of the Lunáváda chief, they received two horses and £300 (Rs. 3000) as tribute. While at Lunáváda an order of recall came from Momín Khán, who intimated that Malharráv Khúni had laid up large stores of grain and contemplated war. Fidá-ud-dín Khán at once pushed forward through Bálásinor and Kapadvanj, advancing rapidly towards the capital. On the way he received a second despatch from Momín Khán saying that, as the risk of war had for the present passed, they should advance to Petlád, where they would find Malharráv Khúni and settle with him about the revenue accounts. They continued their march, and in two days reached Kaira, being joined on the way by Muhammad Kúli Khán, who was charged with messages from Momín Khán. At Kaira they found Muhammad Husain, nephew of Fidá-ud-dín Khán who had been sent with a force to Mahudha. As Malharráv Khúni was at Pinj near Kaira, Fidá-ud-dín Khán expressed a wish to meet him, and it was agreed that both sides should go to the Petlád district and there settle the disputed collections. Shortly after they met and arrangements were in progress when the Kolis of the Bhíl district rebelled and Abdúl Husain Khán and Vajersám were sent against them. After burning two or three villages this detachment rejoined the main body, and not long after all returned to Ahmedábád. During A.D. 1740 Bájiráv Peshwa died.

In A.D. 1741 Momín Khán went to Cambay, and while residing at Gháspur near that city received information that Dámáji had again appointed Rangoji his deputy in place of Malharráv Khúni, and shortly after Rangoji arrived at Petlád. At this time Momín Khán turned his attention to the falling off in the customs revenue of Cambay and appointed Ismáil Muhammad collector of customs. As he was anxious to clear some misunderstanding between Rangoji and himself, Momín Khán set out to visit Rangoji and assure him of his good wishes. At this time Bhávsingh of Virangám, who found the Maráthás even more troublesome than the Muhammadans, as soon as he heard of Malharráv's recall, suddenly attacked the fort of Virangám and with the aid of some Arabs and Rohillás expelled the Maráthá garrison and prepared to hold the fort on his own account. Shortly after Rangoji demanded that a tower in Ahmedábád, which had been raised a story by Momín Khán so as to command the residence of the Maráthá deputy at the Jamálpur gate, should be reduced to its original height. At the same time he suggested that Momín Khán and he, uniting their forces, should advance and expel Bhávsingh from Virangám. Momín Khán agreed to both proposals. The addition to the tower was pulled down, and Momín Khán and Rangoji, marching against Virangám, laid siege to the town. Bhávsingh made a gallant defence, and Momín Khán, who was not sorry to see the Maráthás in difficulties, after a time left them and marched to Kadi and Bijápur to levy tribute. Rangoji continued the siege, and as Bhávsingh saw that even without Momín Khán the Maráthá army was sufficient to reduce the place, he agreed to surrender Virangám, provided the fort of Pátdi and its dependent villages were granted

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Mughal
Viceroys.

Muhammad
Shah
Emperor,
1721-1748.
Momín KHÁN
Fifty-sixth
Viceroy,
1738-1743.

The Viceroy
at Cambay,
1741.

Bhávsingh
surrenders
Virangám
and receives
Pátdi.

Chapter III.

Mughal
Viceroys.Muhammad
Shah
Emperor,
1721-1748.Momin KHAN
Fifty-sixth
Viceroy,
1738-1743.Siege of Broach
by the Maráthás,
1741.Battle of Dholka,
Defeat of the
Maráthás,
1741.Contests between
the Muhammadans
and Maráthás.

to him. Rangoji agreed, and thus the Maráthás again obtained possession of Viramgam, while Bhávsingh acquired Pátdi,¹ a property which his descendants hold to this day.

When Momin, Khán arrived at Mánsa, about twenty-six miles north-west of Ahmedábád, hearing that Dámáji had crossed the Mahi with 10,000 men, he at once returned to the capital. Dámáji arrived at Mánsa and besieged it. The chiefs and Kolis defended the place bravely for about a month, when it fell into Dámáji's hands, who not only cleared the prickly-pear stockade which surrounded it, but also burned the town. From Mánsa Dámáji marched to Sorath. On his return he laid siege to Broach, a fort which, from its natural strength as well as from its favourable position on the Narbada, it had been the constant ambition both of Dámáji and of his father, Piláji to capture. On the approach of Dámáji, Nek Alam Khán, who held the place in the interests of the Nizám, prepared to defend the fort, and wrote to the Nizám for aid. In reply the Nizám warned Dámáji not to attack his possessions. On receiving this letter Dámáji raised the siege and returned to Songad. It seems probable that concessions were made to tempt Dámáji to retire from Broach, and that the Gáikwár's share in the Broach customs dates from this siege.

In A.D. 1741 in a battle between Káim Kúli Khán, governor of Dholka, and Rangoji's deputy, the Maráthás were defeated. Momin Khán, at the request of Rangoji, made peace between them. Fidá-ud-dín Khán, who had recently been raised in rank with the title of Bahádúr, starting to collect tribute burned down the refractory Koli village of Dabhora, and placing a post there, passed to Sátumba, Balásinor, and Thsara. After the battle at Dholka, the building by Rangoji of the fort of Borsad, caused renewed fighting between the Muhammadans and Maráthás of Dholka. At the request of Muhammad Hádi Khán, governor of Dholka, Fidá-ud-dín Khán, passing through Mahudha to Petlad pushed forward to help him. In the meantime a battle was fought, in which the Maráthás under Malháráv attacked Muhammad Hádi Khán, and after a short contest withdrew. Next day the Muhammadans, strengthened by the arrival of Fidá-ud-dín Khán, besieged Sojitra. A letter was written to Rangoji, asking the meaning of the attack, and he replied excusing himself and attributing it to the ignorance of Malháráv. Muhammad Hádi Khán and the author of the *Mirát-i-Ahmedi* eventually met Rangoji at Borsad, and settled that he and Fidá-ud-dín Khán should come together and arrange matters. But Rangoji in his heart intended to fight and wrote to his deputy Rámáji at Ahmedábád to be ready for war. Malháráv now joined Rangoji at Borsad. At this time many misunderstandings and several fights between the Maráthás and the Muhammadans were appeased by Momin Khán and Rangoji, who, in spite of the ill-feeling among their subordinates and a certain distrust of each other's designs, appear throughout to have maintained a warm

¹ Pátdi (north latitude 23° 10'; east longitude 71° 44'), at the south-east angle of the Ran of Cutch, fifty-two miles west of Ahmedábád.

mutual regard. Dāmāji from his stronghold at Songad was too much occupied in Dakhan politics to give much attention to Gujarat. Rangoji, on the other hand, gained so much influence with the Gujarāt chiefs, that at one time he succeeded in engaging Sajansingh Hazāri in his service, and also induced Rāja Raisingh of Idar to join him. But Momīn Khān detached Raisingh from this alliance, by placing him in charge of the post of Amālāra and granting him the districts of Modāsa, Meghrej, Ahmednagar, Parāntij, and Harsol. Moreover the customary Gujarāt sum at first sent daily by Rangoji to Rāja Raisingh for the expenses of his troops had begun to fall into arrears. Rāja Raisingh made his peace with Momīn Khān through the mediation of Nazar Ali Khān, Momīn Khān's nephew, who appears to have been one of the leading spirits of the time.

In A.D. 1742 in another fight between the Marāthās and Muhammadans in Ahmedābād, the Muhammadans gained a slight advantage. After this Rangoji left the city, appointing as before Dāmāji as his deputy, and joining Jagjiwan Puvār went to Borsad, where he had built a fort. At this time one Jivandās came with authority from the Nizām to act as collector of Dholka, part of the lands assigned to the Nizām as a personal grant, but failed to enforce his position. Shortly after this Rāja Anandsing of Idar was killed, and his brother Raising, taking leave, went to Idar to settle matters. Momīn Khān had his patent increased to the personal rank of commander of 6000 with a contingent of 8000 cavalry. He received a dress of honour, a jewelled turban, a plume, six pieces of cloth, an elephant, the order of Mahi-marātib,¹ and the title of Najm-ud-daulah Momīn Khān Bahādur Dilāwar Jang. Differences again broke out between Momīn Khān and Rangoji, and again matters were settled by a friendly meeting between the two chiefs at Borsad, where Rangoji had taken up his residence. Momīn Khān now went to Petlād, and from that to Cambay, where he was taken ill, but after six weeks came to Vasu, where Rangoji visited him. Here though again unwell he went to Dholka, and shortly afterwards he and Rangoji marched upon Līmḍi, which at this time is mentioned as under Vīrangām. While before Līmḍi, Rangoji was summoned by Dāmāji to help him against Bāpu Nāik, and at once started to his assistance. Momīn Khān now marched into Gohilyāda, and proceeded by Lolāna to Gogha, then under the charge of a resident deputy of Sher Khān Bābi. Here he received tribute from the chief of Sihor, and from that, marching into Hālār, went against Navānagar. The Jām resisted for twenty days, and eventually, on his agreeing to pay £5000 (Rs. 50,000) as tribute, Momīn Khān returned to Ahmedābād. During his absence in spite of stubborn resistance Nazar Ali Khān and Vajerām had collected tribute from the Koli chiefs. Rangoji, who had now left Dāmāji, joined battle with Bāpu Nāik ere he crossed the Mahi, and Bāpu Nāik turned back. Rangoji therefore remained at Borsad, but hearing that Momīn Khān's illness had become serious, he went once or twice to Ahmedābād to visit him.

Chapter III.

Mughal
Viceroys.

Muhammad
Shah
Emperor,
1721-1749.

Momīn Khān
Fifty-sixth
Viceroy.
1738-1743.

Disturbance at
Ahmedābād,
1742.

The Viceroy
collects Tribute
in Kāthiāwāḍ.

¹ The Mahi-marātib was a banner having the likeness of a fish at its top.

Chapter III.

Mughal
Viceroys.Muhammad
Shah
Emperor,
1721-1748.Death of Momín
Khán,
1743.Fidá-ud-dín
acts as Viceroy,
1743.Muftakhir Khán
Defeats the
Maráthás.Dámáji Gálkwar
Returns to
Gujarát.Abdúl Ázíz
Khán
of Junnar,
Viceroy
(by a forged
order).Mutiny of the
Troops.

In A.D. 1743 Momín Khán died. His wife, fearing lest Fidá-ud-dín Khán and Muftakhir Khán, Momín Khán's son, would deprive her of her estate, sought the protection of Rangoji. In the meantime Fidá-ud-dín Khán and Muftakhir Khán received an imperial order to carry on the government until a new viceroy should be appointed. At this time a man named Anandráam, who had been disgraced by Momín Khán, went over to Rangoji and incited him to murder Fidá-ud-dín Khán and Muftakhir Khán. Rangoji with this intention invited them both to his house, but his heart failed him, and shortly afterwards Fidá-ud-dín Khán went to Cambay. Rangoji now determined at all hazards to assassinate Muftakhir Khán. With this object he took Muftakhir Khán's associates, Vajerám and Káim Káli Khán, into his confidence. Muftakhir Khán accidentally heard of his designs, and remained on his guard. As Rangoji had failed to carry out his promise to raise Sher Khán Bábi to the post of deputy viceroy, Sher Khán advanced to Dholka and began plundering some Cambay villages. Rangoji, after another futile attempt to assassinate Muftakhir Khán, sent for his deputy Rámáji, who was then in the neighbourhood, and prepared to fight. Muftakhir Khán, on his part, summoned Fidá-ud-dín Khán from Cambay, and in a few days they succeeded in uniting their forces. Sher Khán Bábi deserting the cause of Rangoji, the Maráthás were worsted and Rangoji's house was besieged. Rangoji, being hard pressed, agreed to give up Anandráam and to surrender both Borsad and Viramgám, Sher Khán Bábi becoming his security. In this way Fidá-ud-dín Khán became sole master of Gujarát.

Shortly after Dámáji Gálkwar returned from Sátára and came to Cambay. In the meantime Rangoji, who had been living with Sher Khán Bábi, his security, contrived, with the connivance of Sher Khán, to escape together with his family. Fidá-ud-dín Khán was so greatly enraged with Sher Khán for this treachery, that Sher Khán leaving Ahmedábád on pretence of hunting, escaped to Bálásinor, where his wife joined him. Fidá-ud-dín Khán put Anandráam to death, while Rangoji through the aid of Sher Khán Bábi's wife, made good his escape to Borsad. Fidá-ud-dín Khán had set out to collect tribute, when news arrived that Khandaráv Gálkwar, brother of Dámáji, had crossed the Mahi and joining Rangoji had laid siege to Petlád. On hearing this, Fidá-ud-dín at once returned to Ahmedábád, and sent Valabhdás Kotwál to Khandaráv to complain of the misconduct of Rangoji.

After the death of Momín Khán, Jawán Mard Khán Bábi was the greatest noble in Gujarát. He began to aspire to power, and Fidá-ud-dín, who was not good in the field, had thoughts of appointing him as a deputy. While matters were in this state, and Jawán Mard Khán was already laying claim to the revenue of the district round Ahmedábád, an order was received appointing Abdúl Ázíz Khán the commander of Junnar, near Poona, to be viceroy of Gujarát. This order was forged by Abdúl Ázíz Khán in Jawán Mard Khán's interests, whom he appointed his deputy. Though Fidá-ud-dín Khán doubted the genuineness of the order, he was not powerful enough to remove Jawán Mard Khán, who accordingly proclaimed himself deputy viceroy. At this time the troops, clamorous on account of arrears,

placed both Fidá-ud-din Khán and Muftakhir Khán under confinement. Jawán Mard Khán assumed charge of the city and stationed his own men on guard. While Fidá-ud-din Khán and Muftakhir Khán were in confinement, Khanderáv Gaikwár sent them a message that if they would cause the fort of Petlád to be surrendered to him, he would help them. To this they returned no answer. Fidá-ud-din Khán now entreated Jawán Mard Khán to interfere between him and his troops. Jawán Mard Khán accordingly persuaded the mutineers to release Fidá-ud-din Khán, who eventually escaped from the city and went to Agra.

Meanwhile Rangoji continued to press the siege of Petlád and the commander, Agha Muhammad Husain, after in vain appealing for help to Jawán Mard Khán, was forced to surrender. Rangoji demolished the fort of Petlád and marched upon Ahmedábád. As he approached the city Jawán Mard Khán sent the writer of the Mirát-i-Alamedí and Ajabsingh to negotiate with Rangoji, who demanded all his former rights and possessions.

News had now reached Dehli that a false viceroy was governing Gujarát, and accordingly Muftakhir Khán was chosen fifty-seventh viceroy, the order explaining that Abdúl Azíz had never been appointed viceroy, and directing Jawán Mard Khán to withdraw from the conduct of affairs. Muftakhir Khán was perplexed how to act. He succeeded in persuading his troops that he would be able to pay them their arrears, and he sent a copy of the order to Jawán Mard Khán; and, as he dared not displace him, he informed Jawán Mard Khán that he had appointed him as his deputy, and that he himself would shortly leave Ahmedábád. Jawán Mard Khán, so far from obeying, ordered Muftakhir Khán's house to be surrounded. Eventually Muftakhir Khán, leaving the city, joined Rangoji, and then retired to Cambay.

Khanderáv Gaikwár returned, and, with the view of enforcing his claims, uniting with Rangoji, marched to Banjar, about five miles south of Ahmedábád. Jawán Mard Khán issuing from the city camped near the Kánkariya lake. Narhar Pandit and Krishnáji on behalf of the Maráthas leaders were sent to Jawán Mard Khán to demand their former rights and possessions. Jawán at first refused, but in the end gave way and the Maráthas appointed Dádu Morár deputy of the city. Sher Khán Bábi now returned to Bálásinor. Khanderáv and Kánáji then went to Dholka. Rangoji to Petlád, and Khanderáv Gaikwár to Sorath. Fidá-ud-din Khán requested Rangoji to help Muftakhir Khán; he replied that he was willing to help him, but had no money. Rangoji then accompanied Fidá-ud-din Khán to Cambay, where Muftakhir Khán was. Negotiations were entered into, and the Kháns tried to collect £10,000 (Rs. 1 lák) which Rangoji asked for to enable him to make military preparations to aid them. They raised £8000 (Rs. 80,000) with great difficulty and admitted Rangoji's Naib to a share in the administration. Rangoji withdrew to Borsad with the £8000 (Rs. 80,000) under the pretext that when the remaining £2000 (Rs. 20,000) were paid he would take action. Fidá-ud-din Khán, annoyed at Rangoji's conduct, went to reside at Dhowan, a village belonging to Jálam Jália Koli.

Chapter III.

Mughal
Viceroys.

Muhammad
Shah
Emperor.
1721-1748.

Maráthas
Capture
Petlád.

MUFTAKHIR
KHÁN
Fifty-seventh
Viceroy,
1743-44.

Appoints Jawán
Mard Khán his
Deputy.

The Maráthas
in Ahmedábád.

Chapter III.

Mughal
Viceroys.

Muhammad
Shah
Emperor,
1721-1748.

MUFTAKHIR
KHAN
Fifty-seventh
Viceroy,
1743-44.

Battle of Kim
Kathodra.
Defeat and
death of
Abdul Aziz
Khan,
1744.

FAKHR-UD-
DAULAH
Fifty-eighth
Viceroy,
1744-1748.

Jawan Mard
Khan Babi,
Deputy Viceroy.

Khandersav
Gaikwar called
to Satara.

IN A.D. 1744 Jawan Mard Khan, after appointing one of his brothers, Zorawar Khan, his deputy at Patan, and keeping his other brother Safdar Khan at Ahmedabad, advanced from the city to Kadi to collect tribute. His next step was to invite Abdul Aziz Khan, the commander of Junnar, near Poona, to join him in Gujarat. Abdul Aziz accordingly set out from Junnar, taking with him Fatehyab Khan, commander of the fort of Mulher in Baglan and Rustamrav Maratha. Directing his march in the first instance to Surat he was there watched in the interests of Damsaji Gaikwar, by Devaji Takpar, the lieutenant of that chief, who, seeing that on leaving Surat, Abdul Aziz continued to advance to Ahmedabad, pursued him to Kim Kathodra, about fifteen miles north-west of Surat, and there attacked him. In the engagement Devaji Takpar, who had gained over Rustamrav Maratha, one of the leading men in Abdul Aziz's army, was victorious. Abdul Aziz Khan retired, but was so closely followed by the Marathas, that at Panoli he was forced to leave his elephant, and, mounting a horse, fled with all speed towards Broach. On reaching the Narbada he failed to find any boats, and, as his pursuers were close upon him, putting his horse at the water, he tried to swim the river; but, sticking fast in the mud, he was overtaken and slain by the Marathas.

On hearing of the death of Abdul Aziz, Jawan Mard Khan thought of joining Muftakhir Khan. Ere he could carry this plan into effect, the emperor receiving, it is said, a present of £20,000 (Rs. 2 *lakh*) for the nomination, appointed Fakhr-ud-daulah Fakhr-ud-din Khan Shujaat Jang Bahadur fifty-eighth viceroy of Gujarat. The new viceroy forwarded a blank paper to a banker of his acquaintance named Sitaram, asking him to enter in it the name of a fitting deputy. Sitaram filled in the name of Jawan Mard Khan, and Fakhr-ud-daulah was proclaimed viceroy. About this time Safdar Khan Babi, after levying tribute from the Sabarmati chiefs, returned to Ahmedabad, and Khandersav Gaikwar, as he passed from Sorath to Sonbad, appointed Rangoji his deputy. On being appointed deputy Rangoji sent Krishnaji instead of Morar Naik as his deputy to Ahmedabad, and himself proceeded to Achar-Matar on the Vatrak, and from that moved to Kaira to visit Jawan Mard Khan, with whom he established friendly relations. In the same year Ali Muhammad Khan, superintendent of customs, died, and in his place the author of the *Mirat-i-Ahmedi* was appointed. In this year, too, Fahir Khan Shaheri died, and his uncle, Muhammad Bahadur, was appointed governor of Palanpur in his stead.

About this time Umabai, widow of Khandersav Bahadur, summoned Khandersav Gaikwar to help her in her attempt to lessen the power of the Peshwa. As Damsaji Gaikwar could not be spared from the Dakhan Khandersav was appointed his deputy in Gujarat, and he chose one Ramchandra to represent him at Ahmedabad. When Fakhr-ud-daulah advanced to join his appointment as viceroy he was received at Balsamor with much respect by Sher Khan Babi. Jawan Mard Khan Babi, on the other hand, determining to resist Fakhr-ud-daulah to the utmost of his power, summoned Gangadhar with a body of Maratha horse from Petlad, and posting them at Isanpur, about ten miles south-west of the city, himself leaving the fortifications of Ahmedabad, encamped at

Asirva, about a mile and a half from the walls. During his progress towards the capital the new viceroy was joined by Raisinghji of Idar at Karmdvánj, and, advancing together, they arrived at Bhilpur, eighteen miles east of Ahmedábád. On their approach Jawán Mard Khán sent Saifdar Khán and Gangádar to oppose them, and the two armies met about six miles from the capital. After some fighting Fakhr-ud-daulah succeeded in forcing his way to the suburb of Rájpura, and next day continuing to drive back the enemy occupied the suburb of Bahrámpura and began the actual siege of the city. At this point affairs took a turn. Fakhr-ud-daulah was wounded and returned to his camp, while Jawán Mard Khán succeeded in winning over to his side Sher Khán Bábi and Raisinghji of Idar, two of the viceroy's chief supporters. The Mirát-i-Ahmedi especially notes that Rája Raisingh asked for money to pay his troops but Fakhr-ud-daulah, not knowing that this rule had long been a dead letter, said that as he held a district on service tenure, it was not proper for him to ask for a money aid when on imperial service. Next day Fakhr-ud-daulah was surrounded by Saifdar Khán Bábi and the Maráthás, and himself one wife and some children were taken prisoners, while another of his wives and his son, who had managed to escape to Sidhpur, were captured and brought back to Ahmedábád.

After this Khanderáv Gaikwár returned to Gujarát to receive his share of the spoil taken from Fakhr-ud-daulah. Reaching Borsad, he took Rangoji with him as far as Ahmedábád, where he met Jawán Mard Khán, and obtained from Rangoji his share of the tribute. Khanderáv was not satisfied with Rangoji's accounts, and appointing a fresh deputy, he attached Rangoji's property, and before leaving Ahmedábád for Sorath, put him in confinement at Borsad. He also confined Fakhr-ud-daulah in the Ghúspur outpost on the bank of the river Mahi. Meanwhile in consequence of some misunderstanding between Jawán Mard Khán Bábi and his brother Saifdar Khán, the latter retired to Udepur, and Jawán Mard Khán went to Visalnagar then in the hands of his brother Zoráwar Khán. From Visalnagar, Jawán Mard Khán proceeded to Rádhanpur, and meeting his brother Saifdar Khán, they became reconciled, and returned together to Ahmedábád. Khanderáv Gaikwár, who had in the meantime returned from Sorath, encamping at Dholka appointed Trimbakráv Pandit as his deputy at Ahmedábád in place of Moro Pandit. On hearing that Rangoji had been thrown into confinement, Umábái sent for him, and he along with Khanderáv Gaikwár repaired to the Dakhán.

Shortly afterwards Punáji Vithal, in concert with Trimbak Pandit, being dissatisfied with Jawán Mard Khán, began to intrigue with Fakhr-ud-daulah. In the meantime Umábái had appointed Rangoji as her deputy, and, as he was a staunch friend of Jawán Mard Khán, he expelled Trimbakráv from Ahmedábád, and himself collected the Maráthá share of the city revenues. Upon this Punáji Vithal sent Gangádhár and Krishnáji with an army, and they, expelling the Muhammadan officers from the districts from which the Maráthas levied the one-fourth share of the revenue, took the management of them into their own hands. Rangoji now asked Sher Khán Bábi to help him. Sher

Chapter III.

Mughal
Viceroys.

Muhammad
Shah
Emperor.
1721-1748.

FAKHR-UD-
DAULAH
Fifty-eighth
Viceroy.
1741-1748.

Defeat and
capture of the
Viceroy by
Jawán Mard
Khán Bábi.

Rangoji
Disgraced
by Khanderáv
Gaikwár.

Punáji Vithal and
Fakhr-ud-daulah
oppose Rangoji
and Jawán Mard
Khán.

Chapter III.

Mughal
Viceroys.

Muhammad
Shah
Emperor,
1721-1748.
FAKHR-UD-
DAULAH
Fifty-eighth
Viceroy,
1744-1748.

Siege of
Kapadvanj
by Fakhr-ud-
daulah,
1746.

At the approach
of Holkar the
Siege is raised.

Khán agreed; but as he had not funds to pay his troops, he delayed, and afterwards plundered Mahudha and Nadiád. As Rangoji failed to join him, Sher Khán proceeded by himself to Kapadvanj, and from Kapadvanj marched against the Marátha camp, with which Fakhr-ud-daulah was then associated. On the night after his arrival, the Maráthas made an attack on Sher Khán's camp, in which many men on both sides were slain. Next morning the battle was renewed, but on Sher Khán suggesting certain terms the fighting ceased. That very night, hearing that Rangoji had reached Bálásinor, Sher Khán stole off towards Kapadvanj. Punáji and Fakhr-ud-daulah followed in pursuit but failed to prevent Rangoji and Sher Khán from joining their forces.

In A.D. 1746 a battle was fought in the neighbourhood of the town of Kapadvanj in which Sher Khán was wounded. He was forced to take shelter with Rangoji in Kapadvanj, while Fakhr-ud-daulah, Gangádhār, and Krishnáji laid siege to that town. At this time the Lunávada chief asked Malhárav Holkar on his way back from his yearly raid into Málwa, to join him in attacking Virpur. Holkar agreed and Virpur was plundered. Rangoji, hearing of the arrival of Holkar, begged him to come to his aid, and on promise of receiving a sum of £20,000 (Rs. 2 *lakh*) and two elephants, Holkar consented. Gangádhār, Krishnáji, and Fakhr-ud-daulah, hearing of the approach of Holkar, raised the siege of Kapadvanj, and marching to Dholka expelled the governor of that district. Shortly afterwards on a summons from Dámáji and Khanderáv Gaikwár Rangoji retired to Baroda. Meanwhile Fakhr-ud-daulah, Krishnáji, and Gangádhār advanced to Jetalpur in the Daskroi sub-division of Ahmedábád and, taking possession of it, expelled Ambar Habshi, the deputy of Jawán Mard Khán. Dámáji and Khanderáv Gaikwár passed from Baroda to Vasu, where they were met by Krishnáji and Gangádhār, whom Dámáji censured for aiding Fakhr-ud-daulah. On this occasion Dámáji bestowed the districts of Baroda Nadiád and Borsad on his brother Khanderáv, an action which for ever removed any ill feeling on the part of Khanderáv. Then, proceeding to Goklej, Dámáji had an interview with Jawán Mard Khán. From Goklej he sent Kánóji Tákpār with Fakhr-ud-daulah to Sorath, and himself returned to Songad. As Borsad had been given to Khanderáv, Rangoji fixed on Umreth as his residence.

In this year, A.D. 1746, Teghbeg Khán, governor of Surat, died, and was succeeded by his brother Saifdar Muhammad Khán, who, in acknowledgment of a present of seven horses, received from the emperor the title of Bahádur. At this time Talib Ali Khán died, and the writer of the *Mirát-i-Ahmedi* was appointed minister by the emperor. In A.D. 1747 Rangoji returned to Ahmedábád, and Jawán Mard Khán had an interview with him a few miles from the city. Shortly after this the Kolis of Mehmúdábád and Mahudha rebelled, but the revolt was speedily crushed by Sháhbáz Rohilla.

Momin Khán II.
Governor of
Cambay,
1748.

During this year Najm Khán, governor of Cambay, died. Muftakhr Khán, son of Najm-ud-daulah Momin Khán I., who had also received the title of Momin Khán, informed the emperor of Najm

Khán's death, and himself assumed the office of governor in which in A.D. 1748 he was confirmed. On hearing of the death of Najm Khan, on pretence of condoling with the family of the late governor, Fidá-ud-din Khán marched to Cambay, but as he was not allowed to enter the town he retired. He afterwards went to Umreth and lived with Rangoji. Kánoji Tákar, who had gone with Fakhr-ud-daulah into Sorath, now laid siege to and took the town of Vantbali. As it was nearly time for the Maráthas to return to their country, Kánoji and Fakhr-ud-daulah, retiring to Dholka, expelled Muhammad Jánbáz, the deputy governor. Rangoji, who had at this time a dispute with Jawán Mard Khán regarding his share of tribute, now came and joined them, and their combined forces marched upon Sánand, where, after plundering the town, they encamped. It was now time for Kánoji to withdraw to the Dakhan. Rangoji and Fakhr-ud-daulah, remaining behind to collect tribute from the neighbouring districts, marched to Isanpur, where they were opposed by Jawán Mard Khán. On this occasion both Jawán Mard Khán and Fakhr-ud-daulah sought the alliance of Rája Ráisingh of Idar. But, as he offered more favourable terms, Rája Ráisingh determined to join Fakhr-ud-daulah. Sher Khán Báli also joined Fakhr-ud-daulah, who, thus reinforced, laid siege to Ahmedábad. While these events were passing at Ahmedábad, Hariba, an adopted son of Khanderáv Góikwár, at that time in possession of the fort of Borsad, began to plunder Rangoji's villages under Petlad, and, attacking his deputy, defeated and killed him. On this Rangoji withdrew from Ahmedábad, attacked and captured the fort of Borsad, and forced Hariba to leave the country. Jawán Mard Khán now sent for Janárdhan Pandit, Khanderáv's deputy at Nadiád, and, in place of Rangoji's representative, appointed him to manage the Marátha share of Ahmedábad.

During these years important changes had taken place in the government of Surat. In A.D. 1734, when Mulla Muhammad Ali, the chief of the merchants and builder of the Athva fort, was killed in prison by Teghbeg Khán, the Nizám sent Sayad Miththan to revenge his death. Sayad Miththan was forced to return unsuccessful. After Teghbeg Khán's death Sayad Miththan again came to Surat and lived there with his brother Sayad Achchan, who held the office of paymaster. Sayad Miththan tried to get the government of the town into his hands, but, again failing, committed suicide. His brother Sayad Achchan then attacked and took the citadel, expelling the commander; and for several days war was waged between him and the governor Safdar Muhammad Khán with doubtful success. At last Sayad Achchan called to his aid Malhárráv, the deputy at Baroda, and their combined forces took possession of the whole city. During the sack of the city Malhárráv was killed and the entire management of affairs fell into the hands of Sayad Achchan. Safdar Muhammad Khán, the late governor, though obliged to leave the city, was determined not to give up Surat without a struggle, and raising some men opened fire on the fort. Sayad Achchan now begged the Arab Turk English Dutch and Portuguese merchants to aid him. A deed addressed to the emperor and the Nizám, begging that Sayad Achchan should be appointed

Chapter III.

Mughal
Viceroys.

Muhammad
Shah
Emperor.
1721-1748.
FAKHR-UD-
DAULAH
Fifty-eighth
Viceroy,
1744-1748.

Increased
Strength of
Fakhr-ud-daulah's
Party.

Disensions
among the
Maráthas.

SURAT AFFAIRS.
1742.

Chapter III.

Mughal
Viceroys.

Muhammad
Shah
Emperor,
1721-1748.
FAKHR-UD-
DAULAH
Fifty-eighth
Viceroy,
1744-1748.

Mulla Fakhr-ud-
din Escaped to
Bombay.

Cession of Surat
Revenue to the
Gaikwar,
1747.

Famine,
1747.

Maratha
Disensions.

Fall of Borsad.

MAHARAJA
VAKHATSINGH
Fifty-ninth
Viceroy,
1748.

governor, was signed by all the merchants except by Mr. Lamb the English chief, and though he at first refused, he was in the end persuaded by the other merchants to sign. The merchants then assisted Sayad Achchan, and Safdar Muhammad Khan retired to Sindhi.

Meanwhile, on account of some enmity between Mulla Fakhr-ud-din, the son of Mulla Muhammad Ali, chief of the merchants, and Sayad Achchan, the Mulla was thrown into prison. Mr. Lamb went to Sayad Achchan, and remonstrating with him suggested that the Mulla should be sent for. Sayad Achchan agreed, but on the way Mr. Lamb carried off Mulla Fakhr-ud-din to the English factory, and afterwards sent him to Bombay in disguise. In the meantime Kedārji Gaikwar, a cousin of Dāmāji's, whom, with Malhārrav, Sayad Achchan had asked to his help, arrived at Surat, and though Sayad Achchan had been successful without his aid, Kedārji demanded the £30,000 (Rs. 3 lakhs) which had been promised him. As the Sayad was not in a position to resist Kedārji's demands, and as he had no ready money to give him, he made over to him a third of the revenues of Surat until the amount should be paid. As before this another third of the revenues of Surat had been assigned to Hāfiz Masūm Khān, the deputy of Yakut Khān of Janjira, the encumbrances of the governor of Surat were reduced to one-third of the entire revenue and this was divided between the Mutasaddi and Bakshahi.

In this year (A.D. 1747, S. 1803) there was a severe shock of earthquake and a great famine which caused many deaths. In the following year Jawān Mard Khān endeavoured to recapture Jetalpur, but failed. About the same time Umābāi died, and Dāmāji's brother Khanderāv, who was on good terms with Ambika wife of Bāburāv Senapati, the guardian of Umābāi's son, procured his own appointment as deputy of his brother Dāmāji in Gujarāt. On being appointed deputy Khanderāv at once marched against Rangoji to recover Borsad, which, as above mentioned, Rangoji had taken from Hariba. Their forces were joined by two detachments, one from Momin Khān under the command of Āgha Muhammad Hussain, the other from Jawān Mard Khān commanded by Janārihan Pandit. The combined army besieged Borsad. After a five months' siege Borsad was taken, and Rangoji was imprisoned by Khanderāv. On the fall of Borsad Sher Khān Babi and Rāja Rāisingh of Idar, who were allies of Rangoji, returned to Bālasinor and Idar; Fakhr-ud-daulah was sent to Pethād and Fild-ud-din Khān, leaving Umroth, took shelter with Jetha, the chief of Atarsutha.

In this year the emperor Muhammad Shāh died and was succeeded by his son Ahmed Shāh (A.D. 1748-1754). Shortly after Ahmed's accession Mahārāja Vakhatsingh, brother of Mahārāja Abheysingh, was appointed fifty-ninth viceroy of Gujarāt. When he learned what was the state of the province, he pleaded that his presence would be more useful in his own dominions, and never took up his appointment of viceroy. Vakhatsingh was the last viceroy of Gujarāt nominated by the imperial court, for although by the aid of the Marāthās Fakhr-ud-daulah was of importance in the province, he had never been able

to establish himself as viceroy. In this year also occurred the death of Khushalehand Sheth, the chief merchant of Ahmedabad.

Khanderav Gaikwar appointed Raghavshankar his deputy at Ahmedabad, and Safdar Khan Babi issued from Ahmedabad with an army to levy tribute from the chiefs on the banks of the Sabarmati. When Fakhr-ud-daulah, the former viceroy, heard of the appointment of Maharaja Vakhatsingh, seeing no chance of any benefit from a longer stay in Gujarat, he retired to Dehli. In A.D. 1748 Asif Jah, Nizam-ul-Mulk, died at an advanced age, leaving six sons and a disputed succession.

About the same time Balajiwar Peshwa, who was jealous of the power of the Gaikwar, sent a body of troops, and freed Rangoji from the hands of Khanderav Gaikwar. During these years adventurers, in different parts of the country, taking advantage of the decay of the central power, endeavoured to establish themselves in independence. Of these attempts the most formidable was the revolt of one of the Patan Kasbitis who established his power so firmly in Patan that Jawan Mard Khan found it necessary to proceed in person to reduce him. Shortly afterwards Jawan Mard Khan deemed it advisable to recall his brothers Safdar Khan and Zorawar Khan, who were then at Unja under Patan, and took them with him to Ahmedabad. Fida-ud-din Khan who had been residing at Atarsumba now asked permission to return to Ahmedabad, but as Jawan Mard Khan did not approve of this suggestion, Fida-ud-din departed to Broach and there took up his residence. Janardhan Pandit marched to Kaira and the Bhil district to levy tribute, and Khanderav appointed Shevakram his deputy.

In the meantime at Surat, Sayad Achchan endeavoured to consolidate his rule, and with this view tried to expel Hafiz Masud Habshi, and prevent him again entering the city. But his plans failed, and he was obliged to make excuses for his conduct. Sayad Achchan then oppressed other influential persons, until eventually the Habshi and others joining, attacked him in the citadel. Except Mr. Lamb, who considered himself bound by the deed signed in A.D. 1747 in favour of Sayad Achchan, all the merchants of Surat joined the assailants. Among the chief opponents of Sayad Achchan were the Dutch, who sending ships brought back Safdar Muhammad Khan from Thatta, and established him as governor of Surat. The English factory was next besieged, and, though a stout resistance was made, the guards were bribed, and the factory plundered. In A.D. 1750 Sayad Achchan, surrendering the citadel to the Habshi, withdrew first to Bombay and then to Poona, to Balajiwar Peshwa. Shortly afterwards, in consequence of the censure passed upon him by the Bombay Government for his support of Sayad Achchan, Mr. Lamb committed suicide. Wearied by these continual contests for power, the merchants of Surat asked Raja Raghunathdas, minister to the Nizam, to choose them a governor. Raja Raghunathdas accordingly nominated his own nephew, Raja Harprasad, to be governor, and the writer of the Mirat-i-Ahmedi to be his deputy. But before Raja Harprasad could join his appointment at Surat, both he and his father were slain in battle.

Chapter III.

Mughal Viceroy.

Ahmed Shah
Emperor,
1748-1754.
MAHARAJA
VAKHATSINGH
Fifty-ninth
Viceroy,
1745.

Disorder
Spreads.

SURAT AFFAIRS,
A.D. 1750.
Sayad Achchan
Unpopular.

Safdar
Muhammad
brought back
by the Dutch.

Sayad Achchan
Retires.

Chapter III.

Mughal
Viceroys.Ahmed Shah
Emperor,
1748-1754.Jawán Mard
Khán and
the Peshwa,
1750.The Peshwa
and Gaikwár,
1751.Broach
Independent,
1752.

In the same year, A.D. 1750, occurred the deaths of Rája Ráisingh of Idar, of Sadar Khán Bábi of Bálásinor, and of Fidá-ud-din Khán, who had for some time been settled at Broach. Jawán Mard Khán, who, seeing that they were inclined to become permanent residents in Gujarát, was always opposed to the Gaikwár's power, now entered into negotiations with Bálájrív Peshwa. He chose Patel Sukhdev to collect the Maráthá revenue and asked the Peshwa to help him in expelling Dámáji's agents. The Peshwa, being now engaged in war in the Dakhan with Salábat Jang Bahádúr, son of the late Nizám, was unable to send Jawán Mard Khán any assistance. Towards the close of the year Jawán Mard Khán started from Ahmedábád to collect tribute from the Sábarmati chiefs. Returning early in A.D. 1751, at the request of Jetha Patel a subordinate of Bhávsingh Desái, he proceeded to Banod or Vanod under Virangám and reduced the village. Ali Muhammad Khán, the author of the *Mirát-i-Ahmedi*, who about this time was raised in rank with the title of Bahádúr, states that owing to the Maráthá incursions most of the districts had passed entirely into their possession; in others according to agreements with Jawán Mard Khán they held a half share. Consequently in spite of new taxes, the entire remaining income of the province was only four *lákhs* of rupees, and it was impossible to maintain the military posts or control the rebellious Kolis.

It was in this year (A.D. 1751) that the Peshwa, decoying Dámájrív into his power, imprisoned him and forced him to surrender half of his rights and conquests in Gujarát. Taking advantage of the absence of the Gaikwár and his army in the Dakhan, Jawán Mard Khán marched into Sorath. He first visited Gogha, and then levying tribute in Gohil-váda advanced into Káthiáváda and marched against Navánagar, and, after collecting a contribution from the Jám, returned to Ahmedábád. In the following year (A.D. 1752), as soon as the news reached Gujarát that the Maráthas' share in the province had been divided between the Peshwa and Gaikwár, Momin Khán, who was always quarrelling with the Gaikwár's agent, sending Varajálal his steward to Bálájrív Peshwa begged him to include Cambay in his share and send his agent in place of the Gaikwár's agent. Bálájrív agreed, and from that time an agent of the Peshwa was established at Cambay. In the same year Raghunáthráv, brother of the Peshwa, entering Gujarát took possession of the Rewa and Mahi Kántha districts and marched on Sumat. Shisaji Dhangar was appointed in Shavakrim's place as Dámáji's deputy, and Krishnáji came to collect the Peshwa's share.

Up to this time the city of Broach had remained part of the Nizám's personal estate, managed by Abdúllah Beg, whom, with the title of Nek Alam Khán, Asif Jáh the late Nizám-ul-Mulk had chosen his deputy. On the death of Abdúllah Beg in A.D. 1752 the emperor appointed his son to succeed him with the same title as his father, while he gave to another son, named Mughal Beg, the title of Khertalab Khán. During the contests for succession that followed upon the death of the Nizám in A.D. 1752, no attempt was made to enforce the Nizám's claims on the lands of Broach; and for the future, except for the share of the revenue paid to the Maráthas, the governors of Broach were practically independent.

The Peshwa now sent Pándurang Pandit to levy tribute from his share of Gujarát, and that officer crossing the Mahi marched upon Cambay. Momín Khán prepared to oppose him, but the Pandit made friendly overtures, and eventually Momín Khán not only paid the sum of £700 (Rs. 7000) for grass and grain for the Pandit's troops, but also lent him four small cannon. Pándurang Pandit then marched upon Ahmedábád, and encamping near the Kankariya lake laid siege to the city which was defended by Jawán Mard Khán. During the siege Pándurang Pandit, sending some troops, ravaged Nikol, part of the lands of Ali Muhammad Khán Baládur, the author of the *Mirát-i-Ahmedi*. Meanwhile, as the operations against Ahmedábád made no progress, Pándurang Pandit made offers of peace. These Jawán Mard Khán accepted, and on receiving from Jawán Mard Khán the present of a mare and a small sum of money under the name of entertainment, the Maráthá leader withdrew to Sorath.

About this time the Peshwa released Dámáji Gaikwár on his promise to help the Peshwa's brother Raghunáthráv, who was shortly afterwards despatched with an army to complete the conquest of Gujarát. Meanwhile Jawán Mard Khán's anxiety regarding the Maráthás was for a time removed by the departure of Pándurang Pandit. And, as the harvest season had arrived, he with his brother Zoráwar Khán Bábi, leaving Muhammad Mubáriz Shorwání behind as his deputy, set out from Ahmedábád to levy tribute from the chiefs of the Sábar Kántha. Certain well informed persons, who had heard of Raghunáthráv's preparations for invading Gujarát, begged Jawán Mard Khán not to leave the city but to depute his brother Zoráwar Khán Bábi to collect the tribute. Jawán Mard Khán, not believing their reports, said that he would not go more than from forty-five to sixty miles from the city, and that, should the necessity of any more distant excursion arise, he would entrust it to his brother. Jawán Mard Khán then marched from the city, levying tribute until he arrived on the Pálanpur frontier about seventy-five miles north of Ahmedábád. Here meeting Muhammad Bahádur Jhalori, the governor of Pálanpur, Jawán Mard Khán was foolishly induced to join him in plundering the fertile districts of Sirohi, till at last he was not less than 150 miles from his head-quarters. Meanwhile Raghunáthráv, joining Dámáji Gaikwár, entered suddenly by an unusual route into Gujarát, and news reached Ahmedábád that the Maráthás had crossed the Narbada. On this the townspeople sent messenger after messenger to recall Jawán Mard Khán, and building up the gateways prepared for defence, while the inhabitants of the suburbs, leaving their houses, crowded with their families into the city for protection. Raghunáthráv, hearing that Jawán Mard Khán and his army were absent from the city, pressed on by forced marches, and crossing the river Mahi despatched an advance corps under Vithal Sukhdev. Kosáji, proprietor of Nadiád, at Dámáji Gaikwár's invitation also marched towards Ahmedábád, plundering Mehmádábád Khokhri, only three miles from the city. In the meantime Vithal Sukhdev reached Kaira, and taking with him the chief man of that place, Muhammad Daurán, son of Muhammad Bábi, continued his march. He was shortly joined by Raghunáthráv, and the combined forces now proceeded to Ahmedábád and encamped by the Kankariya

Chapter III.

Mughal
Viceroys.

Ahmed Shah
Emperor,
1748-1754.

Pándurang
Pandit Repulsed
at Ahmedábád,
1753.

Maráthá
Invasion.

Chapter III.

Mughal
Viceroys.Ahmed Shah
Emperor,
1748-1754.Return of Jawán
Mard Khán.He enters
Ahmedábád.Gallant Defence
of the City.

lake. Next day Raghunáthráv moved his camp to near the tomb of Hazrat Sháh Bhikan,¹ on the bank of the Sébarmati to the south-west of the city. Raghunáthráv now proceeded to invest the city, distributing his thirty to forty thousand horse into three divisions. The operations against the north of the city were entrusted to Dámáji Gaikwár; those on the east to Gopál Hari; while the troops on the south and west were under the personal command of Raghunáthráv and his officers.

After leaving Siróhi Jawán Mard Khán had gone westwards to Tharád and Váv, so that the first messengers failed to find him. One of the later messengers, Mándan by name, who had not left Ahmedábád until the arrival of Raghunáthráv at the Kánkariya lake, made his way to Váv and Tharád, and told Jawán Mard Khán what had happened. Jawán Mard Khán set out by forced marches for Rádhampur, and leaving his family and the bulk of his army at Pátan, he pushed on with 200 picked horsemen to Kadi and from that to Ahmedábád, contriving to enter the city by night. The presence of Jawán Mard Khán raised the spirits of the besieged, and the defence was conducted with ardour. In spite of their watchfulness, a party of about 700 Maráthás under cover of night succeeded in scaling the walls and entering the city. Ere they could do any mischief they were discovered and driven out of the town with much slaughter. The bulk of the besieging army, which had advanced in hopes that this party would succeed in opening one of the city gates, were forced to retire disappointed. Raghunáthráv now made proposals for peace, but Jawán Mard Khán did not think it consistent with his honour to accept them. On his refusal, the Maráthá general redoubled his efforts and sprung several mines, but owing to the thickness of the city walls no practicable breach was effected. Jawán Mard Khán now expelled the Maráthá deputies, and continuing to defend the city with much gallantry contrived at night to introduce into the town by detachments a great portion of his army from Pátan. At length, embarrassed by want of provisions and the clamour of his troops for pay, he extorted £5000 (Rs. 50,000) from the official classes. As Jawán Mard was known to have an ample supply of money of his own this untimely meanness caused great discontent. The official classes who were the

¹ Of the death at the age of nine years of this son of Saint Sháh-i-Alam the Mirát-i-Ahmedí (Printed Persian Text, II. 26) gives the following details: Malik Seif-ad-din, the daughter's son of Sultan Ahmed I., had a son who he believed was born to him by the prayer of Saint Sháh-i-Alam. This boy who was about nine years old died. Malik Seif-ad-din ran to Sháh-i-Alam, who used then to live at Answál, two or three miles east of Ahmedábád, and in a transport of grief and rage said to the Saint: 'Is this the way you deceive people? Surely you obtained me the gift of that boy to live and not to die?' This I suppose is how you will keep your promise of mediating for our sinful souls before Allah also? The Saint could give no reply and retired to his inner apartments. The stricken father went to the Saint's son Sháh Bhikan, who, going in to his father, entreated him to restore the Malik's boy to life. The Saint asked his son 'Are you prepared to die for the boy?' Sháh Bhikan said 'I am ready.' The Saint, going into an inner room, spread his skirts before Allah crying 'Rajanjí,' a pet name by which the Saint used to address Allah, meaning Dear King or Lord, 'Rajanjí, here is a goat for a goat; take thou this one and return the other.' Lamentations in the Saint's harem showed that half of the prayer was granted and the Malik on returning to his house found the other half fulfilled.

repository of all real power murmured against his rule and openly advocated the surrender of the city, and Jawán Mard Khán, much against his will, was forced to enter into negotiations with Raghunáthráv.

Raghunáthráv was so little hopeful of taking Ahmedábád that he had determined, should the siege last a month longer, to depart on condition of receiving the one-fourth share of the revenue and a safe conduct. Had Jawán Mard Khán only disbursed his own money to pay the troops, and encouraged instead of disheartening the official class, he need never have lost the city. At last to Raghunáthráv's relief, Jawán Mard Khán was reduced to treat for peace through Vithal Sukhdev. It was arranged that the Maráthás should give Jawán Mard Khán the sum of £10,000 (Rs. 1 *lakh*) to pay his troops, besides presenting him with an elephant and other articles of value. It was at the same time agreed that the garrison should leave the city with all the honours of war. And that, for himself and his brothers, Jawán Mard Khán should receive, free from any Marátha claim, the districts of Pátan, Vadnagar, Sami, Munjpur, Visalnagar, Tharád, Kherálu, and Rádhanpur with Tervada and Bijápúr. It was further agreed that one of Jawán Mard Khán's brothers should always serve the Maráthás with 300 horse and 500 foot, the expenses of the force being paid by the Maráthás. It was also stipulated that neither the Peshwa's army nor his deputy's, nor that of any commander should enter Jawán Mard Khán's territory, and that in Ahmedábád no Marátha official should put up at any of the Khán Bahádur's mansions, new or old, or at any of those belonging to his brothers followers or servants. Finally that the estates of other members of the family, namely Kaira, Kasba Mátar and Bánsa Mahudba, which belonged to Muhammad Khán, Khán Daurán, and Ábid Khán were not to be meddled with, nor were encroachments to be allowed on the lands of Káyam Káli Khán or of Zoráwar Khán. This agreement was signed and sealed by Raghunáthráv, with Dámáji Gaikwár (half sharer), Malháráv Holkar, Jye Ápa Sindhia, Rámchandar Vithal Sukhdev, Sakhárám Bhugvant, and Mádhavráv Gopálráv as securities. The treaty was then delivered to Jawán Mard Khán, and he and his garrison, marching out with the honours of war, the Maráthás took possession of Ahmedábád on April 2nd, 1753.

On leaving Ahmedábád Jawán Mard Khán retired to Pátan. At Ahmedábád Raghunáthráv with Dámáji arranged for the government of the city, appointing Shripatráv his deputy. He then marched into Jbáláváda to levy tribute from the Limbdi and Wadhvái chiefs; and was so far successful that Harbhamji of Limbdi agreed to pay an annual tribute of £4000 (Rs. 40,000). As the rainy season was drawing near Raghunáthráv returned to Dholka, while Patel Vithal Sukhdev forced Muhammad Bahádur, the governor of Pálanpur, to consent to a payment of £11,500 (Rs. 1,15,000). From Dholka Raghunáthráv went to Tárápúr, about twelve miles north of Cambay, and compelled Momin Khán to submit to an annual payment of £1000 (Rs. 10,000). At the same time Ali Muhammad Khán Bahádur, the author of the *Mirát-i-Ahmedi*, was appointed collector of customs, and his former grants were confirmed and he was allowed to retain

Chapter III.

Mughál
Viceroys.

Ahmed Shah
Emperor,
1748-1754.
Jawán Mard
Khán
Surrendered.

The Maráthás
take
Possession,
1753.

Collect Tributes.

Chapter III.

Mughal
Viceroys.

Ahmed Shah
Emperor,
1748-1754.
Mughal Coinage
Ceases.

Failure of an
Attempt on
Cambay,
1753.

The Kolis.

his villages of Sayadpur and Kūjādī close to Ahmedābād, as well as the village of Pānmūl in Bijāpur. Dāmājī Gaikwār, after levying tribute in the Vātrak Kānthā, went to Kapadvanj, which he took from Sher Khān Bābi. From Kapadvanj he passed to Nadiād and appointed Shevakrāi to collect his half share of the revenue of Gujarāt. In the Ahmedābād mint, coin ceased to be struck in the emperor's name and the suburbs of the city which had been deserted during the siege were not again inhabited. The Kolis commenced a system of depredation, and their outrages were so daring that women and children were sometimes carried off and sold as slaves. After the rains were over (A.D. 1754) Shetuji, commander of the Ahmedābād garrison, and Shankarji, governor of Virāngām, were sent to collect tribute from Sorath. Though the imperial power was sunk so low, the emperor was allowed to confer the post of Kāzi of the city on Kāzi Rūkn-ul-Hak Khān who arrived at Ahmedābād and assumed office. At the close of the year Shripatrāv, who was anxious to acquire Cambay, marched against Momin Khān. After two doubtful battles in which the Marāthās gained no advantage, it was agreed that Momin Khān should pay a sum of £700 (Rs. 7000), and Shripatrāv departed from Ahmedābād early in A.D. 1754. When the Kolis heard of the ill success of the Marāthās at Cambay, they revolted and Rāghoshankar was sent to subdue them. In an engagement near Luhāra in Bahyal in His Highness the Gaikwār's territory about eighteen miles east of Ahmedābād, Rāghoshankar scattered the Kolis, but they again collected and forced the Marāthās to retire. At this time Shetuji and Shankarji returned from Sorath, where they had performed the pilgrimage to Dwārka. Shetuji was sent to the Bhil district against the Kolis. He was unsuccessful, and was so ashamed of his failure that he returned to the Dakhan and Dandū Dātātri was appointed in his place.

Marāthās
Attack
Cambay,
1754.

In this year died Nek Alam Khān II, governor of Broach. He was succeeded by his brother Khertalab Khān who expelled his nephew Hāmid Beg, son of Nek Alam Khān. Hāmid Beg took refuge in Surat. At Bālisinor a dispute arose between Sher Khān Bābi and a body of Arab mercenaries who took possession of a hill, but in the end came to terms. With the Peshwa's permission his deputy Bhagvantrāv marched on Cambay. But Varajlāl, Momin Khān's steward, who was then at Poona, sent word to his master, who prepared himself against any emergency. When Bhagvantrāv arrived at Cambay he showed no hostile intentions and was well received by Momin Khān. Subsequently a letter from Bhagvantrāv to Sālim Jamādār at Ahmedābād ordering him to march against Cambay fell into Momin Khān's hands. He at once surrounded Bhagvantrāv's house and made him prisoner. When the Peshwa heard that Bhagvantrāv had been captured, he ordered Ganesh Aṇa, governor of Jambusar, as well as the governors of Virāngām, Dhandhuka, and other places to march at once upon Cambay. They went and besieged the town for three months, but without success. Eventually Shripatrāv, the Peshwa's deputy, sent the author of the Mirāt-i-Ahmedi to negotiate, and it was agreed that Bhagvantrāv should be released and that no alteration should be made in the position of Momin Khān. Shortly afterwards Shripatrāv was recalled by the Peshwa and his place supplied by an

officer of the name of Rágho. About this time Khertalab Khán, governor of Broach, died, and quarrels arose regarding the succession. Ultimately Hamid Beg, nephew of Khertalab Khán, obtained the post, and he afterwards received an imperial order confirming him as governor, and bestowing on him the title of Neknám Khán Bahádur.

At Delhi, during A.D. 1754, the emperor Ahmed Sháh was deposed, and Áziz-ud-dín, son of Jahándár Sháh, was raised to the throne with the title of Alamgir II. After his release Bhagvantráy established himself in the Cambay fort of Nápad, and not long after began to attack Momín Khán's villages. After several doubtful engagements peace was concluded on Momín Khán paying £1000 (Rs. 10,000) on account of the usual share of the Maráthas which he had withheld. This arrangement was made through the mediation of Tukáji, the steward of Sadáshiv Dámodar, who had come to Gujarát with an army and orders to help Bhagvantráy. As Momín Khán had no ready money Tukáji offered himself as security and Bhagvantráy and Tukáji withdrew to the Dakhan. Momín Khán's soldiery now clamoured for pay. As he was not in a position to meet their demands he sent a body of men against some villages to the west belonging to Limbdi and plundered them, dividing the booty among his troops. In the following year, A.D. 1755, Momín Khán went to Gogha, a port which, though at one time subordinate to Cambay, had fallen into the hands of Sher Khán Báli, and was now in the possession of the Peshwa's officers. Gogha fell and leaving a garrison of 100 Arabs under Ibráhim Káli Khán, Momín Khán returned to Cambay, levying tribute. He then sent the bulk of his army under the command of Muhammad Zamán Khán, son of Fidi-ud-dín Khán, and Varajlál his own steward, to plunder and collect money in Gohilvada and Káthiávada. Here they remained until their arrears were paid off, and then returned to Cambay. After this Momín Khán plundered several Petlád villages and finally, in concert with the Kolis of Dhowan, attacked Jambusar and carried off much booty. Momín Khán next marched against Borsad, and was on the point of taking the fort when Sayáji, son of Dámáji Gáikwár, who lived at Baroda, hearing of Momín Khán's success, came rapidly with a small body of men to the relief of the fort and surprised the besiegers. The Muhammadan troops soon recovered from the effects of the surprise, and Sayáji fearing to engage them with so small a force retired. On Sayáji's departure Momín Khán raised the siege of Borsad and returned to Cambay.

In the year A.D. 1756 the rains were very heavy, and the walls of Ahmedábád fell in many places. Momín Khán, hearing of this as well as of the discontent of the inhabitants, resolved to capture the city. He sent spies to ascertain the strength of the garrison and set about making allies of the chief men in the province and enlisting troops. About this time Rághoji, the Marátha deputy, was assassinated by a Rohilla. As soon as Momín Khán heard of Rághoji's death he sent his nephew, Muhammad Zamán Khán, with some men in advance, and afterwards himself at the close of the year, A.D. 1756, marched from Cambay and camped on the Vátrak. From this camp they moved to Kaira, and from Kaira to Ahmedábád. After one or two fights in

Chapter III. Mughal Viceroys.

Alamgir II.
Emperor,
1754-1759.

Contact with
Momín Khán
resumed,
1754.

Momín Khán
takes Gogha,
1755.

Momín Khán
recovers
Ahmedábád,
17th Oct. 1756.

Chapter III.

Mughal
Viceroys.

Alamgir II.
Emperor,
1754-1759.

Jawán Mard
Khán allies
himself with
the Maráthas.

the suburbs the Muhammadans, finding their way through the breaches in the walls, opened the gates and entered the town. The Kolis commenced plundering, and a hand-to-hand fight ensued, in which the Maráthas were worsted and were eventually expelled from the city. The Kolis attempted to plunder the Dutch factory, but met with a spirited resistance, and when Shambhúrám, a Nágár Bráhmaṇ, one of Momín Khán's chief supporters, heard it he ordered the Kolis to cease attacking the factory and consoled the Dutch.

In the meantime Jawán Mard Khán, who had been invited by the Maráthas to their assistance, set out from Pátan, and when he arrived at Pethápur and Mánsa he heard of the capture of Ahmedábad. On reaching Kalol he was joined by Harbhamráṁ, governor of Kadi. They resolved to send Zoráwar Khán Bábi to recall Sadáshiv Dámodar, and to await his arrival at Virangám. Shevakráṁ, the Gaikwár's deputy, had taken refuge at Dholka. Momín Khán himself now advanced, and entering Ahmedábad on the 17th October 1756, appointed Shambhúrám his deputy. Sadáshiv Dámodar now joined Jawán Mard Khán at Virangám, and at Jawán Mard Khán's advice it was resolved, before taking further steps, to write to the Peshwa for aid. Jawán Mard Khán, although he held large service estates, charged the Maráthas £150 (Rs. 1500) a day for his troops. Jawán Mard Khán and the Maráthas then advanced to Sanand and Jitalpur, and thence marched towards Cambay. On their way they were met, and, after several combats, defeated by a detachment of Momín Khán's army. Momín Khán sent troops to overrun Kadi, but Harbhamráṁ, the governor of Kadi, defeated the force, and captured their guns. When the emperor heard of the capture of Gogha, he sent a sword as a present to Momín Khán; and when the news of the capture of Ahmedábad reached Agra, Momín Khán received many compliments. Balájitray Peshwa on the other hand was greatly enraged at these reverses. He at once sent off Sadáshiv Rámchandra to Gujarát as his deputy, and Dámáji and Khanderáv Gaikwár also accompanied him with their forces. Momín Khán refusing to give up Ahmedábad, prepared for defence. Sadáshiv Rámchandra, Dámáji and Khanderáv Gaikwár advanced, and, crossing the Mahi, reached Kaira. Here they were met by Jawán Mard Khán and the rest of the Maráthá forces in Gujarát, and the combined army advancing against the capital camped by the Kánkariya lake.

Maráthas invest
Ahmedábad,
1756.

The Maráthas now regularly invested the city, but Momín Khán, aided by Shambhúrám, made a vigorous defence. Up to this time Jawán Mard Khán was receiving £150 (Rs. 1500) daily for the pay of his own and his brother's troops. Sadáshiv Rámchandra, considering the number of the troops too small for so large a payment, reduced the amount and retained the men in his own service. After a month's siege, Momín Khán's troops began to clamour for pay, but Shambhúrám, by collecting the sum of £10,000 (Rs. 1 lakh) from the inhabitants of the town managed for the time to appease their demands. When they again became urgent for pay, Shambhúrám diverted their thoughts by a general sally from all the gates at night. On this occasion many men were slain on both sides, and many of the inhabitants deserted the town. The copper vessels of such of the townspeople as had fled

were melted and coined into money and given to the soldiery. In this state of affairs an order arrived from the imperial court bestowing on Momín Khán a dress of honour and the title of Bahádur. Although the imperial power had for years been merely a name Momín Khán asked and obtained permission from the besiegers to leave the city and meet the bearers of the order. The Maráthás redoubled their efforts. Still though the besiegers were successful in intercepting supplies of grain the garrison fought gallantly in defence of the town.

At this juncture, in A.D. 1757, Rájá Shívesingh of Ídar, son of the late Anandsingh, who was friendly to Momín Khán, sent Sajánsingh Házíri with a force to assist the besieged. On their way to Ahmedábád, Harbhamráw with a body of Maráthás attacked this detachment, while Momín Khán sent to their aid Muhammad Lál Rohilla and others, and a doubtful battle was fought. Shortly afterwards Sadáshív Rámehandar made an attempt on the fort of Kalíkot. The fort was successfully defended by Jamádár Núr Muhammad, and the Maráthás were repulsed. The Maráthás endeavoured in vain to persuade Sham-bhúrám to desert Momín Khán, and though the garrison were often endangered by the faithlessness of the Kolís and other causes, they remained staunch. Momín Khán, though frequently in difficulties owing to want of funds to pay his soldiery, continued to defend the town. The Maráthás next tried to seduce some of Momín Khán's officers, but in this they also failed, and in a sally Sham-bhúrám attacked the camp of Sadáshív Rámehandar, and burning his tents all but captured the chief himself.

When the siege was at this stage, Hassan Kálí Khán Bahádur, viceroy of Oudh, relinquishing worldly affairs and dividing his property among his nephews, set out to perform a pilgrimage to Makkah. Before he started Shurja-ád-daulah, the Nawab of Lucknow, requested him on his way to visit Balájíráw, and endeavour to come to some settlement of Ahmedábád affairs. Accordingly, adopting the name of Shah Núr, and assuming the dress of an ascetic, Hassan Kálí made his way to Poona, and appearing before the Peshwa offered to make peace at Ahmedábád. Shah Núr with much difficulty persuaded the Peshwa to allow Momín Khán to retain Cambay and Gogha without any Maráthá share, and to grant him a *lakh* of rupees for the payment of his troops, on condition that he should surrender Ahmedábád. He obtained letters from the Peshwa addressed to Sadáshív Rámehandra to this effect, and set out with them for Ahmedábád. When he arrived Sadáshív Rámehandra was unwilling to accede to the terms, as the Ahmedábád garrison were reduced to great straits. Shah Núr persuaded him at last to agree, provided Momín Khán would surrender without delay. Accordingly Shah Núr entered the city and endeavoured to persuade Momín Khán. Momín Khán demanded in addition a few Petlád villages, and to this the Maráthás refused their consent. Shah Núr left in disgust. Before many days Momín Khán was forced to make overtures for peace. After discussions with Dámáji Gaikwár, it was agreed that Momín Khán should surrender the city, receive £10,000 (Rs. 1 *lakh*) to pay his soldiery, and be allowed to retain Cambay as heretofore, that is to say that the Peshwa should, as

Chapter III.

Mughal
Viceroys.

Alamgir II.
Emperor.
1754-1759.

Rájá of Ídar
helps Momín
Khán.
1757.

Successful
Sally under
Sham-bhúrám.

Negotiations
for Peace.

Chapter III.

Mughal
Viceroys.Aurangzeb II.
Emperor,
1754-1759.Maráthas
Arrangements
in Ahmedabad.

New Coins.

Momin Khan
at Cambay.Expedition from
Kachh against
Sindh,
1758.

formerly, enjoy half the revenues. In addition to this Momin Khan had to promise to pay the Maráthas a yearly tribute of £1000 (Rs. 10,000) and to give up all claims on the town of Gogha and hand over Shambhurám to the Maráthas. It was also arranged that the £3500 (Rs. 35,000) worth of *ashrafs* which he had taken through Jamádar Sálím should be deducted from the £10,000 (Rs. 1 *lakh*). Momin Khan surrendered the town on February 27th, 1758.

Sadashiv Rámchandar and Dámáji Gaikwár entered the city and undertook its management on behalf of the Maráthas. Of the other chiefs who were engaged in prosecuting the siege, Sadashiv Dámodar returned to the Dakhan and Jawán Mard Khan receiving some presents from Sadashiv Rámchandar departed for Pátan after having had a meeting with Dámáji Gaikwár at a village a few miles from the capital. Shambhurám, the Nágara Bráhmaṇ, who had so zealously supported Momin Khan, when he saw that further assistance was useless, tried to escape, but was taken prisoner and sent in chains to Baroda. Sadashiv Rámchandar, on taking charge of the city, had interviews with the principal officials, among whom was the author of the *Mirát-i-Ahmedí*, and, receiving them graciously, confirmed most of them in their offices. Then, after choosing Náro Pandit, brother of Pándurang Pandit, to be his deputy in Ahmedábád, he started on an expedition to collect tribute in Jhalaváda and Sorath. On receiving the government of the city the Marátha generals ordered new coin bearing the mark of an elephant good to be struck in the Ahmedábád mint. Sayájiráv Gaikwár remained in Ahmedábád on behalf of his father Dámáji, and shortly afterwards went towards Kapatvanj to collect tribute. Thence at his father's request he proceeded to Sorath to arrange for the payment of the Gaikwár's share of the revenues of that district. On his return to Cambay Momin Khan was much harassed by his troops for arrears of pay. The timely arrival of his steward Varajál with the Peshwa's contribution of £10,000 (Rs. 1 *lakh*) enabled him to satisfy their demands.

Momin Khan now began to oppress and extort money from his own followers, and is said to have instigated the murder of his steward Varajál. Sadashiv Rámchandar went from Porbandar to Júnágadh, where he was joined by Sayájiráv Gaikwár. At Júnágadh Sher Khan Bábi presented Sadashiv Rámchandra and Siyájiráv with horses and they spoke of the necessity of admitting a Marátha deputy into Júnágadh. Nothing was settled as the Maráthas were forced to return to Ahmedábád. In accordance with orders from the Peshwa, Shambhurám and his sons, who were still in confinement, were sent to Poona. Dámáji Gaikwár was also summoned to Poona, but he did not go. In this year Ráo Lakhpát of Kachh presented Kachh horses and Gujarát bullocks to the emperor, and in return received the title of Mirza Rája.

About this time the Ráo of Kachh, who planned an expedition against Sindh, solicited aid both from Dámáji Gaikwár and Sadashiv Rámchandar to enable him to conquer Thatta, and, as he agreed to pay expenses, Sadashiv sent Ranchordás, and Dámáji sent Shevakráv to help him. In this year also Neknám Khan, governor of Broach, received the title of Bahádur and other honours. In A.D. 1758, Sadashiv Rámchandar advanced to Kaira and after settling accounts

with Dámáji's agent proceeded against Cambay. Momín Khán, who was about to visit the Peshwa at Poona, remained to defend the town, but was forced to pay arrears of tribute amounting to £2000 (Rs. 20,000).⁷ In this year Shor Khán Bábi died at Júnághadh, and the nobles of his court seated his son Muhammad Mahábat Khán in his place.

Shortly after at the invitation of the Peshwa, Dámáji Gaikwár went to Poona, and sent his son Sayájiráy into Sorath. After his success at Cambay Sadáshiv Rámchandra levied tribute from the chiefs of Uméta, and then returned. On his way back, on account of the opposition caused by Sardár Muhammad Khán son of Sher Khán Bábi, the chief of Bálásimor, Sadáshiv Rámchandar besieged Bálásimor and forced the chief to pay £3000 (Rs. 30,000). Next marching against Lunáváda, he compelled the chief Dipsingh to pay £5000 (Rs. 50,000). Sadáshiv then went to Visalnagar and so to Pálanpur, where Muhammad Khán Bahádur Jhálori resisted him; but after a month's siege he agreed to pay a tribute of £3500 (Rs. 35,000). Passing south from Pálanpur, Sadáshiv went to Unja-Unáva, and from that to Katosan where he levied £1000 (Rs. 10,000) from the chief Shuja, and then proceeded to Límbedi.

During A.D. 1758 important changes took place in Surat. In the early part of the year Sayad Muin-ud-din, otherwise called Sayad Achchan, visited the Peshwa at Poona, and received from him the appointment of governor of Surat. Sayad Achchan then set out for his charge, and as he was aided by a body of Marátha troops under the command of Muzaffar Khán Gárdi and had also secured the support of Neknám Khán, the governor of Broach, he succeeded after some resistance in expelling Ali Nawáz Khán, son of the late Saifdar Muhammad Khán, and establishing himself in the government. During the recent troubles, the English factory had been plundered and two of their clerks murdered by Ahmed Khán Habshi, commandant of the fort. The English therefore determined to drive out the Habshi and themselves assume the government of the castle. With this object men-of-war were despatched from Bombay to the help of Mr. Spencer, the chief of the English factory, and the castle was taken in March A.D. 1759, and Mr. Spencer appointed governor. The Peshwa appears to have consented to this conquest. The Marátha troops aided and made a demonstration without the city, and a Marátha man-of-war which had been stationed at Bassein, came to assist the English. A Mr. Glass appears to have been appointed *kiledár* under Governor Spencer.

Shortly afterwards Momín Khán, by the advice of Sayad Husain, an agent of the Peshwa, contracted friendship with the English through Mr. Erskine, the chief of the English factory at Cambay. Momín Khán then asked Mr. Erskine to obtain permission for him to go to Poona by Bombay. Leave being granted, Momín Khán set out for Surat, and was there received by Mr. Spencer. From Surat he sailed for Bombay, where the governor, Mr. Bouchier, treating him with much courtesy, informed the Peshwa of his arrival. The Peshwa sending permission for his further advance to Poona, Momín Khán took leave of Mr. Bouchier and proceeded to Poona.

Chapter III.

Mughal
Viceroy.

A'lamgir II.
Emperor,
1754-1759.

The Maráthas
levy Tribute.

SURAT AFFAIRS.
1758.

The English
take command
of Surat,
1759.

Momín Khán
visits Poona,
1760.

Chapter III.

Mughal
Viceroys.

Aurangzib II.
Emperor,
1754-1759.

SADASHIV
RAMCHANDRA
Peshwa's
Viceroy,
1760.

The Maráthás
in Kathiaváda,
1759.

From Limbdi, to which point his tribute tour has been traced, Sadáshiv Rámchandra advanced against Dhrángadhra, when the chief who was at Halvad sent an army against him. The Maráthás, informed of the chief's design, detaching a force, attacked Halvad at night, and breaching the walls forced open the gates. The chief retired to his palace, which was fortified, and there defended himself, but was at last forced to surrender, and was detained a prisoner until he should pay a sum of £12,000 (Rs. 1,20,000). The neighbouring chiefs, impressed with the fate of Halvad, paid tribute without opposition. Sadáshiv Rámchandra now went to Junágadh, but ere he could commence operations against the fortress, the rainy season drew near, and returning to Ahmedábád he prepared to depart for Poona. Sayáji Gaikwár, who was also in Sorath collecting tribute, amongst other places besieged Kundla, and levying from that town a tribute of £7500 (Rs. 75,000) returned to the capital. During this time Khanderáv Gaikwár had been levying tribute from the Kolis, and after visiting the Bhil district went to Bijápúr, Idar, Kadi, Dholka, and Nadiád. The chief of Halvad on paying his £12,000 (Rs. 1,20,000) was allowed to depart, and Dipsingh of Lunáváda, who was also a prisoner, was sent to Lunáváda and there released after paying his tribute. On receiving the news of the capture of the Surat fort by the English the emperor issued an order, in the name of the governor of Bombay, confirming the command of the fort to the English instead of to the Habshis of Janjira, appointing the Honourable East India Company admirals of the imperial fleet, and at the same time discontinuing the yearly payment of £2000 (Rs. 20,000) formerly made to the Habshis on this account. When in the course of the following year, A.D. 1760, this imperial order reached Surat, Mr. Spencer and other chief men of the city went outside of the walls to meet and escort the bearers of the despatch. Sadáshiv Rámchandra was appointed viceroy of Ahmedábád on behalf of the Peshwa. Bhagvantráv now conquered Bálásinor from Surdár Muhammad Khán Bábi, and then marching to Sorath, collected the Peshwa's share of the tribute of that province, according to the scale of the previous year. Sayáji Gaikwár, when Bhagvantráv had returned, set out to Sorath to levy the Gaikwár's share of the tribute. He was accompanied by Harbhamráv whom Dámáji Gaikwár had specially sent from his own court to act as Kámalár to Sayáji. When Sadáshiv Rámchandra reported to the Peshwa the conquest of Bálásinor by Bhagvantráv he was highly pleased, and gave Bhagvantráv a dress of honour and allowed him to keep the elephant which he had captured at Lunáváda; and passed a patent bestowing Bálásinor upon him. Momín Khán, after making firm promises to the Peshwa never to depart from the terms of the treaty he had made with the Maráthás, left Poona and came to Bombay, where he was courteously entertained by the Governor, and despatched by boat to Surat. From Surat he passed to Cambay by land through Broach. Sayáji Gaikwár had returned to Ahmedábád from Sorath in bad health, and his uncle Khanderáv Gaikwár, who had been vainly endeavouring to subdue the Kolis of Lúhára, came to Ahmedábád and took Sayáji Gaikwár to Nadiád. In 1761 Sadáshiv Rámchandra was displaced as viceroy of Gujarát by

Āpa Ganesh. This officer acted in a friendly manner to Momin Khān, and marching to Cambay, he fixed the Marāṭha share of the revenues of that place for that year at £8400 (Rs. 84,000), and then went to Ahmedābād by way of Dākor. Narbherām collected this year the Gaikwār's share of the tribute of Sorath and Sayājī Gaikwār went to Baroda. On his return to Ahmedābād at the end of the year, Sayājī sacked and burned the Koli village of Lohāra in Bahyal about eighteen miles east of Ahmedābād. Jawān Mard Khān now issued from Pātan and levied small contributions from the holdings in Vāgad, as far as Anjār in Kachh. From Vāgad he proceeded to Sorath, and in concert with Muhammad Mahābat Khān of Jūnāgadh and Muhammad Muẓāffar Khān Bābi, between whom he made peace, he levied tribute in Sorath as far as Lohiyāna, and returned to Pātan.

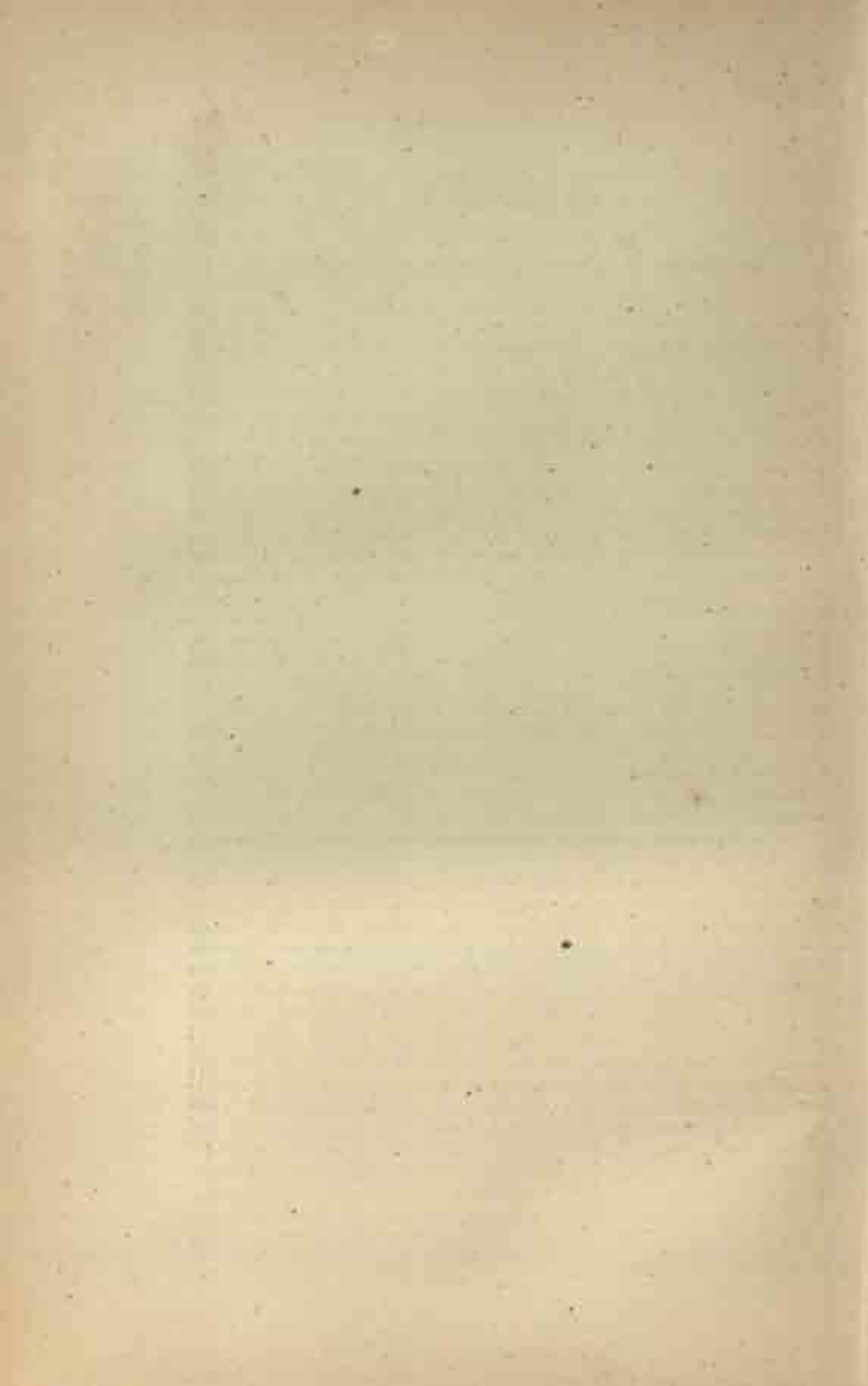
While their power and plunderings were thus prospering in Gujarāt the crushing ruin of Pānipat (A.D. 1761) fell on the Marāṭhas. Taking advantage of the confusion that followed, the Dehli court despatched instructions to the chief Musalman nobles of Gujarāt, directing Momin Khān, Jawān Mard Khān, and the governor of Broach to join in driving the Marāṭhas out of the province. In consequence of this despatch Sardār Muhammad Khān Bābi, defeating the Marāṭha garrison, regained Balāsīnor, while the governor of Broach, with the aid of Momin Khān, succeeded in winning back Jambūsar. Āpa Ganesh, the Peshwa's viceroy, remonstrated with Momin Khān for this breach of faith. In reply his envoy was shown the despatch received from Dehli, and was made the bearer of a message, that before it was too late, it would be wisdom for the Marāṭhas to abandon Gujarāt. Things were in this state when Dāmājī Gaikwār, wisely forgetting his quarrels with the Peshwa, marched to the aid of Sadāshiv with a large army. Advancing against Cambay he attacked and defeated Momin Khān, plundering one of his villages. But the Marāṭhas were too weak to follow up this success, or exact severer punishment from the Musalman confederates. Āpa Ganesh invited Sardār Muhammad Khān Bābi to Kaira, and on condition of the payment of tribute, agreed to allow him to keep possession of Balāsīnor. Subsequently Dāmājī's energy enabled him to enlarge the power and possessions of the Gaikwār's house, besides acquisitions from other chiefs, recovering the districts of Visalnagar, Kherālū, Vadnagar, Bijāpur, and Pātan from Jawān Mard Khān. After the death of the great Dāmājī, the importance of the Gaikwār's power sensibly diminished. Had it not been for their alliance with the British, the feeble hands of Sayājīrāv I. (A.D. 1771-1778) would probably have been the last to hold the emblem of Gaikwār rule. If in the zenith of Gaikwār power Momin Khān could reconquer, and for so long successfully defend Ahmedābād, what might not have been possible in its decline?

Chapter III.

Mughal
Viceroys.

Alamgir II.
Emperor,
1754-1759.
ĀPA GANESH
Viceroy,
1761.

Pānipat,
1761.



APPENDIX I.

The Death of Sulta'n Baha'dur, A.D. 1526-1536.¹

COLONEL BRIGGS (Muhammadan Power in India, IV. 132) gives the following summary of the events which led to the fatal meeting of Sulta'n Bahadur and the Portuguese viceroy Nono da Cunha in the beginning of 1536-37:

When in 1529 Nono daCunha came as viceroy to India he held instructions to make himself master of the island of Diu. In the following year a great expedition, consisting of 400 vessels and 15,600 men, met in Bombay and sailed to the Kathiavada coast. After vigorous assaults it was repulsed off Diu on the 17th February 1531. From that day the Portuguese made ceaseless efforts to obtain a footing on the island of Diu. In 1531 besides harrying the sea trade of Gujarát the Portuguese sacked the towns of Tárapur, Balsár, and Surat, and, to give colour to their pretensions, received under their protection Chánd Khán an illegitimate brother of Bahádur. In 1532, under James de Silveira, the Portuguese burned the south Kathiavada ports of Pattan-Somnáth, Mangrul, Talája, and Muzaffarábád, killing many of the people and carrying off 4000 as slaves. Shortly after the Portuguese took and destroyed Bassein in Thána obtaining 400 cannon and much ammunition. They also burned Damau, Thána, and Bombay. "All this," says the Portuguese historian "they did to straiten Diu and to oblige the king of Gujarát to consent to their raising a fort on the island of Diu." When Bahádur was engaged with the Mughals (A.D. 1532-1534) the Portuguese Governor General deputed an embassy to wait on Humáyún to endeavour to obtain from him the cession of Diu, hoping by this action to work indirectly on the fears of Bahádur. At last in 1534 Bahádur consented to a peace by which he agreed to cede the town of Bassein to Portugal; not to construct ships of war in his ports; and not to combine with Turkish fleets against Portugal.

Permission was also given to the Portuguese to build in Diu. In consideration of these terms the Portuguese agreed to furnish Bahádur with 500 Europeans of whom fifty were men of note. According to the Portuguese historian it was solely because of this Portuguese help that Bahádur succeeded in driving the Mughals out of Gujarát. Bahádur's cession of land in Diu to the Portuguese was for the purpose of building a mercantile factory. From the moment Bahádur discovered they had raised formidable fortifications, especially when by the withdrawal of the Mughals he no longer had any motive for keeping on terms with them, he resolved to wrest the fort out of the hands of the Portuguese. On the plea of separating the natives from the Europeans, Bahádur instructed his governor of Diu to build a wall with a rampart capable of being mounted with guns. But as this created much dispute and ill-will the rampart was given up. Bahádur next attempted to seize Emmanuel de Souza the captain of Diu fort. With this object he invited DeSouza to his camp. DeSouza was warned but determined to accept Bahádur's invitation. He went attended by only one servant, an act of courage which

Appendix I.

THE DEATH
OF SULTAN
BAHADUR,
A.D. 1526-1536.

¹ See above page 256. The Portuguese details have been obtained through the kindness of Dr. Gerão DaCunha.

Appendix I.

THE DEATH
OF SULTÁN
BAHÁDUR,
A.D. 1536-1538.

Bahádur so greatly admired that he treated him with honour and allowed him to return in safety. Bahádur next schemed to secure DeSouza in the fort by surprise. With this end he began to pay the Portuguese officers visits at all hours. But DeSouza was always on his guard and Bahádur's surprise visits failed to give him an opportunity. In 1536 DeSouza wrote to the viceroy complaining of the bad feeling of the Gujarát Moors towards the Portuguese in Diu and of the efforts of the king to drive them out of the fort. In consequence of DeSouza's letter Nono da Cunha the viceroy arrived at Diu early in 1536-7. Bahádur went to visit the viceroy on board the viceroy's ship. On his return he was attacked and leaping into the water was killed by a blow on the head and sank.

Of the unplanned and confused circumstances in which the brave Bahádur met his death four Musalmán and four Portuguese versions remain. The author of the *Mirát-i-Sikandari* (Persian Text, 280-281) states that the Portuguese, who offered their help to Bahádur in the days of his defeat by the emperor Humáyún, obtained from him the grant of land at Diu, and on this land built a fort. After the re-establishment of his power the Sultán, who had no longer any need of their help, kept constantly planning some means of ousting the Portuguese from Diu. With this object Bahádur came to Diu and opened negotiations with the Portuguese viceroy, hoping in the end to get the viceroy into his power. The viceroy knowing that Bahádur regretted the concessions he had made to them was too wary to place himself in Bahádur's hands. To inspire confidence Bahádur, with five or six of his nobles all unarmed, paid the viceroy a visit on board his ship. Suspecting foul play from the behaviour of the Portuguese the king rose to retire, but the Portuguese pressed upon him on all sides. He had nearly reached his boat when one of the Portuguese struck him a blow with a sword, killed him, and threw his body overboard.

The same author gives a second version which he says is more generally received and is probably more accurate. According to this account the Portuguese had come to know that Bahádur had invited the Sultáns of the Dakhan to co-operate with him in driving the Portuguese from the Gujarát, Konkan, and Dakhan ports. That the Portuguese viceroy had come with 150 ships and had anchored at Diu off the chain bastion. That Sultán Bahádur not suspecting that the Portuguese were aware of his insincerity went in a barge to see the fleet, and when he got in the midst of their ships, the Portuguese surrounded his barge and killed him with lances.

According to Farihtah (II. 442, 443, Pers. Text) on the invasion of Gujarát by the emperor Humáyún, Sultán Bahádur had asked help of the Portuguese. When his power was re-established, Bahádur, hearing of the arrival of between five and six thousand Portuguese at Diu, feared they would take possession of that port. He therefore hastened to Diu from Júnághadh. The Portuguese who were aware that Humáyún had withdrawn and that Bahádur had re-established his power, preferred to attempt to gain Diu by stratagem rather than by force. Bahádur asked the viceroy to visit him. The viceroy feigned sickness and Bahádur with the object of proving his goodwill offered to visit the viceroy on board his ship. On leaving the viceroy's ship to enter his own barge the Portuguese suddenly moved their vessel and Bahádur fell overboard. While in the water a Portuguese struck the king with a lance and killed him.

Abul Fazl's account A.D. 1590 (Akbar-námah in Elliot, VI. 18) seems more natural and in better keeping with Bahádur's impetuous vigour and bravery than either the Gajarát or Farishtah's narratives. The Portuguese chief was apprehensive that as the Sultán was no longer in want of assistance he meditated treachery. So he sent to inform the Sultán that he had come as requested, but that he was ill and unable to go on shore, so that the interview must be deferred till he got better. The Sultán, quitting the royal road of safety, embarked on the 12th February 1536 (3rd Ramázan H. 943) with a small escort to visit the viceroy on board the viceroy's ship. As soon as Bahádur reached the vessel he found the viceroy's sickness was a pretence and regretted that he had come. He at once sought to return. But the Portuguese were unwilling that such a prey should escape them and hoped that by keeping him prisoner they might get more ports. The viceroy came forward and asked the Sultán to stay a little and examine some curiosities he had to present. The Sultán replied that the curiosities might be sent after him and turned quickly towards his own boat. A European *leíri* or priest placed himself in the Sultán's way and bade him stop. The Sultán, in exasperation, drew his sword and cleft the priest in twain. He then leaped into his own boat. The Portuguese vessels drew round the Sultán's boat and a fight began. The Sultán and Rámi Khán threw themselves into the water. A friend among the Portuguese stretched a hand to Rámi Khán and saved him: the Sultán was drowned in the waves.

Of the four Portuguese versions of Bahádur's death the first appears in Correa's (A.D. 1512 - 1550) *Lendas Da Asia*, A.D. 1497 to 1530; the second in DeBarros' (died A.D. 1570) *Decadas*, A.D. 1497 to 1539; the third in Do Couto's (died A.D. 1600?) continuation of DeBarros, A.D. 1529 to 1600; and the fourth in Faria-e-Souza's (died A.D. 1659) *Portuguese Asia* to A.D. 1640. A fifth reference to Bahádur's death will be found in Castaneda's *Historia* which extends to A.D. 1538.

As Correa was in India from A.D. 1512 till his death in Goa in A.D. 1550, and as his narrative which was never published till A.D. 1856-64 has the highest reputation for accuracy of detail his version carries special weight. According to Correa (*Lendas Da Asia*, Vol. III. Chap. XCV.) during the monsoon of 1536, Nono DaCunha the viceroy received by land a letter from Manoel deSouza the captain of Diu fort, telling him of the discontent of the Gajarát Moors with king Bahádur for allowing the Portuguese to build a fort at Diu. In consequence of this information early in the fair season Nono daCunha sailed from Goa in his own galleon accompanied by about ten small vessels *jistas* and *katars* under the command of Antonio deSylveira. Nono reached Diu about the end of December. King Bahádur was glad that the viceroy should come to Diu almost alone since it seemed to show he was not aware of Bahádur's designs against the Portuguese. When Bahádur arrived at Diu he sent a message to the viceroy inviting him to come ashore to meet him as he had important business to transact. The king's messenger found the viceroy ill in bed, and brought back a message that the viceroy would come ashore to meet the king in the evening. Immediately after the king's messenger left, Manoel deSouza, the captain of Diu fort, came on board to see the viceroy. The viceroy told Manoel to go and thank the king and to return his visit. The king expressed his grief at the viceroy's illness and proposed to start at once to see him. He went to his barge and rowed straight to the viceroy's

Appendix I.

THE DEATH
OF SULTÁN
BAHÁDUR.
A.D. 1525 - 1536.

Appendix I.

THE DEATH
OF SULTAN
BAHADUR,
A.D. 1520 - 1530.

galleon. The king had with him, besides the interpreter St. Jago, seven men and two pages one carrying a sword and the other a bow. The captain of the fort and some other officers in their own barges followed the king. Bahadur, who was the first to arrive, came so speedily that the viceroy had hardly time to make preparations to receive him. He put on heavy clothes to show he was suffering from ague and ordered all the officers to be well armed. When Bahadur came on board he saw the men busy with their weapons but showed no signs that he suspected foul play. He went straight to the viceroy's cabin. The viceroy tried to get up but Bahadur prevented him, asked how he was, and returned at once to the deck. As Bahadur stood on the deck the captain of the fort boarded the galleon, and, as he passed to the cabin to see the viceroy, Bahadur laughingly upbraided him with being behind time. Then without taking leave of the viceroy Bahadur went to his barge. When the viceroy learned that the king had left he told the captain to follow the king and to take him to the fort and keep him there till the viceroy saw him. The captain rowed after the king who was already well ahead. He called to the king asking him to wait. The king waited. When the captain came close to the king's barge he asked the king to come into his vessel. But the interpreter without referring to the king replied that the captain should come into the king's barge. DeSouza ordered his boat alongside. His barge struck the king's barge and DeSouza who was standing on the poop tripped and fell into the water. The rowers of the royal barge picked him out and placed him near the king who laughed at his wet clothes. Other Portuguese barges whose officers thought the Moors were fighting with the captain began to gather. The first to arrive was Antonio Cardoza. When Cardoza came up the interpreter told the king to make for land with all speed as the Portuguese seemed to be coming to seize and kill him. The king gave the order to make for the shore. He also told the page to shoot the hollow arrow whose whistling noise was a danger signal. When the Moors in the king's barge heard the whistle they attacked Manoel deSouza, who fell dead into the sea. Then Diogo de Mesquita, D'Almeida, and Antonio Correa forced their way on to the king's barge. When the king saw them he unsheathed his sword and the page shot an arrow and killed Antonio Cardoza, who fell overboard and was drowned. D'Almeida was killed by a sword-cut from a Moor called Tiger and Tiger was killed by Correa. At that moment Diogo de Mesquita gave the king a slight sword-cut and the king jumped into the sea. After the king, the interpreter and Rumi Khan, two Moors, and all the rowers leapt into the water. The Portuguese barges surrounded them and the men struck at the three swimmers with lances and oars. The king twice cried aloud 'I am Sultan Bahadur,' hoping that some one would help him. A man who did not know that he was the king struck Bahadur on the head with a club. The blow was fatal and Bahadur sank. The second version is given by Barros (A.D. 1560) in his *Decadas da Asia*, Vol. V. page 357 of the 1707 edition. The third version by De Couto (A.D. 1600) in his continuation of Barros' *Decadas*, and the fourth by Faria-e-Souza (A.D. 1650) in his *Portuguese Asia* are in the main taken from De Barros. The following details are from Steevens' (A.D. 1697) translation of Faria given in Briggs' *Muhammadian Power in India*, IV. 135-138.

Bahadur king of Cambay, who had recovered his kingdom solely by the assistance of the Portuguese, now studied their ruin, and repenting of the leave he had granted to build a fort at Diu endeavoured to

take it and to kill the commander and the garrison. Nono da Cunha the Portuguese viceroy understood his designs and prepared to prevent them. Emanuel deSouza who commanded at Diu was warned by a Moor that the king would send for him by a certain Moor and kill him. DeSouza determined to go, and, when sent for, appeared with only one servant. Admiring DeSouza's courage the king treated him honourably and allowed him to return in safety. The king's mother tried to dissuade her son from plotting against DeSouza but to no effect. To remove suspicion Bahádur began to pay the Portuguese officers visits at unreasonable hours, but was ever received by DeSouza on his guard. Meanwhile, on the 9th January 1536, Nono da Cunha the Portuguese viceroy set out from Goa for Diu with 300 sail. When he put in at Chaul he found Nizám-ul-Mulk who pretended he had come to divert his women at sea but really with designs on that place. When Nono reached Diu the king was hunting in the mountains and Nono apprised him of his arrival. The king sent for him by a Portuguese apostate of the name of John de St. Jago called Firangi Khán, but Nono da Cunha pleaded illness. The king pretending great friendship came to Diu accompanied by Emanuel deSouza, who had brought the last message from DaCunha. At Diu the king went on board the viceroy's ship and for a time they discoursed. The king was troubled at a page whispering something to DaCunha, but as DaCunha took no notice his suspicions were allayed. The message was from DeSouza, stating that the captains whom he had summoned were awaiting orders to secure or kill the king. DaCunha thought it strange that DeSouza had not killed the king while he was in his power in the fort; and DeSouza thought it strange that DaCunha did not now seize the king when he was in his power in the ship. DaCunha directed all the officers to escort the king to the palace and then accompany DeSouza to the fort, where DaCunha intended to seize the king when he came to visit him. The king on his part had resolved to seize DaCunha at a dinner to which he had invited him and send him in a cage to the Great Turk. De Souza who was going to invite the king to the fort after DaCunha had entered it, came up with the king's barge and delivered his invitation through Rámi Khán. Rámi Khán warned the king not to accept it. The king disregarding this warning invited DeSouza into his barge. While stepping into the king's barge DeSouza fell overboard, but was picked up by officers who carried him to the king. At this time three Portuguese barges came up and some of the officers seeing DeSouza hastily enter the king's barge drew close to the king's barge. The king remembering Rámi Khán's warning ordered Emanuel deSouza to be killed. James deMesquita understanding the order flew at and wounded the king. An affray followed and four Portuguese and seven of the king's men were killed. The king tried to get away in a boat but a cannon shot killed three of his rowers and he was stopped. He next attempted to escape by swimming, but being in danger of drowning discovered himself by crying for help. A Portuguese held out an oar to him; but others struck him fatal blows, so that he sank.

The conclusion to be drawn from these four Musalman and four Portuguese versions is that on either side the leader hoped by some future treachery to seize the person of the other; and that mutual suspicion turned into a fatal affray a meeting which both parties intended should pass peacefully and lull the other into a false and favourable security.

Appendix I.

THE DEATH
OF SULTÁN
BAHÁDUR.

A.D. 1526-1536.

APPENDIX II.

THE HILL FORT OF MA'NDU.

PART I.—DESCRIPTION.

Appendix II.

THE HILL FORT
OF MA'NDU.

DESCRIPTION.

MA'NDU, about twenty-three miles south of Dhār in Central India, is a wide waving hill-top, part of the great wall of the Vindhyan range. The hill-top is three to four miles from north to south and four to five miles from east to west. On the north, the east, and the west, Māndu is islanded from the main plateau of Mālwa by valleys and ravines that circle round to its southern face, which stands 1200 feet out of the Nimār plain. The area of the hill-top is over 12,000 English acres, and so broken is its outline, that the encircling wall is said to have a length of between thirty-seven and thirty-eight miles. Its height, 1950 feet above the sea, secures for the hill-top at all seasons the boon of fresh and cool air.

About twenty miles south of Dhār the level cultivated plateau breaks into woody glades and uplands. Two miles further the plain is cleft by two great ravines, which from their deeper and broader southern mouths 700 to 800 feet below the Dhār plateau, as they wind northwards, narrow and rise, till, to the north of Māndu hill, they shallow into a woody dip or valley about 300 yards broad and 200 feet below the south crest of Mālwa. From the south crest of the Mālwa plateau, across the tree tops of this wild valley, stand the cliffs of the island Māndu, their crests crowned by the great Delhi gateway and its long lofty line of flanking walls. At the foot of the sudden dip into the valley the Ālamgir or World-Guarding Gate stands sentinel.¹ Beyond the gateway, among wild reaches of rock and forest, a noble canseway with high domed towers on either hand fills the lowest dip of the valley. From the south end of the canseway the road winds up to a second gateway, and beyond the second gateway between side walls climbs till at the crest of the slope it passes through the ruined but still lofty and beautiful Delhi or northern gateway, one of the earliest works of Dilāwar Khān (A.D. 1400), the founder of Munsalmān Māndu.

Close inside of the Delhi gate, on the right or west, stands the handsome Hindola Palace. The name Hindola, which is probably the title of the builder, is explained by the people as the Swingcot palace, because, like the sides of the cage of a swinging cot, the walls of the hall bulge

¹ The following Persian verses are carved on the Ālamgir gateway :

In the time of Ālamgir Aurangzib (A.D. 1658-1707), the ruler of the World,

This gate resembling the skies in altitude was built anew.

In the year A.H. 1079 (A.D. 1668) the work of renewal was begun and completed

By the endeavour of the exalted Khān Muhammad Beg Khān.

From the accession of this Emperor of the World Aurangzib.

This was the eleventh year by way of writing and history.

below and narrow towards the top. Its great baronial hall and hanging windows give the Hindola palace a special merit and interest, and an air of lordly wealth and luxury still clings to the tree-covered ruins which stretch west to large underground cisterns and hot weather retreats. About a quarter of a mile south stand the notable group of the Jahāz Mehel or Ship palace on the west, and the Tapela Mehel or Caldron palace on the south, with their rows of lofty pointed arches below deep stone caves, their heavy windowless upper stories, and their massive arched and domed roof chambers. These palaces are not more handsomely built than finely set. The massive ship-like length of the Jahāz Mehel lies between two large tree-girt ponds, and the Tapela, across a beautiful foreground of water and ruin, looks east into the mass of tangled bush and tree which once formed part of the 130 acres of the Lal Bāgh or Royal Gardens.

The flat palace roofs command the whole 12,000 acres of Māndu hill, north to the knolls and broken uplands beyond the great ravine-moat and south across the waving hill-top with its miles of glades and ridges, its scattered villages hamlets and tombs, and its gleaming groves of mangoes, *khirnis*, banyans, *shamran* and *pipals*. In the middle distance, out from the tree-tops, stand the lofty domes of Hoshang's tomb and of the great Jāmā mosque. Further south lies the tree-girt hollow of the Sagar Talāy or Sea Lake, and beyond the Sagar lake a woody plateau rises about 200 feet to the southern crest, where, clear against the sky, stand the airy cupolas of the pavilion of Rāp Matī, the beautiful wife of Bāz Bahādur (A.D. 1551-1561), the last Sultan of Mālwa. Finally to the west, from the end of the Rāp Matī heights, rises even higher the bare nearly isolated shoulder of Songad, the citadel or inner fort of Māndu, the scene of the Gujarāt Bahādur's (A.D. 1531) daring and successful surprise. This fair hill-top, beautiful from its tangled wildness and scattered ruins, is a strange contrast to Mānda, the capital of a warlike independent dynasty. During the palmy days of the fifteenth century, of the 12,000 acres of the Māndu hill-top, 560 were fields, 370 were gardens, 200 were wells, 780 were lakes and ponds, 100 were bazar roads, 1500 were dwellings, 200 were rest-houses, 260 were baths, 470 were mosques, and 234 were palaces. These allotments crowded out the wild to a narrow pittance of 1560 acres of knolls and ridges.

From the Jahāz Mehel the road winds through fields and woods, gemmed with peafowl and droll with monkeys, among scattered palaces mosques and tombs, some shapely some in heaps, about a mile south to the walled enclosure of the lofty domed tomb of the establisher of Māndu's greatness, Hoshang Shāh Ghori (A.D. 1405-1432). Though the badly-fitted joinings of the marble slabs of the tomb walls are a notable contrast to the finish of the later Mughal buildings, Hoshang's tomb, in its massive simplicity and dim-lighted roughness, is a solemn and suitable resting-place for a great Pathan warrior. Along the west of the tomb enclosure runs a handsome flat-roofed colonnade. The pillars, which near the base are four-sided, pass through an eight-sided and a sixteen-sided belt into a round upper shaft. The round shaft ends in a square under-capital, each face of which is filled by a group of leafage in outline the same as the favourite Hindu *Singh-mākā* or horned face. Over the entwined leafy horns of this monding, stone brackets support heavy stone beams, all Hindu in pattern.¹ Close to the east of Hoshang's tomb is Hoshang's

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¹ Mr. Fergusson (Indian Architecture, page 543) says: "The pillars appear to have been taken from a Jain building." But the refinement on the square capital of each pillar of this Hindu *Singh-mākā* or horned face into a group of leaves of the same

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Jāma Masjid or Great Mosque, built of blocks of red limestone. Hoshang's mosque is approached from the east through a massive domed gateway and across a quadrangle enclosed on the east north and south by wrecked colonnades of pointed arches. The west is filled by the great pointed arches of the mosque in fair repair. On the roof of the mosque from a thick undergrowth of domelets rise three lofty domes.¹

In front of the gateway of the Great Mosque, in the centre of a masonry plinth about three feet high, stands an iron pillar about a foot in diameter at the base and twenty feet high. Close to the east of the gateway is the site of Mahmūd's (A.D. 1442) Tower of Victory, traces of which remained as late as A.D. 1840. About fifty yards further east are the ruins of a great building called the Ashrafi Mehal, said to have been a Musalmān college. To the north-east a banner marks a temple and the local state offices. South the road passes between the two lines of small houses and huts that make modern Māndu. Beyond the village, among ruins and huge swollen baobab stems, the road winds south along a downward slope to the richly-wooded lowland, where stretches to the west the wide coolness of the Sagar Talāv or Sea lake. Its broad surface covering 600 acres is green with fanlike lotus leaves, reeds, and water-grasses. Its banks are rough with brakes of tangled bush from which, in uncramped stateliness, rise lofty *whauras*, mangoes, *kirmis*, and *pipals*. To the east round a smaller tank, whose banks are crowned by splendid mangoes and tamarinds, stand the domes of several handsome tombs. Of some

outline shows that the pillars were specially carved for use in a Muslim building. The porch on the north side of the tomb enclosure is described (Ditto, page 343) as composed of pillars avowedly re-erected from a Jain building. This note of Mr. Fergusson's must have gone astray, as the north porch of Hoshang's tomb enclosure is in the plain massive pointed arch and square-shafted style of the tomb and of the great mosque. Mr. Fergusson's note apparently belongs to the second and smaller Jāma Masjid, about a hundred yards east of the Sea or Sagar lake, the pillars of whose colonnade and porch are still enveloped by rows of the lucky face of the Hindu old horn.

¹ Hoshang's great mosque has the following much damaged Persian inscription:

The mosque of exalted construction, the temple of heavenly altitude,

Whose every thick pillar is a copy of the (pillars of the) Sacred Temple (the Temple of Makkah).

On account of the greatness of its dignity, like the pigeons of the Temple of Makkah,

Sacred angels of high degree are always engaged in hovering around it,

The result of the events born of the merciless revolution of the skies,

When the sun of his life came as far as the balcony (i. e. was ready to set),

A'asam Humayūn (that is Malik Mugh's) said . . .

The administration of the country, the construction of buildings, and the driving back of enemies

Are things which I leave you (the son of A'asam Humayūn) as parting advice with great earnestness.

The personification of the kindness of Providence, the Sultan A'la'-ud-dīn (Mehmūd I. A.D. 1436-1469), who is

The outcome of the refulgence of the Faith, and the satiation of the wants of the people,

In the year A.H. 858 (A.D. 1454),

In the words of the above parting advice, finished the construction of this building.

of these domes the black masses are brightened by belts of brilliant pale and deep-blue enamel. To the north of this overflow-pool a long black wall is the back of the smaller Jāma or congregation mosque, badly ruined, but of special interest, as each of its numerous pillars shows the uninjured Hindu *Siṅgh-mukhā* or horned face. By a rough piece of constructive skill the original cross corners of the end cupolas have been worked into vaulted Musalman domes.¹

From the Sea Lake, about a mile across the waving richly-wooded plain, bounded by the southern height of the plateau, the path leads to the sacred Rewa Kund or Narbada Pool, a small shady pond lined with rich masonry, and its west side enriched by the ruins of a handsome Bath or Hammām Khānah. From the north-east corner of the Rewa Pool a broad flight of easy stairs leads thirty or forty feet up the slope on whose top stands the palace of Baz Bahādur (A.D. 1551-1561) the last independent chief of Māndu.² The broad easy flight of steps ends in a lofty arched gateway through which a roomy hall or passage gives entrance into a courtyard, with a central masonry cistern and an enclosing double colonnade, which on the right opens into an arched balcony overlooking the Rewa Kund and garden. Within this courtyard is a second court enclosed on three sides by an arched gallery. The roof of the colonnades, which are reached by flights of easy steps, are shaded by arched pavilions topped by cupolas brightened by belts of blue enamel.

¹ This Jāma Mosque has the following Persian inscription dated H. 835 (A.D. 1431):

- With good omens, at a happy time, and in a lucky and well-started year,
On the 4th of the month of Allāh (Ramazān) on the great day of Friday,
In the year 835 and six months from the Hīrah (A.D. 1431)
Counted according to the revolution of the moon in the Arabian manner,
This Islamic mosque was founded in this world,
The top of whose dome rubs its head against the green canopy of Heaven.
The construction of this high mosque was due to Mughī-ud-dīn-wad-dunya (Malik Mughī's), the father of Mehmūd I. of Mālwa (A.D. 1430-1469), the redresser of temporal and spiritual wrongs.
Ulugh (brave), A'azām (great), Huma'yūn (august), the Khān of the seven climes and the nine countries,
By the hands of his enterprise this so great mosque was founded,
That some call it the House of Peace, others style it the Ka'bah.
This good building was completed on the last of the month of Shawwāl (A.H. 835, A.D. 1431).
May the merit of this good act be inserted in the scroll of the Khān's actions!
In this centre may the praises of the sermon read (in the name) of Mehmūd Shāh
Be everlasting, so long as mountains stand on the earth and stars in the firmament.

² The following Persian inscription carved on the entrance arch shows that though it may have been repaired by Baz Bahādur, the building of the palace was fifty years earlier (H. 914, A.D. 1503):

"In the time of the Sultan of Nations, the most just and great, and the most knowing and munificent Khān Na'ir Shāh Khiljī (A.D. 1500-1512). Written by Yū'suf, the year (H. 914) (A.D. 1508)."

Appendix II. THE HILL FORT OF MĀNDU. Description.

Appendix II.

THE HILL-FORT
OF MANDU.

DESCRIPTION.

To the south of Bāz Bahādūr's Palace a winding path climbs the steep slope of the southern rim of Māndu to the massive pillared cupolas of Rūp Matī's palace, which, clear against the sky, are the most notable ornament of the hill-top. From a ground floor of heavy masonry walls and arched gateways stairs lead to a flat masonry terrace. At the north and south ends of the terrace stand massive heavy-roofed pavilions, whose square pillars and pointed arches support lofty deep-grooved domes. The south pavilion on the crest of the Vindhyan cliff commands a long stretch of the south face of Māndu with its guardian wall crowning the heights and hollows of the hill-top. Twelve hundred feet below spreads the dim hazy Nimār plain brightened eastwards by the gleaming coil of the Nerbada. The north pavilion, through the clear fresh air of the hill-top, looks over the entire stretch of Māndu from the high shoulder of Songad in the extreme south-west across rolling tree-brightened fields, past the domes, the tangled bush, and the broad gray of the Sea Lake, to the five-domed cluster of Hoshang's mosque and tomb, on, across a sea of green tree tops, to the domed roof-chambers of the Jahāz and Tapela palaces, through the Dehli gateway, and, beyond the deep cleft of the northern ravine, to the bare level and the low ranges of the Mālwa plain.

From the Rewa Pool a path, along the foot of the southern height among noble solitary *mankras* and *kharis*, across fields and past small clusters of huts, guides to a flight of steps which lead down to a deep shady rock-cut dell where a Muhammadan chamber with great open arched front looks out across a fountained courtyard and sloping scalloped water table to the wild western slopes of Māndu. This is Nilkanth, where the emperor Akbar lodged in A.D. 1574, and which Jahāngir visited in A.D. 1617.¹

From the top of the steps that lead to the dell the hill stretches west bare and stony to the Songad or Tārāpūr gateway on the narrow neck beyond which rises the broad shoulder of Songad, the lofty south-west limit of the Māndu hill-top.²

PART II.—HISTORY³

HISTORY.

The
Mālwa Sultāns,
A.D. 1400-1570.

The history of Māndu belongs to two main sections, before and after the overthrow by the emperor Akbar in A.D. 1563 of the independent power of the Sultāns of Mālwa.

SECTION I.—THE MĀLWA SULTĀNS, A.D. 1400-1570.

Of early Hindu Māndu, which is said to date from A.D. 313, nothing is known.⁴ Hind spire stones are built into the Hindola palace walls; and the pillars of the lesser Jāmā mosque, about a hundred yards from the east end of the sea or Sagar Lake, are Hindu apparently Jain. Of these local Hind chiefs almost nothing is known except that their fort was

¹ Translations of its two much-admired Persian inscriptions are given below pages 370-371.

² On the Tārāpūr gateway a Persian inscription of the reign of the emperor Akbar (A.D. 1556-1605) states that the royal road that passed through this gateway was repaired by Tāhir Muhammad Hasn Ināil-ud-dīn.

³ The Persian references and extracts in this section are contributed by Khān Sāheb Fāsl-ud-dīn Latifullah Faridi of Surat.

⁴ Sir John Malcolm in Eastwick's Handbook of the Panjab, 119. This reference has not been traced. Paristāh (Elliot, VI, 563) says Māndu was built by Anand Dev of the Rais tribe, who was a contemporary of Khusrō Parvīn the Sassanian (A.D. 501-531).

taken and their power brought to an end by Sultān Shams-ud-dīn Altmash about A.D. 1234.¹ Dhār, not Māndu, was at that time the capital. It seems doubtful whether Māndu ever enjoyed the position of a capital till the end of the fourteenth century. In A.D. 1401, in the ruin that followed Timūr's (A.D. 1398-1400) conquest of Northern India, a Pathān from the country of Ghor, Dilāwar Khān Ghori (A.D. 1387-1405), at the suggestion of his son Alp Khān, assumed the white canopy and scarlet pavilion of royalty.² Though Dhār was Dilāwar's head-quarters he sometimes stayed for months at a time at Māndu,³ strengthening the defences and adorning the hill with buildings, as he always entertained the desire of making Māndu his capital.⁴ Three available inscriptions of Dilāwar

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The
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¹ The date is uncertain. Compare Elphinstone's History, 323; Briggs' Fariṣṭah, I. 210-211; Tabakāt-i-Nādiri in Elliot, II. 328. The conquest of Māndu in A.D. 1237 is not Māndu in Māwa as Elphinstone and Briggs supposed, but Mandūr in the Siwalik Hills. See Elliot, Vol. II. page 326 Note 1. The Persian text of Fariṣṭah (I. 115), though by mistake calling it Māndu (not Māndu), notes that it was the Māndu in the Siwalik hills. The poetical date-script also terms it Bilād-i-Siwalik or the Siwalik countries. The date of the conquest of the Siwalik Māndu by Altmash is given by Fariṣṭah (Ditto) as A.H. 624 (A.D. 1226). The conquest of Māwa by Altmash, the taking by him of Bilāsh and Ujjain, and the destruction of the temple of Mahā Kālī and of the statue or image of Vikramajit are given as occurring in A.H. 631 (A.D. 1233). The Mīrāt-i-Sikandarī (Persian Text, 15) notices an expedition made in A.D. 1395 by Zafar Khān (Muzaffar I. of Gujarat) against a Hindu chief of Māndu, who, it was reported, was oppressing the Musalmāns. A siege of more than twelve months failed to capture the fort.

² Briggs' Fariṣṭah, IV. 170.

³ Briggs' Fariṣṭah, IV. 168. According to the Wakāf-i-Mushāṭṭī (Elliot, IV. 553) Dilāwar Khān, or as the writer calls him Amīn Shāh, through the good offices of a merchant whom he had refrained from plundering obtained the grant of Māndu, which was entirely desolate. The king sent a robe and a horse, and Amīn gave up walking and took to riding. He made his friends ride, enlisted horsemen, and promoted the cultivation of the country (Elliot, IV. 552). Fariṣṭah (Pers. Text, II. 460-61) states that when Sultān Muhammad, the son of Fīrūz Tughlak, made Khwājā Sarwar his chief minister with the title of Khwājā Jahān, and gave Zafar Khān the viceroyalty of Gōjrat and Khizr Khān that of Multān, he sent Dilāwar Khān to be governor of Māwa. In another passage Fariṣṭah (II. 461) states that one of Dilāwar's grandfathers, Sultān Shahab-ud-dīn, came from Ghor and took service in the court of the Delhi Sultāns. His son rose to be an Amir, and his grandson Dilāwar Khān, in the time of Sultān Fīrūz, became a leading nobleman, and in the reign of Muhammad, son of Fīrūz, obtained Māwa in fief. When the power of the Tughlaks went to ruin Dilāwar assumed the royal emblems of the umbrella and the red-tent.

⁴ Dilāwar Khān Ghori, whose original name was Hussein, was one of the grandsons of Sultān Shahab-ud-dīn Muhammad bin Sam. He was one of the nobles of Muhammad, the son of Fīrūz Tughlak, who after the death of that monarch, settled in and asserted his power over Māwa, (Pers. Text Fariṣṭah, II. 460). The emperor Jehāngīr (who calls him Amīd Shāh Ghori) attributes to him the construction of the fort of Dhār. He says (Memoirs Pers. Text, 201-202): Dhār is one of the oldest cities of India. Rāja Bhōj, one of the famous ancient Hindu kings, lived in this city. From his time up to this a thousand years have passed. Dhār was also the capital of the Muhammadian rulers of Māwa. When Sultān Muhammad Tughlak (A.D. 1325) was on his way to the conquest of the Dakhan he built a cut stone fort on a raised site. Its outline is very elegant and beautiful, but the space inside is empty of buildings. Amīd Shāh Ghori, known as Dilāwar Khān, who in the days of Sultān Muhammad the son of Sultān Fīrūz, king of Delhi, gained the independent rule of Māwa, built outside this fort an assembly mosque, which has in front of it fixed in the ground a four-cornered iron column about four feet round. When Sultān Bahadur of Gujarat took Māwa (A.D. 1530-31) he wished to carry this column to Gujarat. In digging it up the pillar fell and broke in two, one piece measuring twenty-two feet the other thirteen feet. As it was lying here unheeded for I (Jehāngīr) ordered the big piece to be carried to Agra to be put up in the courtyard of the shrine of him whose abode is the heavenly throne (Akbar), to be utilised as a lamp post. The mosque has two gates. In

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The
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Khán (A.D. 1387-1406) seem to show that he built an assembly mosque near the Ship Palace, a mosque near the Dehli Gate, and a gate at the entrance to Songadh, the south-west corner and citadel of Mándu, afterwards known as the Tárápúr Gate.

In A.D. 1398 Alp Khán, son of Diláwar Khán, annoyed with his father for entertaining as his overlord at Dhár Mehmed Tughlak, the refugee monarch of Dehli, withdrew to Mándu. He stayed in Mándu for three years, laying, according to Farishtah, the foundation of the famous fortress of solid masonry which was the strongest fortification in that part of the world.¹ On his father's death in A.D. 1405 Alp Khán took the title of Sultán Heshang, and moved the capital to Mándu. The rumour that Hoshang had poisoned his father gave Diláwar's brother in arms, Muzaffar Sháh of Gujarát (A.D. 1399-1411), an excuse for an expedition against Hoshang.² Hoshang was defeated at Dhár, made prisoner, and carried to Gujarát, and Muzaffar's brother Nasrat was appointed in his place. Nasrat failed to gain the goodwill either of the people or of the army of Málwa, and was forced to retire from Dhár and take refuge in Mándu. In consequence of this failure in A.D. 1408, at Hoshang's request Muzaffar set Hoshang free after a year's confinement, and deputed his grandson Ahmed to take Hoshang to Málwa and establish Hoshang's power.³ With Ahmed's help Hoshang took Dhár and shortly after secured the fort of Mándu. Hoshang (A.D. 1405-1431) made Mándu his capital and spread his power on all sides except towards Gujarát.⁴ Shortly after the death of Muzaffar I. and the accession of Ahmed, when (A.D. 1414) Ahmed was quelling the disturbances raised by his cousins, Hoshang, instead of helping Ahmed as requested, marched towards Gujarát and created a diversion in favour of the rebels by sending two of his nobles to attack Broach. They were soon expelled by Ahmed Sháh. Shortly after Hoshang marched to the help of the chief of Jhaláwáda in Káthiáwáda,

front of the arch of one gate they have fixed a stone tablet engraved with a prose passage to the effect that Ahmed Sháh Ghorí in the year H. 805 (A.D. 1405) laid the foundation of this mosque. On the other arch they have written a poetic inscription of which the following verses are a part:

The liege lord of the world.
The star of the sphere of glory.
The stay of the people.
The sun of the zenith of perfection.
The bulwark of the law of the Prophet, Améd Sháh Dawúd.
The possessor of amiable qualities, the pride of Ghor.
Diláwar Khán, the helper and defender of the Prophet's faith.
The chosen instrument of the exalted Lord, who in the city of
Dhár constructed the assembly mosque
In a happy and auspicious moment on a day of lucky omen.
Of the date 608 years have passed (A.D. 1405)
When this fabric of Hope was completed.

¹ Briggs' Farishtah, IV. 169.

² When fellow-nobles in the court of the Tughlak Sultán, Zafar Khán (Sultán Muzaffar of Gujarát) and Diláwar Khán bound themselves under an oath to be brothers in arms. Farishtah, Pers. Text II. 462.

³ Briggs' Farishtah, IV. 173; Elphinstone's History, 678.

⁴ Though their temples were turned into mosques the Jains continued to prosper under the Ghoris. At Dengarh in Lalitpura in Jhansi in the North-West Provinces an inscription of Samvat 1481, that is of A.D. 1424, records the dedication of two Jaina images by a Jain priest named Heli during the reign of Sháh Alambhaka of Mandapapura, that is of Sháh Alp Khán of Mándu that is Sultán Hoshang Ghorí. Archaeological Survey of India, New Series, II. 120.

and ravaged eastern and central Gujarāt.¹ To punish Hoshang for three acts of ingratitude, between A.D. 1418 and 1422, Ahmed twice besieged Māndu, and though he failed to take the fort his retirement had to be purchased, and both as regards success and fair-dealing the honours of the campaign remained with Ahmed.² In A.D. 1421 Hoshang went disguised as a horse-dealer to Jājnagar (now Jājpur) in Cuttack in Orissa. He took with him a number of cream-coloured horses, of which he had heard the Rāja was very fond. His object was to barter these horses and other goods for the famous war elephants of Jājnagar. An accident in the camp of the disguised merchants led to a fight, in which the Rāja was taken prisoner and Hoshang was able to secure 150 elephants to fight the Gujarāt Sultān.³ During Hoshang's absence at Jājnagar Ahmed pressed the siege of Māndu so hard that the garrison would have surrendered had Hoshang not succeeded in finding his way into the fort through the south or Tārāpur Gate.⁴ For ten years after the Gujarāt campaign, by the help of his minister Malik Mughis of the Khilji family and of his minister's son Mehmūd Khān, Mālwa prospered and Hoshang's power was extended. Hoshang enriched his capital with buildings, among them the Great Mosque and his own tomb, both of which he left unfinished. Hoshang's minister Malik Mughis (who received the title of Ulugh Aīzam Humāyūn Khān) appears to have built the assembly mosque near the Sāgar Lake in Hoshang's life-time, A.D. 1431. Another of his buildings must have been a mint, as copper coins remain bearing Hoshang's name, and Māndu Shādīābād as the place of mintage.⁵ In A.D. 1432, at Hoshangābād, on the left bank of the Nerbada, about 120 miles east of Māndu, Hoshang, who was suffering from diabetes, took greatly to heart the fall of a ruby out of his crown. He said: A few days before the death of Fīrūz Taghlak a jewel dropped from his crown. Hoshang ordered that he should be taken to Māndu. Before he had gone many miles the king died. His nobles carried the body to the Madrasah or college in Shādīābād or Māndu, and buried him in the college on the ninth day of Zil Hujjah, the twelfth month of A.H. 838 = A.D. 1434. The year of Hoshang's death is to be found in the letters

Ah Shah Hoshang na mund: Also, Shah Hoshang stayed not.⁶

On Hoshang's death his son Ghazni Khān, with the title of Sultān Muhammad (Ghori), succeeded. Malik Mughis, his father's minister, and the minister's son Mehmūd were maintained in power. In three years

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¹ Farihtah, Pers. Text II. 464-65.

² Briggs' Farihtah, IV. 176, 178, 180, 181, 183. ³ Farihtah, Pers. Text II. 466-67.

⁴ Briggs' Farihtah, IV. 180. In connection with the Tārāpur Gate Farihtah says (Pers. Text, II. 468): The fort of Māndu is built on the top of a mountain, and the line of its fortification is about twenty-eight miles in length. In place of a moat it is surrounded by a deep chasm, so that it is impossible to use missiles against it. Within the fort water and provisions are abundant and it includes land enough to grow grain for the garrison. The extent of its walls makes it impossible for an army to invest it. Most of the villages near it are too small to furnish supplies to a besieging force. The south or Tārāpur gate is exceedingly difficult of access. A horseman can hardly approach it. From whichever side the fort may be attempted, most difficult heights have to be scaled. The long distances and intervening hills prevent the watchers of the besieging force communicating with each other. The gate on the side of Delhi is of easier access than the other gates.

⁵ It follows that Farihtah (Briggs, IV. 190) is mistaken in stating that Hoshang's son Muhammad gave Māndu the name of Shādīābād, the Abode of Joy.

⁶ Farihtah, Pers. Text II. 472-473. It seems to follow that from the first the monument to Hoshang in Hoshangābād was an empty tomb. Compare Briggs' Farihtah, IV. 180-190.

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(A.D. 1433-1436), as Sultan Muhammad proved dissipated cruel and suspicious, Mehmúd, the minister's son, procured his death by poison. Mehmúd Khilji then asked his father to accept the succession, but his father declined, saying that Mehmúd was fitter to be king. In A.D. 1436 Mehmúd was accordingly crowned with the royal tiara of Hoshang.¹ He conferred on his father the honour of being attended by mace-bearers carrying gold and silver sticks, who, when the Khán mounted or went out, had, like the mace-bearers of independent monarchs, the privilege of repeating the *Bismillah*.² In the name of the compassionate and merciful Alláh.³ He gave his father royal honours, the white canopy and the silver quiver, and to his title of Malik Ashraf Khán Jehán he added among others Amir-ul-Umara and Aázam Humáyún.⁴ Mehmúd quelled a revolt among his nobles. An outbreak of plague in the Gujarát camp relieved him from a contest with Ahmed Sháh.⁵ In A.D. 1439 Mehmúd repaired the palace of Sultan Hoshang and opened the mosque built in commemoration of that monarch which Fariashah describes as a splendid edifice with 208 columns.⁶ About the same time Mehmúd completed Hoshang's tomb which Hoshang had left unfinished. On the completion of this building Hoshang's remains seem to have been moved into it from their first resting-place in the college. In A.D. 1441 Mehmúd built a

¹ The following more detailed, but also more confused, story is told in the Wakáat-i-Musháki (Ellist. IV, 552-54): A man named Mehmúd, son of Mughis Khilji, came to Hoshang and entered his service. He was a treacherous man, who secretly aspired to the throne. He became minister, and gave his daughter in marriage to the king. [Fariashah, Pers. Text II, 474, says: "Malik Mughis gave his daughter (Mehmúd's sister) in marriage, not to Hoshang, but to Hoshang's son Muhammad Shah."] His father Malik Mughis, coming to know of his son's ambitious designs, informed the king of them. Harupon Mehmúd feigned illness, and to deceive the king's physicians shut himself in a dark room and drank the blood of a newly killed goat. When the physicians came Mehmúd rose lustily, threw up the blood into a basin, and tossing back his head rolled on the floor as if in pain. The physicians called for a light. When they saw that what Mehmúd had spat up was blood they were satisfied of his sickness, and told the king that Mehmúd had not long to live. The king refrained from killing a dying man. This strange story seems to be an embellishment of a passage in Fariashah (Pers. Text, II, 477). When Khán Jehán, that is Malik Mughis the father of Mehmúd, was ordered by Sultan Muhammad to take the field against the Rajput rebels of Nadoti (Hároti?) many of the old nobles of Málwa went with him. In their absence the party hostile to the Khiljis represented to Sultan Muhammad that Mehmúd Khilji was plotting his death. On hearing that the Sultan was enraged against him Mehmúd secluded himself from the Court on pretence of illness. At the same time he worked secretly and bribed Sultan Muhammad's cup-bearer to poison his master. On the death of Muhammad's death, sent word that Muhammad had ordered him immediately to the palace, as he wanted to send him on an embassy to Gujarát. Mehmúd, who knew that the Sultan was dead, returned word to the nobles that he had vowed a life-long seclusion as the sweeper of the shrine of his patron Sultan Hoshang, but that if the nobles came to him and convinced him that the good of his country depended on his going to Gujarát he was ready to go and see Sultan Muhammad. The nobles were caught in their own trap. They went to Mehmúd and were secured and imprisoned by him.

² Fariashah, Pers. Text II, 480.

³ Briggs' Fariashah, IV, 196. These titles mean: The Chief of Nobles, the Great, the August.

⁴ It is related that one of the pious men in the camp of Sultan Ahmed of Gujarát had a warning dream, in which the Prophet (on whom be peace) appeared to him and said: "The calamity of (spirit of) pestilence is coming down from the skies. Tell Sultan Ahmed to leave this country." This warning was told to Sultan Ahmed, but he disregarded it, and within three days pestilence raged in his camp. Fariashah Pers. Text, II, 484.

⁵ Briggs' Fariashah, IV, 205, gives 230 minarets and 260 arches. This must have been an addition in the Text used by Briggs. These details do not apply to the building. The Persian text of Fariashah, II, 483, mentions 208 columns or pillars (*duyast o hasht satumíná*). No reference is made either to minarets or to arches.

garden with a dome and palaces¹ and a mosque at Naalchah about three miles north of the Delhi Gate of Mandu, a pleasing well-watered spot where the plateau of Málwa breaks into glades and knolls.² In A.D. 1443 in honour of his victory over Ráma Kumbhá of Chitor, Mehmúd built a beautiful column of victory,³ seven storeys high, and a college in front of the mosque of Hoshang Ghori. Facing the east entrance to the Great Mosque stands a paved ramp crowned by a confused ruin. As late as A.D. 1843 this ruin is described as a square marble chamber. Each face of the chamber had three arches, the centre arch in two of the faces being a door. Above the arches the wall was of yellow stone faced with marble. Inside the chamber the square corners were cut off by arches. No roof or other trace of superstructure remained.⁴ This chamber seems to be the basement of the column of victory which was raised in A.D. 1443 by Mehmúd I. (A.D. 1432-1469) in honour of his victory over Ráma Kumbhá of Chitor.⁵ Mehmúd's column has the special interest of being, if not the original, at least the cause of the building of Kumbhá Ráma's still uninjured Victory Pillar, which was completed in A.D. 1454 at a cost of £900,000 in honour of his defeat of Mehmúd.⁶ That the Mandu Column of Victory was a famous work is shown by Abul Fazl's reference to it in A.D. 1590 as an eight-storeyed minaret.⁷ Farihtab, about twenty years later (A.D. 1610), calls it a beautiful Victory Pillar seven storeys high.⁸ The emperor Jehángir (A.D. 1605-1627) gives the following account of Mehmúd's Tower of Victory⁹: "This day, the 29th of the month Tir, corresponding to July-August of A.D. 1617, about the close of the day, with the ladies of the palace, I went out to see the *Huft Mansar* or Seven Storeys, literally Seven Prospects. This building is one of the structures of the old rulers of Málwa, that is of Sultan Mehmúd Khilji. It has seven storeys, and on each storey there are four porticoes, and in each portico are four windows. The height of this tower is about 163 feet and its circumference 150 feet. From the surface of the ground to the top of the seventh storey there are one hundred and seventy-one steps." Sir Thomas Herbert, the traveller, in A.D. 1626 describes it from hearsay, or at least at second-hand, as a tower 170 steps high, supported by massive pillars and adorned with gates and windows very observable. It was built, he adds, by Khán Jehán, who there lies buried.¹⁰

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A.D. 1400-1570.¹ Farihtab, Pers. Text II. 487.² Briggs' Farihtab, IV. 207. Malcolm's Central India, I. 37. In A.D. 1817 Sir John Malcolm (Central India, I. 32) Note: fitted up one of Mehmúd's palaces as a hot weather residence.³ Of the siege of Kumbháwar a curious incident is recorded by Farihtab (Pers. Text II. 485). He says that a temple outside the town destroyed by Mehmúd had a marble idol in the form of a goat. The Sultan ordered the idol to be ground into lime and sold to the Hájirats as betel-leaf lime, so that the Hindus might eat their god. The idol was perhaps a ram, not a goat. The temple would then have been a Ram-temple and the ram, the carrier or witness of the sacrifice, would have occupied in the poem a position similar to that held by the bull in a Mahidra temple.⁴ Ruins of Mandu, 12.⁵ In the end of A.H. 846 (A.D. 1442) Mehmúd built a seven-storeyed tower and a college opposite the Jami Mosque of Hoshang Shah. Briggs' Farihtab, IV. 210; Persian Text, II. 488.⁶ Compare Briggs' Farihtab, IV. 323.⁷ Gladwin's Ain-i-Akbari, II. 41.⁸ Briggs' Farihtab, IV. 210; Farihtab, Persian Text II. 488.⁹ Memoirs of the emperor Jehángir (Pers. Text) Sir Syed Ahmed's Edition, page 178, eleventh year of Jehángir, A.D. 1617.¹⁰ Herbert's Khán Jehán is doubtless Mehmúd's father the minister Malik Mughla, Khán Jehán Ázam Humáyún. It cannot be Khán Jehán Pir Muhammad, Akbar's general, who after only a few months' residence was slain in Mandu in A.D. 1561; nor can it be Jehángir's great Afghan general, Khán Jehán Lodi (A.D. 1600-1639), as he

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Two years later (A.D. 1445) Mehmūd built at Māndu, and endowed with the revenues of several villages a large *Shifa Khānah* or Hospital, with wards and attendants for all classes and separate apartments for maniacs. He placed in charge of it his own physician Maulāna Faḥallāh.¹ He also built a college to the east of the Jāmā masjid, of which traces remain.²

In A.D. 1453, though defeated, Mehmūd brought back from Gujarāt the jewelled waistbelt of Gujarāt, which in a daring charge he had taken from the tent of the Gujarāt king Kutb-ud-dīn Shāh.³ In A.D. 1441 Mehmūd's father died at Mandisor. Mehmūd felt the loss so keenly that he tore his hair like one bereft of reason.⁴ After his father's death Mehmūd made his son Ghiās-ud-dīn minister, and conferred the command of the army and the title of Aāzam Humāyūn on his kinsman Taj Khān. In A.D. 1469, after a reign of thirty-four years (A.D. 1436-1469) of untiring energy and activity Mehmūd died. Farishtah says of him: "His tent was his home: the field of battle his resting-place. He was polite, brave, just, and learned. His Hindu and Musalmān subjects were happy and friendly. He guarded his lands from invaders. He made good his loss to any one who suffered from robbery in his dominions, recovering the amount from the village in whose lands the robbery had taken place, a system which worked so well that theft and robbery became almost unknown. Finally, by a systematic effort he freed the country from the dread of wild beasts."⁵

In A.D. 1469 Mehmūd was succeeded by his son and minister Ghiās-ud-dīn, to whose skill as a soldier much of Mehmūd's success had been due. On his accession Ghiās-ud-dīn made his son Abdel-Kādir Prime Minister and heir-apparent, and gave him the title of Nāsir-ud-dīn. He called his nobles, and in their presence handed his sword to Nāsir-ud-dīn, saying: "I have passed thirty-four years in ceaseless fighting. I now devote my life to rest and enjoyment."⁶ Ghiās-ud-dīn, who never left Mānda during the whole thirty years of his reign (A.D. 1469-1499), is said to have completed the Jahāz Mehel or Ship-Palace,⁷ and the widespread buildings

was not in Māndu until A.D. 1628, that is more than a year after Herbert left India. Compare Herbert's *Travels*, 107-118; Elliot, VI. 249-253, VII. 7, 8, and 21; and Blochmann's *Nis-i-Akbari*, 503-506.

¹ Briggs' Farishtah, IV. 214.

² Bains of Māndu, 13. Farishtah has three mentions of colleges. One (Pers. Text, II. 475) as the place where the body of Hushang was carried, probably that prayers might be said over it. In another passage in the reign of Mehmūd I. (Pers. Text, II. 486) he states that Mehmūd built colleges in his territories which became the envy of Shirāz and Samarkand. In a third passage he mentions a college (page 488) near the Victory Tower.

³ Briggs' Farishtah, IV. 217. A different but almost incredible account of the capture of the royal belt is given in the *Miri-i-Eikandari*, Pers. Text, 169: When Sultan Kutb-ud-dīn, son of Sultan Muhammad, defeated Sultan Mahmud Khilji at the battle of Kapadvanj, there was such a slaughter as could not be exceeded. By chance, in the heat of the fray, which resembled the Day of Judgment, the wardrobe-keeper of Sultan Kutb-ud-dīn, in whose charge was the jewelled belt, was by the restiveness of his horse carried into the ranks of the enemy. The animal there became so violent that the wardrobe-keeper fell off and was captured by the enemy, and the jewelled belt was taken from him and given to Sultan Mahmud of Malwa. The author adds: This jewelled waistband was in the Mirza treasury at the time the fortress of Mandu was taken by the strength of the arm of Sultan Muhammad (A.D. 1531). Sultan Mahmud sent this belt together with a fitting sword and horse to Sultan Muhammad by the hands of his son.

⁴ Briggs' Farishtah, IV. 209.

⁵ Briggs' Farishtah, IV. 234-235; Pers. Text, II. 503.

⁶ Briggs' Farishtah, IV. 236.

⁷ *Julius of Mandu*, 6.

which surround it. It seems probable that the Tapela Palace close to the south-east of the Ship palace and the lake and royal gardens immediately to the north and north-east of the Tapela palace were part of Ghias-ud-din's pleasure-houses and grounds. The scale of the ruins behind the Hindola or Swingeot palace to the north, and their connection with the out-buildings to the west of the Jahaz Mahel, suggest that they also belonged to the palaces and women's quarters of the pleasure-loving Ghias-ud-din.

Of the surprising size and fantastic arrangements of Ghias-ud-din's pleasure city, the true Maudu Shadhabad or Abode of Joy, curious details have been preserved. This Abode of Pleasure was a city not a palace. It contained 15,000 inhabitants, all of them women, none either old or plain-featured, and each trained to some profession or craft. Among them were the whole officers of a court, besides courtiers, teachers, musicians, dancers, prayer-readers, embroiderers, and followers of all crafts and callings. Whenever the king heard of a beautiful girl he never rested till he obtained her. This city of women had its two regiments of guards, the Archers and the Carabineers, each 500 strong, its soldiers dressed like men in a distinguishing uniform. The archers were beautiful young Turki damsels, all armed with bows and arrows; the carabineers were Abyssinian maidens, each carrying a carbine. Attached to the palace and city was a deer park, where the Lord of Leisure used to hunt with his favourites. Each dweller in the city of women received her daily dole of grain and copper, and besides the women were many pensioners, mice parrots and pigeons, who also received the same dole as their owners. So evenly just was Ghias-ud-din in the matter of his allowances, that the prettiest of his favourites received the same allowance as the roughest carabineer.¹

The Lord of the City of Pleasure was deeply religious. Whenever he was amusing himself two of his companions held in front of him a cloth to remind him of his shroud. A thousand *Hafizahs*, that is women who knew the Kurān by heart, constantly repeated its holy verses, and, under the orders of the king, whenever he changed his raiment the *Hafizahs* blew on his body from head to foot with their prayer-blessed breath.² None of the five daily prayers passed unprayed. If at any of the hours of prayer the king was asleep he was sprinkled with water, and when water failed to arouse him, he was dragged out of bed. Even when dragged out of bed by his servants the king never uttered an improper or querulous word.

So keen was his sense of justice that when one of his courtiers pretending he had purchased her, brought to him a maiden of ideal beauty, and her relations, not knowing she had been given to the king, came to complain, though they gladly resigned her, the king grieved over his unconscious wrong. Besides paying compensation he mourned long and truly, and ordered that no more inmates should be brought to his palace.³ So great was the king's charity that every night below his pillow he placed a bag containing some thousand gold-mohurs, and before evening all were distributed to the deserving. So religious was the king that he paid 50,000 *tanaks* for each of the four feet of the ass of Christ. A man came bringing a fifth hoof, and one of the courtiers said: "My Lord, an ass has four feet. I never heard that it had five, unless perhaps the ass of Christ had five." "Who knows," the king replied, "it may be that this

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¹ Firishtah Pers. Text, II, 594-595.² Firishtah Pers. Text, II, 595.³ Firishtah Pers. Text, II, 597.

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last man has told the truth, and one of the others was wrong. See that he is paid." So sober was the king that he would neither look upon nor hear of intoxicants or stimulants. A potion that had cost 100,000 *tanis* was brought to him. Among the 300 ingredients one was nutmeg. The king directed the potion to be thrown into a drain. His favourite horse fell sick. The king ordered it to have medicine, and the horse recovered. "What medicine was given the horse?" asked the king. "The medicine ordered by the physicians" replied his servants. Fearing that in this medicine there might be an intoxicant, the king commanded that the horse should be taken out of the stables and turned loose into the forest.¹

The king's spirit of peace steeped the land, which, like its ruler, after thirty years of fighting yearned for rest. For fourteen years neither inward malcontent nor foreign foe broke the quiet. In A.D. 1482 Bahlol Lodi advanced from Dehli to subdue Málwa. The talk of Mándú was Bahlol's approach, but no whisper of it passed into the charmed City of Women. At last the son-minister forced his way into the king's presence. At the news of pressing danger his soldier-spirit awoke in Ghiás-ud-din. His orders for meeting the invaders were so prompt and well-planned that the king of Dehli paid a ransom and withdrew. A second rest of fifteen years ended in the son-minister once more forcing his way into the Presence. In A.D. 1500 the son presented his father, now an aged man of eighty, with a cup of sherbet and told him to drink. The king, whose armlet of bezoar stone had already twice made poison harmless, drew the stone from his arm. He thanked the Almighty for granting him, unworthy, the happiest life that had ever fallen to the lot of man. He prayed that the sin of his death might not be laid to his son's charge, drank the poison, and died.²

Ghiás-ud-din can hardly have shut himself off so completely from state affairs as the story-tellers make out. He seems to have been the first of the Málwa kings who minted gold. He also introduced new titles and ornaments, which implies an interest in his coinage.³ Farishtah says that

¹ Wakiat-i-Musháki in Elliot, IV. 554-556. Probably these are stock tales. The Gujarat historians give Masaffar and Muhammad the Gold-giver (A.D. 1441-1451) credit for the horse scrupulosity. See Mirát-i-Sikandari Pers. Text, 178.

² Briggs' Farishtah, IV. 236-239; Wakiat-i-Jehangiri in Elliot, VI. 349-350; Wakiat-i-Musháki in Elliot, IV. 554-55; Malcolm's Central India, I. 35-36. The Mirát-i-Sikandari (Pers. Text, 160) has the following notice of Ghiás-ud-din: "The Sultān of Mándú had reached such a pitch of luxury and ease that it is impossible to imagine aught exceeding it. Among them Sultān Ghiás-ud-din was so famous for his luxurious habits, that at present (A.D. 1611) if any one exceeds in luxury and pleasure, they say he is a second Ghiás-ud-din. The orders of the Sultan were that on event of a painful nature or one in which there was any touch of sadness should be related to him. They say that during his entire reign news of a sad nature was only twice conveyed to him: once when his son-in-law died and once when his daughter was brought before him clothed in white. On this occasion the Sultan is related to have simply said: 'Perhaps her husband is dead.' This he said because the custom of the people of India is that when the husband of a woman dies she gives up wearing coloured clothes. The second occasion was when the army of Sultān Bahlol Lodi plundered several of the districts of Chanderi. Though it was necessary to report this to the Sultan, his ministers were unable to communicate it to him. They therefore asked a band of actors (*Máunds*) to assume the dress of Afghāns, and mentioning the districts to represent them as being pillaged and laid waste, Sultān Ghiás-ud-din exclaimed in surprise: 'But is the governor of Chanderi dead that he does not avenge upon the Afghāns the ruin of his country?'"

³ Compare Catalogue of Indian Coins, The Mahomedan States, pages LIV, LV, and 118-121.

Ghiās-ud-dīn used to come out every day for an hour from his *harem*, sit on the throne and receive the salutations of his nobles and subjects, and give orders in all weighty matters of state. He used to entrust all minor affairs to his ministers; but in all grave matters he was so anxious not to shirk his responsibility as a ruler, that he had given strict orders that all such communications should be made to him at whatever time they came through a particular female officer appointed to receive his orders.¹

According to most accounts Nāsir-ud-dīn was led to poison his father by an attempt of his younger brother Shujāāt Khān, supported if not organised by some of Ghiās-ud-dīn's favourite wives to oust Nāsir-ud-dīn from the succession.² In the struggle Nāsir-ud-dīn triumphed and was crowned at Māndu in A.D. 1500.³ The new king left Māndu to put down a revolt. On his return to Māndu he devoted himself to debauchery and to hunting down and murdering his brother's adherents. He subjected his mother Khurshid Rāni to great indignities and torture to force from her information regarding his father's concealed treasures.⁴ In a fit of drunkenness he fell into a reservoir. He was pulled out by four of his female slaves. He awoke with a headache, and discovering what his slaves had done put them to death with his own hand.⁵ Some time after in A.D. 1512, he again fell into the reservoir, and there he was left till he was dead.⁶ Nāsir-ud-dīn was fond of building. His palace at Akbarpūr in the Nimar plain about twenty miles south of Māndu was splendid and greatly admired.⁷ And at Māndu besides his sepulchre⁸ which the emperor Jehāngir (A.D. 1617) mentions,⁹ an

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HISTORY.

The
Mālwa Sultans,
A.D. 1400-1570.¹ Farishtah Pers. Text, II, 507.² Farishtah (Pers. Text, II, 508) detailing how Nāsir-ud-dīn came to power, says: There was a difference between Nāsir-ud-dīn and his brother Alā-ud-dīn. The mother of these princes, Khurshid Rāni, who was the daughter of the Hindu chief of Baglāna, had taken Alā-ud-dīn the younger brother's side. After killing his father Nāsir-ud-dīn ordered his mother to be dragged out of the *harem* and Alā-ud-dīn and his children to be slaughtered like lambs.³ Briggs' Farishtah, IV, 238-239. Farishtah holds that Nāsir-ud-dīn's murder of his father is not proved. He adds (Pers. Text, II, 515) that Nāsir-ud-dīn was at Dhār where he had gone to quell the rebellion of the nobles when the news of Ghiās-ud-dīn's death reached him. He argues that as a paricide cannot flourish more than a year after his father's murder, and as Nāsir-ud-dīn ruled for years after that event, he could not have killed his father.⁴ Farishtah Pers. Text, II, 516.⁵ Briggs' Farishtah, IV, 243. The emperor Jehāngir (Memoirs Pers. Text, 181) says that Nāsir-ud-dīn had a disease which made him feel so hot that he used to sit for hours in water.⁶ Wakāat-i-Jehāngiri in Elliot, VI, 350. Farishtah (Pers. Text, II, 517-18) says that Nāsir-ud-dīn died of a burning fever he had contracted by hard drinking and other evil habits, that he showed keen penitence before his death, and bequeathed his kingdom to his third son Mahmūd. The emperor Jehāngir (Memoirs Pers. Text, 181) confirms the account of the Wakāat as to the manner of Nāsir-ud-dīn's death.⁷ Briggs' Farishtah, IV, 243.⁸ The emperor Jehāngir thus describes (Memoirs Pers. Text, 181) his visit to Nāsir-ud-dīn's grave. It is related that when during his reign Sher Khān Afghān Śūr (A.D. 1540-1555) visited Nāsir-ud-dīn's grave he ordered his attendants to flagellate the parricide's tomb. When I visited the sepulchre I kicked his grave and ordered those with me to do the same. Not satisfied with this I ordered his bones to be dug out and buried and the ashes to be thrown into the Narbada.⁹ Wakāat-i-Jehāngiri in Elliot, VI, 350. The emperor Jehāngir (Memoirs Pers. Text, 202) refers to the well-known bridge and water-palace about three miles north of Ujjain as the work of Nāsir-ud-dīn. He says: On Sunday I reached Sasulpur near Ujjain. In this village is a river house with a bridge on which are alcoves both built by Nāsir-ud-dīn Khilji (A.D. 1500-1512). Though the bridge is not specially praiseworthy the water-concrees and cisterns connected with it have a certain merit.

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 The
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inscription shows that the palace now known by the name of Bās Bahādur was built by Nāsir-ud-dīn.

Nāsir-ud-dīn was succeeded by his younger son (Mehmūd A.D. 1512-1530), who, with the title of Mehmūd the Second, was crowned with great pomp at Māndu. Seven hundred elephants in gold-embroidered velvet housings adorned the procession.¹ Shortly after his accession Mehmūd II. was driven out of Māndu by the revolt of the commandant Muhāfiz Khān, but was restored by the skill and courage of Medāni Rāi his Rājput commander-in-chief.² A still more dangerous combination by Muzaffar II. (A.D. 1511-1526) of Gujarāt and Sikandar Shāh Lodi (A.D. 1488-1516) of Dehli, was baffled by the foresight and energy of the same Rājput general. Mehmūd, feeling that his power had passed to the Hindus, tried to disband the Rājputs and assassinate Medāni Rāi. Failing in both attempts Mehmūd fled from Māndu to Gujarāt, where he was well received by Sultān Muzaffar (A.D. 1511-1526).³ They advanced together against Māndu, and in A.D. 1519, after a close siege of several months, took the fort by assault. The Rājput garrison, who are said to have lost 19,000 men, fought to the last, consecrating the close of their defence by a general *jauar* or fire-sacrifice. Sultān Mehmūd entered Māndu close after the storming party, and while Mehmūd established his authority in Māndu, Muzaffar withdrew to Dhār. When order was restored Mehmūd sent this message to Muzaffar at Dhār: "Māndu is a splendid fort. You should come and see it." "May Māndu," Muzaffar replied, "bring good fortune to Sultān Mehmūd. He is the master of the fort. For the sake of the Lord I came to his help. On Friday I will go to the fortress, and having had the sermon read in Mehmūd's name will return." On Muzaffar's arrival in Māndu Mehmūd gave a great entertainment;⁴ and Muzaffar

¹ Briggs' *Parichitab*, IV, 245.

² Briggs' *Parichitab*, IV, 247-249. Malcolm's (*Central India*, I, 38) writes the Rājput's name Maderay. The Mirāt-i-Sikandari (Persian Text, 149-155), gives the form Medāni Rāi, the Lord of the Battlefield, a title which the author says (page 149) Mehmūd conferred on the Rājput in acknowledgment of his prowess.

³ The Mirāt-i-Sikandari (Pers. Text, 151) gives the following details of Mehmūd's flight: Sultān Mehmūd, on pretence of hunting left Māndu and remained hunting for several days. The Hindus, whom Medāni Rāi had placed on guard over him, slept after the fatigue of the chase. Only some of the more trusted guards remained. Among them was a Rājput named Krishna, a Malwa *zamindār* who was attached to the Sultān. Mehmūd said to Krishna: "Can you find me two horses and show me the way to Gujarāt that I may get aid from Sultān Muzaffar to punish these rascals? If you can, do so at once, and, Allah willing, you shall be handsomely rewarded." Krishna brought two horses from the Sultān's stables. Mehmūd rode on one and seated his dearest of wives, Rāni Kanayā Kuār, on the other. Krishna marched in front. In half the night and one day they reached the Gujarāt frontier.

⁴ Tārīkh-i-Shēr Shāhī in Elliot, IV, 396. The Mirāt-i-Sikandari (Pers. Text, 160) gives the following details of the banquet: Sultān Mehmūd showed great hospitality and humility. After the banquet as he led the Sultān over the palaces, they came to a mansion in the centre of which was a four-cornered building like the Kaishah, carved and gilded, and round it were many apartments. When Sultān Muzaffar placed his foot within the threshold of that building the thousand beauties of Sultān Mehmūd's harem, magnificently apparelled and jewelled, all at once opened the doors of their chambers and burst into view like hūris and fairies. When Muzaffar's eyes fell on their charms he bowed his head and said: "To see other than one's own hārim is sinful." Sultān Mehmūd replied: "These are mine, and therefore your's, seeing that I am the slave purchased by your Majesty's kindness." Muzaffar said: "They are more suitable for you. May you have joy in them. Let them retire." At a signal from Sultān Mehmūd the ladies vanished.

retired to Gujarāt leaving a force of 3000 Gujarātis to help to guard the hill.¹ Immediately after Muzaffar's departure, as Sultān Mehmūd was anxious to recover Chanderi and Gāgraun, which still remained in the possession of Medāni Rāi and his supporters, he marched against them. Rāna Sānga of Chitor came to Medāni's aid and a great battle was fought.² Mehmūd's hastiness led him to attack when his men were weary and the Rājputs were fresh. In spite of the greatest bravery on the part of himself and of his officers the Musalmān army was defeated, and Mehmūd, weakened by loss of blood, was made prisoner. Rāna Sānga had Mehmūd's wounds dressed, sent him to Chitor, and on his recovery released him.³

In A.D. 1526, by giving protection to his outlawed brother Chānd Khān and to Razi-ul-Mulk, a refugee Gujarāt noble, Mehmūd brought on himself the wrath of Bahādūr Shāh of Gujarāt (A.D. 1526-1536). The offended Bahādūr did not act hastily. He wrote to Mehmūd asking him to come to his camp and settle their quarrels. He waited on the Gujarāt frontier at Karji Ghāt, east of Bānswara, until at last satisfied that Mehmūd did not wish for a peaceful settlement he advanced on Māndu. Meanwhile Mehmūd had repaired the walls of Māndu, which soon after was invested by Bahādūr. The siege was proceeding in regular course by mines and batteries, and the garrison, though overtaxed, were still loyal and in heart, when in the dim light of morning Mehmūd suddenly found the Gujarāt flag waving on the battlements. According to the *Mirāt-i-Sikandari*⁴ Bahādūr annoyed by the slow progress of the siege asked his spies where was the highest ground near Māndu. The spies said: Towards Songad-Chitor the hill is extremely high. With a few followers the Sultān scaled Songad, and rushing down the slope burst through the wall and took the fort (May 20th, 1526).⁵ Mehmūd surrendered. Near Dohad, on his way to his prison at Champānir, an attempt was made to rescue Mehmūd, and to prevent their escape he and some of his sons were slain and buried on the bank of the Dohad tank.⁶ Bahādūr spent the rainy season (June-October 1526) in Māndu, and Mālwa was incorporated with Gujarāt.

Māndu remained under Gujarāt, till in A.D. 1534, after Bahādūr's defeat by Humāyūn at Mandasor, Bahādūr retired to Māndu. Humāyūn followed. At night 200 of Humāyūn's soldiers went to the back of the fortress, according to *Fariṣṭah* the south-west height of Songad⁷ by which Bahādūr had surprised Mehmūd's garrison, scaled the walls by ladders and ropes, opened the gate, and let others in. Mallu Khān, the commandant of the batteries, a native of Mālwa, who afterwards gained the title of Kādir Shāh, went to Bahādūr and wakened him. Bahādūr rushed out with four or five attendants. He was joined by about twenty more, and reaching the gate at the top of the *maidān*, apparently the Tāripūr gate by which Humāyūn's men had entered, cut through 200 of Humāyūn's troops and went off with Mallu Khān to the fort of Songad,

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HISTORY.

The
Mālwa Sultāns,
A.D. 1400-1570.Sultān Bahādūr
of Gujarāt,
A.D. 1526-1534.The Emperor
Humāyūn,
A.D. 1534-1535.¹ Briggs' *Fariṣṭah*, IV, 250-253.² *Fariṣṭah* Pers. Text, II, 527. According to the *Mirāt-i-Sikandari* (Pers. Text, 161) Mehmūd marched against Gāgraun first, and slew Hemkarna, a partisan of Medāni Rāi, in a hand-to-hand fight. On this the Rāna and Medāni Rāi joined their forces against Mehmūd.³ Briggs' *Fariṣṭah*, IV, 263-263.⁴ Persian Edition, 230.⁵ Briggs' *Fariṣṭah*, IV, 267-68. Sultān Bahādūr apparently surprised the party in charge of the Tāripūr or Southern Gate.⁶ Briggs' *Fariṣṭah*, IV, 269; *Mirāt-i-Ahmedi*, Persian Text, I, 76.⁷ Briggs' *Fariṣṭah*, II, 77.

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THE HILL-FOUR
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History.

The
Malwa Sultans,
A.D. 1400-1570.

Local
Musalmán Chiefs,
A.D. 1536-1542.

Sher Shah Súr,
A.D. 1542-1546.

the citadel of Mándu. While two of Bahádur's chiefs, Sadr Khán and Sultán Alam Lodi, threw themselves into Songad, Bahádur himself let his horses down the cliff by ropes and after a thousand difficulties made his way to Chámpánir.¹ On the day after Bahádur's escape Sadr Khán and Sultán Alam Lodi came out of Songad and surrendered to Humáyún.²

In the following year (A.D. 1535) the combined news of Sher Sháh's revolt in Bengal, and of the defeat of his officers at Broach and Cambay, forced Humáyún to retire from Gujarát. As he preferred its climate he withdrew, not to Agra but to Mándu.³ From Mándu, as fortune was against him in Bengal, Humáyún went (A.D. 1535-36) to Agra.

On Humáyún's departure three chiefs attempted to establish themselves at Mándu: Bhúpat Rái, the ruler of Bijágar, sixty miles south of Mándu; Mallu Khán or Kádír Sháh, a former commandant of Mándu; and Mirán Muhammad Fárúki from Burhánpur.⁴ Of these three Mallu Khán was successful. In A.D. 1536, when Humáyún fled from Sher Sháh to Persia, Mallu spread his power from Mándu to Ujjain Sérangpur and Rantambhor, assumed the title of Kádír Sháh Máliwí, and made Mándu his capital. Some time after Sher Sháh, who was now supreme, wrote to Mallu Kádír Sháh ordering him to co-operate in expelling the Mughals. Kádír Sháh resenting this assumption of overlordship, addressed Sher Sháh as an inferior. When Sher Sháh received Mallu's order he folded it and placed it in the scabbard of his poniard to keep the indignity fresh in his mind. Alláh willing, he said, we shall ask an explanation for this in person.⁵ In A.D. 1542 (H. 949) as Kádír Sháh failed to act with Kutb Khán, who had been sent to establish Sher Sháh's overlordship in Máliwa, Sher Sháh advanced from Gwalior towards Mándu with the object of punishing Kádír Sháh.⁶ As he knew he could not stand against Sher Sháh Kádír Sháh went to Sérangpur to do homage. Though on arrival Kádír Sháh was well received, his kingdom was given to Shujáát Khán, one of Sher Sháh's chief followers, and himself placed in Shujáát Khán's keeping.⁷ Suspicious of what might be in store for

¹ Abul Fazl's Akbar Námah in Elliot, VI. 14; Briggs' Fariishtah, II. 77.

² Abul Fazl's Akbar Námah in Elliot, V. 192.

³ Abul Fazl's Akbar Námah in Elliot, VI. 15; Briggs' Fariishtah, II. 80-81.

⁴ Abul Fazl's Akbar Námah in Elliot, VI. 18. According to Fariishtah (Pers. Text, II. 532) Mallu, the son of Mallu, was a native of Máliwa and a Khilji slave noble. Mallu received his title of Kádír Sháh from Sultán Mehénd III. of Gujarát (A.D. 1536-1544) at the recommendation of his minister Imád-ul-Mulk who was a great friend of Mallu. Mirát-i-Sikandari, Persian Text, 298.

⁵ Fariishtah Pers. Text, II. 532.

⁶ Táríkh-i-Sher Sháh in Elliot, IV. 391; Briggs' Fariishtah, IV. 271-72.

⁷ Fariishtah (Pers. Text, 533-34) refers to the following circumstance as the cause of Kádír Sháh's suspicion. On his way to Sher Sháh's darbar at Ujjain Kádír saw some Mughal prisoners in chains making a road. One of the prisoners seeing him began to sing:

Mard mi hís darín akhúf - shí káshkás ní kun?

In this plight thou woe'st not to-day,

Thine own turn is not far away.

When Kádír Sháh escaped, Sher Sháh on hearing of his flight exclaimed:

Bí mi shí lord Shí

Mallú Ghulám-i-Gulí.

Thus he treats us with scorn,

Mallu the slave has been born.

To this one of Sher Sháh's men replied:

Kad-i-Kadl bar hák

Lá khawá sh ákhá.

The words of the Prophet are true,

No good can a slave ever do.

him Kádír Sháh fled to Gujarát. Sher Sháh was so much annoyed at Shujáát Khán's remissness in not preventing Kádír Sháh's escape that he transferred the command at Dhar and Mándu from Shujáát Khán to Hájí Khán and Junaid Khán. Shortly after Kádír Sháh brought a force from Gujarát and attacked Mándu. Shujáát came to Hájí Khán's help and routed Kádír Sháh under the walls of Mándu. In reward Sher Sháh made him ruler of the whole country of Mándu.¹ Shujáát Khán established his head-quarters at Mándu with 10,000 horse and 7000 matchlockmen.

During the reign of Sher Sháh's successor Salim Sháh (A.D. 1545-1553), Shujáát was forced to leave Málwa and seek shelter in Dúngarpúr. Salim pardoned Shujáát, but divided Málwa among other nobles. Shujáát remained in Hindustán till in A.D. 1553, on the accession of Salim's successor, Adili, he recovered Málwa, and in A.D. 1554, on the decay of Adili's power, assumed independence.² He died almost immediately after, and was succeeded by his eldest son Malik Báýazid.³ Shujáát Khán was a great builder. Besides his chief works at Shujáwalpúr near Ujjain, he left many memorials in different parts of Málwa.⁴ So far none of the remains at Mándu are known to have been erected during the rule of Shujáát Khán.

On the death of his father Malik Báýazid killed his brother Daulat Khán, and was crowned in A.D. 1555 with the title of Báý Bahádúr. He attacked the Gonds, but met with so crushing a defeat that he forewore fighting.⁵ He gave himself to enjoyment and became famous as a musician,⁶ and for his poetic love of Ráp Muni or Ráp Mati, who according to one account was a wise and beautiful courtesan of Saháranpúr in Northern India, and according to another was the daughter of a Nimar Rájput, the master of the town of Dháranpuri.⁷ In A.D. 1560 Pir Muhammad, a general of Akbar's, afterwards ennobled as Khán Jehán, defeated Báý Bahádúr, drove him out of Mándu, and made the hill his own head-quarters.⁸ In the following year (A.D. 1561), by the help of the Berár chief, Pir Muhammad was slain and Báý Bahádúr reinstated. On news of this defeat (A.D. 1562) Akbar sent Abdulláh Khán Ústak with almost unlimited power to reconquer the province. Abdulláh was successful, but, as he showed signs of assuming independence, Akbar moved against him and he fled to Gujarát.⁹ Akbar remained in Mándu during the greater part of the following rains (A.D. 1563), examining with interest the buildings erected by the Khilji kings.¹⁰ At Mándu Akbar married the daughter of Mirán Mubárak Khán of Khándesh.¹¹ When Akbar left (August 1564) he appointed Kárm Bahádúr Khán governor of Mándu and returned to Agra.¹² In A.D. 1568 the Mirásis, Akbar's cousins, flying from Gujarát attacked

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History.

The

Málwa Saltéon.
A.D. 1400-1570.Salim Sháh Sáý.
A.D. 1545-1553.Báý Bahádúr.
A.D. 1555-1570.¹ *Tārīkh-i-Sher Shāhi* in Elliot, IV, 397.² *Tārīkh-i-Alā* in Elliott, V, 168; Elphinstone's India, 402-403.³ *Tārīkh-i-Alā* in Elliott, V, 168.⁴ Briggs' *Farishtah*, IV, 276.⁵ When Báý Bahádúr attacked the Gonds their chief was dead, and his widow, Rápi Durgavati, was ruling in his place. The Rápi led the Gonds against the invaders, and hemming them in one of the passes, inflicted on them such a defeat that Báý Bahádúr fled from the field leaving his baggage and camp in her hands. *Farishtah Pers. Text*, II, 538.⁶ According to *Farishtah* (Pers. Text, II, 538) Báý Bahádúr was already an adept in music.⁷ Malcoles's *Central India*, I, 39; *Ruins of Mándu*, 30.⁸ Briggs' *Farishtah*, II, 210.⁹ Blochman's *Ala-i-Akbari*, 321.¹⁰ Briggs' *Farishtah*, IV, 211.¹¹ Briggs' *Farishtah*, IV, 216.¹² *Tārīkh-i-Akbari* in Elliot, V, 291.

Appendix II.

THE HILL FORT
OF MĀNDU.

HISTORY.

The Mughals,
A.D. 1570-1720.

Ujjain. From Ujjain they retreated to Mānda and failing to make any impression on the fort withdrew to Gujarat.¹ The Mirzās' failure was due to the ability of Akbar's general, Hāji Muḥammad Khān, to whom Akbar granted the province of Mānda.² At the same time (A.D. 1568) the command of Mānda hill was entrusted to Shah Badāgh Khān, who continued commandant of the fort till his death many years later. During his command, in a picturesque spot overlooking a well-watered ravine in the south of Mānda, between the Sagar Lake and the Tarapur Gateway, Badāgh Khān built a pleasure-house, which he named, or rather perhaps which he continued to call Nilkanth or Blue Throat. This lodge is interesting from the following inscriptions, which show that the emperor Akbar more than once rested within its walls.³

The inscription on the small north arch of Nilkanth, dated A.D. 1574, runs:

(Call it not waste) to spend your life in water and earth (i.e. in building).
If perchance a man of mind for a moment makes your house his lodging.

Written by Shah Badāgh Khān in the year A.H. 982-87.⁴

The inscription on the great southern arch of Nilkanth, dated A.D. 1574, runs:

This pleasant building was completed in the reign of the great Sultan, the most munificent and just Khān, the Lord of the countries of Arabia and Persia,⁵ the shadow of God on the two earths, the ruler of the sea and of the land, the exalter of the standards of those who war on the side of God, Abul Fatah Jalāl-ud-dīn Muḥammad Akbar, the warrior king, may his dominion and his kingdom be everlasting.

Written by Farīd-ūn Hussin, son of Hattim-al-Wardī, in the year A.H. 982.⁶

The inscription on the right wall of Nilkanth, dated A.D. 1591-92, runs:

In the year A.H. 1000, when on his way to the conquest of the Dakhan, the slaves of the Exalted Lord of the Earth, the holder of the sky-like Throne, the shadow of Allah (the Emperor Akbar), passed by this place.

That time wastes your home cease, Soul, to complain,
Who will not scorn a complainer so vain.

From the story of others this wisdom derive,
Ere naught of thyself but stories survive.

The inscription on the left wall of Nilkanth, dated A.D. 1600, runs:

The (Lord of the mighty Presence) shadow of Allah, the Emperor Akbar, after the conquest of the Dakhan and

¹ *Tahakāt-i-Akhbari* in Elliot, V. 330-31.

² Blochman's *Ain-i-Akhbari*, 375.

³ The emperor Jahāngir thus describes (Memoirs Pers. Text, 372) a visit to this building: On the third day of Amārsad (July 1617) with the palace ladies I set out to see Nilkanth, which is one of the pleasantest places in Mānda fort. Shah Badāgh Khān, who was one of the trusted nobles of my august father, built this very pleasing and joy-giving lodge during the time he held this province in fee (A.D. 1579-1577). I remained at Nilkanth till about an hour after nightfall and then returned to my state quarters.

⁴ An officer who distinguished himself under Humāyūn, one of Akbar's commanders of Three Thousand, long governor of Mānda, where he died. Blochman's *Ain-i-Akhbari*, 372.

⁵ When opposed to Arab the word Ājam signifies all countries except Arabia, and in a narrow sense, Persia. The meaning of the word Ājam is dumbness, the Arabs so glorying in the richness of their own tongue as to hold all other countries and nations dumb.

⁶ The stones on which this inscription is carved have been wrongly arranged by some restorer. Those with the latter portion of the inscription come first and those with the beginning come last. Munsifi Abdur Rahim of Dhār.

Dandee (Kha'ndesh) in the year A.H. 1009 set out for Hind (Northern India).

May the name of the writer last for ever!

At dawn and at eve I have watched an owl sitting
On the lofty wall-top of Shirwān Shah's Tomb.¹
The owl's plaintive hooting convey'd me this warning
"Here pomp, wealth, and greatness lie dumb."

In A.D. 1573, with the rest of Málwa, Akbar handed Mándu to Muzaffar III the dethroned ruler of Gujarāt. It seems doubtful if Muzaffar ever visited his new territory.² On his second defeat in A.D. 1562 Báz Bahádúr retired to Gondwāna, where he remained, his power gradually waning, till in A.D. 1570 he paid homage to the emperor and received the command of 2000 horse.³ His decoration of the Rewa Pool, of the palace close by, which though built by Násir-ud-din Khilji (A.D. 1500-1512) was probably repaired by Báz Bahádúr, and of Ráp Matí's pavilion on the crest of the southern ridge make Báz Bahádúr one of the chief beautifiers of Mándu. According to Farištah (Pers. Text, II. 538-39) in 1562, when Báz Bahádúr went out to meet Akbar's general, Adham Khān Atkah, he placed Ráp Matí and his other singers in Sárangpūr under a party of his men with orders to kill the women in case of a reverse. On hearing of Báz Bahádúr's defeat the soldiers hastily sabred as many of the women as they could and fled. Among the women left for dead was Ráp Matí, who, though dangerously wounded, was not killed. When Adham Atkah entered Sárangpūr his first care was to enquire what had become of Ráp Matí. On hearing of her condition he had her wound attended to by the best surgeons, promising her, as a help to her cure, a speedy union with her beloved. On her recovery Ráp Matí claimed the general's promise. He prevaricated and pressed his own suit. Ráp Matí temporised. One night the impatient Turk sent her a message asking her to come to him. Ráp Matí to gain time invited him to her own pavilion which she said was specially adorned to be the abode of love. Next night the Atkah went to her house in disguise. Her women directed him to Ráp Matí's couch. Adham found her robed and garlanded, but cold in death. Ráp Matí was buried on an island in a lake at Ujjain, and there, according to the *Ain-i-Akbari*, Báz Bahádúr when he died was laid beside her.⁴

SECTION II.—MUGHALS (A.D. 1570-1720) AND MARATHAS (A.D. 1720-1830).

About A.D. 1590 Akbar's historian, the great Abul Fazl, described Mándu as a large city whose fortress is twenty-four miles (twelve *kos*) in circuit. He notices that besides in the centre of the hill where stands an eight-storeyed minaret, the city had many monuments of ancient magnificence, among them the tombs of the Khilji Sultāns. And that from the dome which is over the sepulchre of Sultān Mehmūd, the son of Hoshang (this should be the sepulchre of Hoshang built by his successor Sultān Mehmūd) water drops in the height of summer to the astonishment of the ignorant. But, he adds, men of understanding know how to account for the water-drops.⁵ Abul Fazl further notices that on Mándu Hill is found a species of tamarind whose fruit is as big as the coconut, the pulp of

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¹ The maternal uncle of Nāushirwān (A.D. 586-635) the Sassānian, Shirwān Shah was ruler of a district on Mount Caucasus. Al Masūdī, Arabic Text Prairies d'Ore, II. 4, and Rawat-us-Safa, Persian Text, I. 259.

² Blochman's *Ain-i-Akbari*, 333.

³ Blochman's *Ain-i-Akbari*, 429.

⁴ Briggs' *Farištah*, IV. 279.

⁵ Gladwin's *Ain-i-Akbari*, II. 41.

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which is very white. This is the African baobab or *Adansonia digitata*, known in Hindustani as *goramli* or white tamarind, whose great fruit is about the size of a coconut. Its monster baobabs are still a feature of Māndu. Some among them look old enough to have been yielding fruit 300 years ago. Finally Abul Fazl refers to Māndu as one of twenty-eight towns where Akbar's copper coins were struck.¹ About twenty years later (A.D. 1610) the historian Fārishtah² thus describes the hill. The fort of Māndu is a work of solid masonry deemed to be one of the strongest fortifications in that part of the world. It is built on an insulated mountain thirty-eight miles in circumference.³ The place of a ditch round the fortification is supplied by a natural ravine so deep that it seems impossible to take the fort by regular approaches. Within the fort is abundance of water and forage, but the area is not large enough to grow a sufficient store of grain. The hill cannot be invested. The easiest access is from the north by the Dehli Gate. The south road with an entrance by the Tarāpūr Gate is so steep that cavalry can with difficulty be led up. Lāib Abul Fazl Fārishtah notices that, except during the rains, water constantly oozes from between the chinks in the masonry of the dome of Sultān Hoshang's tomb. He says the natives of India attribute this dripping to universal veneration for Sultān Hoshang, for whose death, they say, the very stones shed tears.

Except that copper coins continued to be minted and that it was nominally one of the four capitals of the empire, during the emperor Akbar's reign Māndu was practically deserted. The only traces of Akbar's presence on the hill are in two of the five inscriptions already quoted from the Nīlkanth pleasure-house, dated A.D. 1591 and A.D. 1600.

After about fifty years of almost complete neglect the emperor Jehāngīr, during a few months in A.D. 1617, embled Māndu once more to justify its title of Shādīābād, the Abode of Joy. Early in March A.D. 1617, in the eleventh year of his reign, the emperor Jehāngīr after spending four months in travelling the 189 miles from Ajmir by way of Ujjain, arrived at Nālchah on the main land close to the north of Māndu. The emperor notices that most of the forty-six marches into which the 189 miles were divided ended on the bank of some lake stream or great river in green grass and woody landscape, brightened by poppy fields. We came, he writes, enjoying the beauty of the country and shooting, never weary, as if we were moving from one garden to another.

Of the country round Nālchah Jehāngīr says: ⁴ What can be written worthy of the beauty and the pleasantness of Nālchah. The neighbourhood is full of mango trees. The whole country is one unbroken and restful evergreen. Owing to its beauty I remained there three days. I granted the place to Kamāl Khān, taking it from Keshava Mārū, and I changed its name to Kamālpūr. I had frequent meetings with some of the wise men of the *jogis*, many of whom had assembled here. Nālchah is one of the best places in Mālwa. It has an extensive growth of vines, and among its mango groves and vineyards wander streamlets of water. I arrived at a time when, contrary to the northern climes, the vines were in blossom and fruit, and so great was the vintage that the meanest boor could eat grapes to his fill. The poppy was also in flower, and its fields delighted the eye with their many-coloured beauty.

¹ Blochmann's *Ain-i-Akbari*, 31.² Briggs' Fārishtah, IV, 162, 181, 190.³ Nineteen *kos*, taking the *kos* to be two miles.⁴ The emperor Jehāngīr's *Memoirs*, Pers. Text, Sir Sayad Ahmed's Edition, 175-202.

Of the emperor's entrance into Mándu the Memoirs have the following note: On Monday the 23rd of Ispandád, the last month of the Persian year, that is according to Sir Thomas Roe's account on the 6th of March 1617, when one quarter of the day had passed, I mounted my elephant, and, in good fortune and under kindly influences, made my happy entry into the fort of Mándu. About an hour (three *ghadis*) later I entered the quarters which had been prepared to receive me. During my passage across the hill-top I scattered Rs. 1500. Before my arrival Abdul Karim the engineer had been sent by me to repair the buildings of the former kings of Mándu. While my fortunate standards were at Ajmir Abdul Karim repaired such of the old Mándu buildings as were fit to be repaired and built others anew. On the whole he had provided quarters for me, the like of which have probably never been built in any other place. Three *lakhs* of rupees were spent on these repairs and buildings. I wish it had been possible to construct buildings like these in all cities likely to be visited by royalty. This fortress, he continues, stands on the top of a hill about thirty-six miles (18 *kos*) in circumference. They say that before the days of Raja Bikramájít a king was reigning over these parts who name was Jaisingh Deva. In his time a man went to the forest to cut grass. When he brought the grass back he found that the blade of his sickle had turned yellow. The grasscutter in his surprise went to Mándan, an ironsmith. Mándan knew that the sickle was gold. He had heard that in these parts was to be found the philosopher's stone, whose touch turns iron and copper into gold. He told the grasscutter to lead him to the place where the sickle had turned yellow, and there he found the philosopher's stone. The smith presented this treasure to his king. The king amassed untold wealth, part of which he spent in building Mándu fortress which he completed in twelve years. At the request of the smith on most of the stones in the walls a mark was cut in the form of an anvil. Towards the close of his life, when king Jaisingh Deva withdrew his heart from the world, he called many Bráhmans together on the bank of the Narbada close to Mándu. He gave each Bráhma a share of his wealth. And to the Bráhma in whom he had the greatest faith he gave the philosopher's stone. Enraged at the gift of a pultry stone the Bráhma threw it into the Narbada, and there the philosopher's stone still lies. The emperor continues: On the 20th of *Farvardin*, five weeks after my arrival (11th April 1617) in reward for his services in repairing the buildings of Mándu, I conferred on my engineer Abdul Karim the command of 1200 horse, with the title of Maámúr Khán.

Mándu had for the emperor the strong attraction of abundance of game. Among numerous entries of *silgati* or blue-bull shooting the following occur: On the 4th of the first month of *Farvardin* (16th) March the watchmen of the chase brought word that they had marked down a lion near the Sagar Lake, which is a construction of the ancient rulers of Mándu. I mounted and proceeded towards the lake. When the lion broke cover he attacked and wounded ten or twelve of the *Ahadis*^{*} and other men of my retinue. In the end I brought him down with three gun shots and saved God's creatures from his evil. On the 22nd of the same month (April 3rd, 1617) the watchmen brought news of a tiger. I mounted forthwith and despatched him with three bullets. On the 7th of *Ardi Bihisht* (April 18th, 1617) the watchmen brought word that they had marked down four tigers. At one in the afternoon I started for the

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* Literally single-men. The *Ahadis* were a corps of men who stood immediately under the emperor's orders. Blochman's *Ain-i-Akbari*, 20 note 1.

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place with Nūr Jehān Begam. Nūr Jehān asked my leave to shoot the tigers with her gun. I said "Be it so." In a trice she killed these four tigers with six bullets. I had never seen such shooting. To shoot from the back of an elephant from within a closed *howdah* and bring down with six bullets four wild beasts without giving them an opportunity of moving or springing is wonderful. In acknowledgment of this capital marksmanship I ordered a thousand *ashrafs* (Rs. 4500) to be scattered¹ over Nūr Jehān and granted her a pair of ruby wristlets worth a lākh of rupees.²

Of the mangoes of Māndu Jehāngir says: In these days many mangoes have come into my fruit stores from the Dakhan, Burhānpur, Gujarāt, and the districts of Mālwa. This country is famous for its mangoes. There are few places the mangoes of which can rival those of this country in richness of flavour, in sweetness, in freedom from fibre, and in size.³

The rains set in with unusual severity. Rain fell for forty days continuously. With the rain were severe thunderstorms accompanied by lightning which injured some of the old buildings.⁴ His account of the beauty of the hill in July, when clear sunshine followed the forty days of rain, is one of the pleasantest passages in Jehāngir's Memoirs: What words of mine can describe the beauty of the grass and of the wild flowers! They clothe each hill and dale, each slope and plain. I know of no place so pleasant in climate and so pretty in scenery as Māndu in the rainy season. This month of July which is one of the months of the hot season, the sun being in Leo, one cannot sleep within the house without a coverlet, and during the day there is no need for a fan. What I have noticed is but a small part of the many beauties of Māndu. Two things I have seen here which I had seen nowhere in India. One of them is the tree of the wild plantain which grows all over the hill top, the other is the nest of the *manulak* or wagtail. Till now no bird-catcher could tell its nest. It so happened that in the building where I lodged we found a wagtail's nest with two young ones.

The following additional entries in the Memoirs belong to Jehāngir's stay at Māndu. Among the presents submitted by Mahābat Khān, who received the honour of kissing the ground at Māndu, Jehāngir describes a ruby weighing eleven *miskals*.⁵ He says: This ruby was brought to Ajmir last year by a Frankish jeweller who wanted two lākhs of rupees for it. Mahābat Khān bought it at Burhānpur for one lākh of rupees.⁶

On the 1st of *Tīr*, the fourth month of the Persian year (15th May 1617), the Hindu chiefs of the neighbourhood came to pay their

¹ This scattering of gold silver or copper coin, called in Arabic and Persian *niadr*, is a common form of offering. The influence of the evil eye or other baneful influence is believed to be transferred from the person over whom the coin is scattered to the coin and through the coin to him who takes it.

² This feat of Nūr Jehān's drew from one of the Court poets the couplet:

Nūr Jehān gar shih ba sirat nasab

Dar safi Muskan zani shir aghnasht.

Nūr Jehān the tiger-slayer's woman

Banks with men as the tiger-slaying woman.

Sherafkan, that is tiger-slayer, was the title of Nūr Jehān's first husband Ali-Kuli Isajlu.

³ *Tuzuk-i-Jehāngiri Pers. Text*, 187.

⁴ *Tuzuk-i-Jehāngiri Pers. Text*, 189.

⁵ The *miskal* which was used in weighing gold was equal in weight to ninety-six barleycorns. Blochman's *Ain-i-Akbari*, 36.

⁶ *Tuzuk-i-Jehāngiri Pers. Text*, 195.

respects and present their tribute. The Hindu chief of Jitpūr in the neighbourhood of Māndu, through his evil fortune, did not come to kiss the threshold.¹ For this reason I ordered Fidaikhan to pillage the Jitpūr country at the head of thirteen officers and four or five hundred matchlockmen. On the approach of Fidaikhan the chief fled. He is now reported to regret his past conduct and to intend to come to Court and make his submission. On the 9th of Yār, the sixth month of the Persian calendar (late July, A.D. 1617), I heard that while raiding the lands of the chief of Jitpūr, Rūh-ul-lāh, the brother of Fidaikhan, was slain with a lance in the village where the chief's wives and children were in hiding. The village was burned, and the women and daughters of the rebel chief were taken captives.²

The beautiful surroundings of the Sagar lake offered to the elegant taste of Nūr Jehān a fitting opportunity for honouring the Shab-i-Barāt or Night of Jubilee with special illuminations. The emperor describes the result in these words: On the evening of Thursday the 12th of *Amardād*, the fifth month of the Persian year (early July, A.D. 1617), I went with the ladies of the palace to see the buildings and palaces on the Sagar lake which were built by the old kings of Māndu. The 26th of *Amardād* (about mid-July) was the Shab-i-Barāt holiday. I ordered a jubilee or assembly of joy to be held on the occasion in one of the palaces occupied by Nūr Jehān Begam in the midst of the big lake. The nobles and others were invited to attend this party which was organized by the Begam, and I ordered the cup and other intoxicants with various fruits and minced meats to be given to all who wished them. It was a wonderful gathering. As evening set in the lanterns and lamps gleaming along the banks of the lake made an illumination such as never had been seen. The countless lights with which the palaces and buildings were ablaze shining on the lake made the whole surface of the water appear to be on fire.³

The Memoirs continue: On Sunday the 9th of Yār, the sixth Persian month (late July), I went with the ladies of the palace to the quarters of Asaf Khān, Nūr Jehān's brother, the second son of Mirza Ghiās Beg. I found Asaf Khān lodged in a glen of great beauty surrounded by other little vales and dells with waterfalls and running streamlets and green and shady mango groves. In one of these dells were from two to three hundred sweet pandanus or *keuda* trees. I passed a very happy day in this spot and got up a wine party with some of my lords-in-waiting, giving them bumpers of wine.⁴ Two months later (early September) Jehāngir has the following entry⁵ regarding a visit from his eldest son and heir prince Khurram, afterwards the emperor Shah Jehān, who had lately brought the war in the Dakhn to a successful close. On the 8th of the month of *Madh* (H. 1026; according to Roe September 2nd, 1617), my son of exalted name obtained the good fortune of waiting upon me in the fort of Māndu after three-quarters and one *ghadi* of the day had passed, that is about half an hour after sunrise. He had been absent fifteen months and eleven days. After he had performed the ceremonies of kissing the ground and the *kuraish* or prostration, I called him up to my bay window or *jharokah*. In a transport of affection I could not restrain myself from getting up and taking him into my arms. The more

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A.D. 1570-1720.¹ *Tuzuk-i-Jehāngiri Pers. Text*, 195.² *Tuzuk-i-Jehāngiri Pers. Text*, 190.³ *Tuzuk-i-Jehāngiri Pers. Text*, 192-194.⁴ *Tuzuk-i-Jehāngiri Pers. Text*, 192.⁵ *Tuzuk-i-Jehāngiri Pers. Text*, 194-5.

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I increased the measure of affection and honour the more intimacy and respect did he show. I called him near me and made him sit by me. He submitted a thousand *ashrafis* (= Rs. 4500) and a thousand rupees as a gift or *mazur* and the same amount as sacrifice or *nisr*. As there was not time for me to inspect all his presents he produced the elephant Sarnak, the best of the elephants of Adil Khan of Bijapur. He also gave me a case full of the rarest precious stones. I ordered the military paymasters to make presents to his nobles according to their rank. The first to come was Khan Jehan, whom I allowed the honour of kissing my feet. For his victory over the Rana of Chitor I had before granted to my fortunate child Kurram the rank of a commander of 20,000 with 10,000 horses. Now for his service in the Dakhan I made him a commander of 30,000 and 20,000 horse with the title of Shah Jehan. I also ordered that henceforward he should enjoy the privilege of sitting on a stool near my throne, an honour which did not exist and is the first of its kind granted to anyone in my family. I further granted him a special dress. To do him honour I came down from the window and with my own hand scattered over his head as sacrifice a trayfull of precious stones as well as a large trayfull of gold.

Jehangir's last Mandu entry is this : On the night of Friday in the month of Aban (October 24th, 1617) in all happiness and good fortune I marched from Mandu and halted on the bank of the lake at Naalchah.

Jehangir's stay at Mandu is referred to by more than one English traveller. In March 1617, the Rev. Edward Terry, chaplain to the Right Honourable Sir T. Roe Lord Ambassador to the Great Moghal, came to Mandu from Burhanpur in east Khândesh.¹ Terry crossed a broad river, the Nerbada, at a great town called Auchatapur (Akbarpur)² in the Nimar plain not far south of Mandu hill. The way up, probably by the Bhairav pass a few miles east of Mandu, seemed to Terry exceeding long. The ascent was very difficult, taking the carriages, apparently meaning coaches and wagons, two whole days.³ Terry found the hill of Mandu stuck round with fair trees that kept their distance so, one from and below the other, that there was much delight in beholding them from either the bottom or the top of the hill. From one side only was the ascent not very high and steep. The top was flat plain and spacious with vast and

¹ A Voyage to East India, 181. Terry gives April 1616, but Roe seems correct in saying March 1617. Compare Wakiat-i-Jehangiri in Elliot, VI. 351.

² Akbarpur lies between Dharampuri and Walsar. Malcolm's Central India, I. 84 note.

³ Carriages may have the old meaning of things carried, that is baggage. The time taken favours the view that wagons or carts were forced up the hill. For the early seventeenth century use of carriages in its modern sense compare Terry (Voyage, 161). Of our wagons drawn with oxen . . . and other carriages we made a ring every night; also Dodsworth (1614), who describes a band of Rajputs near Baroda cutting off two of his carriages (Kerr's Voyages, IX. 203); and Roe (1616), who journeyed from Ajmir to Mandu with twenty camels, four carts and two coaches (Kerr, IX. 308). Terry's carriages seem to be Roe's coaches, to which Dela Valle (A.D. 1623) Hakluyt's Edition, I. 71) refers as much like the Indian chariots described by Strabo (B.C. 50) covered with crimson silk fringed with yellow about the roof and the curtains. Compare Idrial (A.D. 1100-1150, but probably from Al Istakhiri, A.D. 960; Elliot, I. 87). In all Nahrwala or north Gujarat the only mode of carrying either passengers or goods is in chariots drawn by oxen with harness and traces under the control of a driver. When in 1616 Jehangir left Ajmir for Mandu the English carriage presented to him by the English ambassador Sir Thomas Roe was allotted to the Sultanah Nur Jehan Begam. It was driven by an English coachman. Jehangir followed in the coach his own men had made in imitation of the English coach. Corryat (1613, Crudities III., Letters from India, unpagged) calls the English chariot a gallant coach of 150 pounds price.

far-stretching woods in which were lions tigers and other beasts of prey and many wild elephants. Terry passed through Māndu a few days' march across a plain and level country, apparently towards Dhār, where he met the Lord Ambassador Sir Thomas Roe, who had summoned Terry from Surat to be his chaplain. Sir Thomas Roe was then marching from Ajmir to Māndu with the Court of the emperor Jehāngir, whom Terry calls the Great King.

On the 3rd of March, says Roe, the Mughal was to have entered Māndu. But all had to wait for the good hour fixed by the astrologers. From the 6th of March, when he entered Māndu, till the 24th of October, the emperor Jehāngir, with Sir Thomas Roe in attendance, remained at Māndu.¹ According to Roe before the Mughal visited Māndu the hill was not much inhabited, having more ruins by far than standing houses.² But the moving city that accompanied the emperor soon overflowed the hill-top. According to Roe Jehāngir's own encampment was walled round half a mile in circuit in the form of a fortress, with high screens or curtains of coarse stuff, somewhat like Aras hangings, red on the outside, the inside divided into compartments with a variety of figures. This enclosure had a handsome gateway and the circuit was formed into various coils and bulwarks. The posts that supported the curtains were all surmounted with brass tops.³ Besides the emperor's encampment were the noblemen's quarters, each at an appointed distance from the king's tents, very handsome, some having their tents green, others white, others of mixed colours. The whole composed the most curious and magnificent sight Roe had ever beheld.⁴ The hour taken by Jehāngir in passing from the Delhi Gate to his own quarters, the two English miles from Roe's lodge which was not far from the Delhi Gate to Jehāngir's palace, and other reasons noted below make it almost certain that the Mughal's encampment and the camps of the leading nobles were on the open slopes to the south of the Sea Lake between Bāz Bahādur's palace on the east and Songad on the west. And that the palace at Māndu from which Jehāngir wrote was the building now known as Bāz Bahādur's palace.⁵ A few months before it reached Māndu the imperial camp had turned the whole valley of Ajmir into a magnificent city,⁶ and a few weeks before reaching Māndu at Thoda, about fifty miles south-east of Ajmir, the camp formed a settlement not less in circuit than twenty English miles, equalling in size almost any town in Europe.⁷ In the middle of the encampment were all sorts of shops so regularly disposed that all persons knew where to go for everything.

The demands of so great a city overtaxed the powers of the deserted Māndu. The scarcity of water soon became so pressing that the poor were commanded to leave and all horses and cattle were ordered off the hill.⁸ Of the scarcity of water the English traveller Corryat, who was then a guest of Sir Thomas Roe, writes: On the first day one of my Lord's people, Master Herbert, brother to Sir Edward Herbert, found a fountain which, if he had not done, he would have had to send ten course

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A.D. 1570-1720.¹ Kerr's Voyages, IX. 335; Wākāt-i-Jehāngiri in Elliot, VI. 377.² Roe writing from Ajmir in the previous year (29th August 1616) describes Māndu as a castle on a hill, where there is no town and no buildings. Kerr, IX. 287.³ Roe in Kerr's Travels, IX. 313.⁴ Roe in Kerr's Travels, IX. 314.⁵ Compare Wākāt-i-Jehāngiri in Elliot, VI. 377.⁶ Roe in Kerr's Travels, IX. 314.⁷ Roe in Kerr's Travels, IX. 321.⁸ Roe in Kerr's Travels, IX. 335.

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(*kos*) every day for water to a river called Narbada that falleth into the Bay of Cambya near Broach. The custom being such that whatsoever fountain or tank is found by any great man in time of drought he shall keep it proper to his without interruption. The day after one of the king's *Hadis* (*Ahādīs*) finding the same and striving for it was taken by my Lord's people and bound.¹ Corryat adds: During the time of the great drought two Moor nobles daily sent ten camels to the Narbada and distributed the water to the poor, which was so dear they sold a little skin for 8 pies (one penny).²

Terry notices that among the piles of buildings that held their heads above ruin were not a few unfrequented mosques or Muhammadan churches. Though the people who attended the king were marvellously straitened for room to put their most excellent horses, none would use the churches as stables, even though they were forsaken and out of use. This abstinence seems to have been voluntary, as Roe's servants, who were sent in advance, took possession of a fair court with walled enclosure in which was a goodly temple and a tomb. It was the best in the whole circuit of Māndu, the only drawback being that it was two miles from the king's house.³ The air was wholesome and the prospect was pleasant, as it was on the edge of the hill.⁴ The emperor, perhaps referring rather to the south of the hill, which from the elaborate building and repairs carried out in advance by Abdul Karim seems to have been called the New City, gives a less deserted impression of Māndu. He writes (24th March 1617): Many buildings and relics of the old kings are still standing, for as yet decay has not fallen upon the city. On the 24th I rode to see the royal edifices. First I visited the *Jāma Masjid* built by Sultan Hoshang Ghori. It is a very lofty building and erected entirely of hewn stone. Although it has been standing 180 years it looks as if built to-day. Then I visited the sepulchres of the kings and rulers of the Khilji dynasty, among which is the sepulchre of the eternally cursed *Nāsir-ud-dīn*.⁵ Sher Shāh to show his horror of *Nāsir-ud-dīn*, the father-slayer, ordered his people to beat *Nāsir-ud-dīn*'s tomb with sticks. *Jehāngir* also kicked the grave. Then he ordered the tomb to be opened and the remains to be taken out and burnt. Finally, fearing the remains might pollute the eternal light, he ordered the ashes to be thrown into the Narbada.⁶

The pleasant outlying position of Roe's lodge proved to be open to the objection that out of the vast wilderness wild beasts often came, seldom returning without a sheep, a goat, or a kid. One evening a great lion leapt over the stone wall that encompassed the yard and snapt up the Lord Ambassador's little white neat shock, that is as Roe explains a small Irish mastiff, which ran out barking at the lion. Out of the ruins of the mosque and tomb Roe built a lodge,⁷ and here he passed the rains with his "family," including besides his secretary, chaplain, and cook twenty-three Englishmen and about sixty native servants, and during part of the time the sturdy half-crazed traveller Tom Coryate or Corryat.⁸ They had

¹ Corryat's *Cruelities*, III, Extracts (unpaged). This Master Heribert was Thomas, brother of Sir Edward Herbert, the first Lord Herbert. It seems probable that this Thomas supplied his cousin Sir Thomas Herbert who was travelling in India and Persia in A.D. 1627 with his account of Māndu. See below pages 381-382.

² Corryat's *Cruelities*, III, Extracts (unpaged).

³ Terry's *Voyage*, 182; Roe in Kerr, IX, 335.

⁴ Roe in Kerr, IX, 335.

⁵ *Wakīf-i-Jehāngiri* in Elliot, VI, 349.

⁶ *Wakīf-i-Jehāngiri* in Elliot, VI, 350.

⁷ Terry's *Voyage*, 228.

⁸ Terry's *Voyage*, 62.

their flock of sheep and goats, all necessities belonging to the kitchen and everything else required for bodily use including bedding and all things pertaining thereto.¹ Among the necessities were tables² and chairs, since the Ambassador refused to adopt the Mughal practice of sitting cross-legged on mats "like taylor's on their shopboards." Roe's diet was dressed by an English and an Indian cook and was served on plate by waiters in red taffata cloaks guarded with green taffata. The chaplain wore a long black cassock, and the Lord Ambassador wore English habits made as light and cool as possible.³

On the 12th of March, a few days after they were settled at Mándu, came the festival of the Persian New Year. Jehángir held a great reception seated on a throne of gold bespangled with rubies emeralds and turquoises. The hall was adorned with pictures of the King and Queen of England, the Princess Elizabeth, Sir Thomas Smith and others, with beautiful Persian hangings. On one side, on a little stage, was a couple of women singers. The king commanded that Sir T. Roe should come up and stand beside him on the steps of the throne where stood on one side the Persian Ambassador and on the other the old king of Kandahár with whom Sir T. Roe ranked. The king called the Persian Ambassador and gave him some stones and a young elephant. The Ambassador knelt and knocked his head against the steps of the throne to thank him.⁴ From time to time during Terry's stay at Mándu, the Mughal, with his stout daring Persian and Tartarian horsemen and some grandees, went out to take young wild elephants in the great woods that environed Mándu. The elephants were caught in strong toils prepared for the purpose and were maimed and made fit for service. In these hunts the king and his men also pursued lions and other wild beasts on horseback, killing some of them with their bows earlines and lances.⁵

The first of September was Jehángir's birthday. The king, says Corryal,⁶ was forty-five years old, of middle height, corpulent, of a seemly composition of body, and of an olive coloured skin. Roe went to pay his respects and was conducted apparently to Báz Bahádúr's Gardens to the east of the Rewa Pool. This tangled orchard was then a beautiful garden with a great square pond or tank set all round with trees and flowers and in the middle of the garden a pavilion or pleasure-house under which hung the scales in which the king was to be weighed.⁷ The scales were of beaten gold set with many small stones as rubies and turquoises. They were hung by chains of gold, large and massive, but strengthened by silken ropes. The beam and tressels from which the scales hung were covered with thin plates of gold. All round were the nobles of the court seated on rich carpets waiting for the king. He came laden with diamonds rubies pearls and other precious vanities, making a great and glorious show. His sword targets and throne were corresponding in riches and splendour. His head neck breast and arms above the elbows and at the wrist were decked with chains of precious stones, and every finger had two or three rich rings. His legs were as it were fettered with chains of diamonds and rubies as large as walnuts and amazing pearls. He got into the scales crouching or sitting on his legs like a woman. To counterpoise his weight bags said to contain Rs. 2000 in

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HISTORY.

The Mughals,
A.D. 1570-1720.¹ Terry's Voyage, 183. ² Terry's Voyage, 186, 198. ³ Terry's Voyage, 198, 205.⁴ Roe in Kerr's Voyages, IX, 337; Pinkerton's Voyages, VIII, 35.⁵ Terry's Voyage, 103.⁶ Corryal's Crudities, III, Letter 2, Extracts unpagged.⁷ Roe in Kerr's Voyages, IX, 342.

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A.D. 1570-1720.

silver were changed six times. After this he was weighed against bags containing gold jewels and precious stones. Then against cloth of gold, silk stuffs, cotton goods, spices, and all commodities. Last of all against meal, butter, and corn. Except the silver, which was reserved for the poor, all was said to be distributed to Banias (that is Brahmans).¹ After he was weighed Jehāngir ascended the throne and had baxons of nuts almonds and spices of all sorts given him. These the king threw about, and his great men scrambled prostrate on their bellies. Roe thought it not decent that he should scramble. And the king seeing that he stood aloof reached him a basin almost full and poured the contents into his cloak.² Terry adds: The physicians noted the king's weight and spoke flatteringly of it. Then the Mughal drank to his nobles in his royal wine and the nobles pledged his health. The king drank also to the Lord Ambassador, whom he always treated with special consideration, and presented him with the cup of gold curiously enamelled and crusted with rubies turkesses and emeralds.³

Of prince Khurram's visit Roe writes: A month later (October 2nd) the proud prince Khurram, afterwards the emperor Shah Jehān (A.D. 1626-1657), returned from his glorious success in the Dakhn, accompanied by all the great men, in wondrous triumph.⁴ A week later (October 9th), hearing that the emperor was to pass near his lodging on his way to take the air at the Nacbadā, in accordance with the rule that the masters of all houses near which the king passes must make him a present, Roe took horse to meet the king. He offered the king an Atlas neatly bound, saying he presented the king with the whole world. The king was pleased. In return he praised Roe's lodge, which he had built out of the ruins of the temple and the ancient tomb, and which was one of the best lodges in the camp.⁵ Jehāngir left Mandu on the 24th October. On the 30th when Roe started the hill was entirely deserted.⁶

Terry mentions only two buildings at Mandu. One was the house of the Mughal, apparently Bāz Bahādur's palace, which he describes as large and stately, built of excellent stone, well squared and put together, taking up a large compass of ground. He adds: We could never see how it was contrived within, as the king's wives and women were there.⁷ The only other building to which Terry refers, he calls "The Grot." Of the grot, which is almost certainly the pleasure-house Nilkanth, whose Persian inscriptions have been quoted above, Terry gives the following details: To the Mughal's house, at a small distance from it, belonged a very curious grot. In the building of the grot a way was made into a

¹ Roe in Kerr's Travels, IX. 340-343.

² Roe in Kerr's Travels, IX. 344.

³ Terry's Voyage, 377. Terry's details seem not to agree with Roe's who states (Kerr's Voyages, IX. 344 and Pinkerton's Voyages, VIII. 37): I was invited to the drinking, but desired to be excused because there was no avoiding drinking, and their liquors are so hot that they burn out a man's very bowels. Perhaps the invitation Roe declined was to a private drinking party after the public weighing was over.

⁴ Roe in Kerr's Voyage, IX. 347; Elphinstone's History, 494. Kerr (IX. 347) gives September 2 but October 2 is right. Compare Pinkerton's Voyages, VIII. 39.

⁵ Ruins of Mandu, 57. As the emperor must have passed out by the Dehli Gate, and as Roe's lodge was two miles from Bāz Bahādur's palace, the lodge cannot have been far from the Dehli Gate. It is disappointing that, of his many genial gossip entries Jehāngir does not devote one to Roe. The only reference to Roe's visit is the indirect entry (Wakīl-i-Jehāngir in Elliot, VI. 147) that Jehāngir gave one of his nobles a coach, apparently a copy of the English coach, with which, to Jehāngir's delight, Roe had presented him.

⁶ Roe in Kerr's Voyages, IX. 355.

⁷ Terry's Voyage, 180.

firm rock which showed itself on the side of the hill canopied over with part of that rock. It was a place that had much beauty in it by reason of the curious workmanship bestowed on it and much pleasure by reason of its coolness.¹ Besides the fountain this grot has still one of the charmingly cool and murmuring scalloped rillstones where, as Terry says, water runs down a broad stone table with many hollows like to scallop shells, in its passage over the hollows making so pretty a murmur as helps to tie the senses with the bonds of sleep.

Shāh Jehān seems to have been pleased with Māndu. He returned in A.D. 1621 and stayed at Māndu till he marched north against his father in A.D. 1622.² In March A.D. 1623, Shāh Jehān came out of Māndu with 20,000 horse, many elephants, and powerful artillery, intending to fight his brother Shāh Parwiz.³ After the failure of this expedition Shāh Jehān retired to Māndu.⁴ At this time (A.D. 1623) the Italian traveller Dela Valle ranks Māndu with Agra Lāhor and Ahmedābād, as the four capitals, each endowed with an imperial palace and court.⁵ Five years later the great general Khān Jehān Lodi besieged Māndu, but apparently without success.⁶ Khān Jehān Lodi's siege of Māndu is interesting in connection with a description of Māndu in Herbert's Travels. Herbert, who was in Gujarāt in A.D. 1626, says Māndu is seated at the side of a declining hill (apparently Herbert refers to the slope from the southern crest northwards to Sagar Lake and the Grot or Nilkanth) in which both for ornament and defence is a castle which is strong in being encompassed with a defensive wall of nearly five miles (probably *kos* that is ten miles); the whole, he adds, heretofore had fifteen miles circuit. But the city later built is of less time yet fresher beauty, whether you behold the temples (in one of which are entombed four kings), palaces or fortresses, especially that tower which is elevated 170 steps, supported by massive pillars and adorned with gates and windows very observable. It was built by Khān Jehān, who there lies buried. The confusedness of these details shows that Herbert obtained them second-hand, probably from Corryat's Master Herbert on Sir T. Roe's staff.⁷ The new city of fresher

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THE HILL FORT
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HERBERT.

The Mughals,
A.D. 1576-1720.¹ Terry's Voyage, 111.² Wākāt-i-Jehāngiri in Elliot, VI, 383.³ Wākāt-i-Jehāngiri in Elliot, VI, 387.⁴ Elphinstone's History, 490-97. Compare Dela Valle (Haklyt Edition, I, 177) writing in A.D. 1622, Sultan Khurram after his defeat by Jehāngir retired to Māndu.⁵ Dela Valle's Travels, Haklyt Edition, I, 97.⁶ Elphinstone's History, 507.⁷ Herbert's Travels, 81. Corryat's Master Herbert was as already noticed named like the traveller Thomas. The two Thomases were distant relations, both being fourth in descent from Sir Richard Herbert of Colebrooke, who lived about the middle of the fifteenth century. A further connection between the two families is the copy of complimentary verses "To my cousin Sir Thomas Herbert," signed Ch. Herbert, in the 1634 and 1665 editions of Herbert's Travels, which are naturally, though somewhat doubtfully, ascribed to Charles Herbert, a brother of our Master Thomas. It is therefore probable that after his return to England Sir Thomas Herbert obtained the Māndu details from Master Thomas who was himself a writer, the author of several poems and pamphlets. Corryat's tale how, during the water-famine at Māndu, Master Herbert annexed a spring or cistern, and then bound a servant of the Great King who attempted to share in its use, shows admirable courage and resolution on the part of Master Thomas, then a youth of twenty years. The details of Thomas in his brother Lord Herbert's autobiography give additional interest to the hero of Corryat's tale of a Tank. Master Thomas was born in A.D. 1597. In 1610, when a page to Sir Edward Cecil and a boy of thirteen, in the German War especially in the siege of Jülich fifteen miles north-east of Aix-la-Chapelle, Master Thomas showed such forwardness as no man in that great army surpassed. On his voyage to India in 1617, in a fight with a great Portuguese carrack,

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beauty is probably a reference to the buildings raised and repaired by Abdul Karim against Jehangir's coming, among which the chief seems to have been the palace now known by the name of Báz Bahádur. The tower of 170 steps is Mehmd Khilji's Tower of Victory, erected in A.D. 1443, the Khán Jehán being Mehmd's father, the great minister Khán Jehán Aázam Humáyún.

In A.D. 1658 a Rája Shivráj was commandant of Mándu.¹ No reference has been traced to any imperial visit to Mándu during Aurangzib's reign. But that great monarch has left an example of his watchful care in the rebuilding of the Álamgir or Aurangzib Gate, which guards the approach to the stone-crossing of the great northern ravine and bears an inscription of A.D. 1668, the eleventh year of Álamgir's reign. In spite of this additional safeguard thirty years later (A.D. 1696) Mándu was taken and the standard of Udáji Pavár was planted on the battlement.² The Maráthás soon withdrew and Málwa again passed under an imperial governor. In A.D. 1708 the Shia-loving emperor Bahádur Sháh I. (A.D. 1707-1712) visited Mándu, and there received from Ahmedábád a copy of the *Kuráán* written by Imám Áli Taki, son of Imám Músa Raza (A.D. 810-829), seventh in descent from Áli, the famous son-in-law of the Prophet, the first of Mussalmán mystics. In A.D. 1717 Asaph Jáh Nizám-ul-Mulk was appointed governor of Málwa and continued to manage the province by deputy till A.D. 1721. In A.D. 1722 Rája Girdhar Bahádur, a Nágár Bráhmaṇ, was made governor and remained in charge till in A.D. 1724 he was attacked and defeated by Chinnáji Pandit and Udáji Pavár.³ Rája Girdhar was succeeded by his relation Dia Bahádur, whose successful government ended in A.D. 1732, when through the secret help of the local chiefs Malharao/Holkar led an army up the Bhairav pass, a few miles east of Mándu, and at Tirellah, between Amjhera and Dhár, defeated and slew Dia Bahádur. As neither the next governor Muhammad Khán Bangash nor his successor Rája Jai Singh of Jaipur were able to oust the Maráthás, their success was admitted in A.D. 1734 by the appointment of Peshwa Bájjiráo (A.D. 1720-1740) to be governor of Málwa. On his appointment (A.D. 1734) the Peshwa chose Anand Ráo Pavár as his deputy. Anand Ráo shortly after settled at Dhár, and since A.D. 1734 Mándu has continued part of the territory of the Pavárs of Dhár.⁴ In A.D. 1805 Mándu sheltered the heroic Mina Báí during the birth-time of her son Rámchundra Ráo Pavár, whose state was saved from the clutches of

Captain Joseph, in command of Herbert's ship *Globe*, was killed. Thomas took Joseph's place, forced the carrack aground, and so riddled her with shot that she never floated again. To his brother's visit to India Lord Herbert refers as a year spent with the merchants who went from Surat to the Great Moghal. After his return to England Master Thomas distinguished himself at Algiers, capturing a vessel worth £1800. In 1622, when Master Thomas was in command of one of the ships sent to fetch Prince Charles (afterwards King Charles I.) from Spain, during the return voyage certain Low Countrymen and Dunkirkers, that is Dutch and Spanish vessels, offended the Prince's dignity by fighting in his presence without his leave. The Prince ordered the fighting ships to be separated; whereupon Master Thomas, with some other ships got betwixt the fighters on either side, and shot so long that both Low Countrymen and Dunkirkers were glad to desist. Afterwards at divers times Thomas fought with great courage and success with divers men in single fight, sometimes hurting and disarming his adversary, sometimes driving him away. The end of Master Thomas was sad. Finding his profits of himself undervalued he retired into a private and melancholy life, and after living in this sullen humour for many years, he died about 1642 and was buried in London in St. Martin's near Charing Cross.

¹ Khán Khán in Elliot, VII. 218.

² Malcolm's Central India, I. 78.

³ Malcolm's Central India, I. 64.

⁴ Malcolm's Central India, I. 100.

Holkar and Sindhis by the establishment of British overlordship in A.D. 1817.¹

In A.D. 1820 Sir John Malcolm² describes the hill-top as a place of religious resort occupied by some mendicants. The holy places on the hill are the shrine of Hoshang Ghorī, whose guardian spirit still scares barrenness and other disease fiends³ and the Rewa or Narāda Pool, whose holy water, according to common belief, prevents the dreaded return of the spirit of the Hindu whose ashes are strewn on its surface, or, in the refined phrase of the Brahman, enables the dead to lose self in the ocean of being.⁴ In A.D. 1820 the Jāmā Mosque, Hoshang's tomb, and the palaces of Bāz Bahādur were still fine remains, though surrounded with jungle and fast crumbling to pieces.⁵ In A.D. 1827 Colonel Briggs says: Perhaps no part of India so abounds with tigers as the neighbourhood of the once famous city of Māndu. The capital now deserted by man is overgrown by forest and from being the seat of luxury, elegance, and wealth, it has become the abode of wild beasts and is resorted to by the few Europeans in that quarter for the pleasure of destroying them. Instances have been known of tigers being so bold as to carry off troopers riding in the ranks of their regiments. Twelve years later (A.D. 1839) Mr. Fergusson⁷ found the hill a vast uninhabited jungle, the rank vegetation tearing the buildings of the city to pieces and obscuring them so that they could hardly be seen.⁸ Between A.D. 1842 and 1852 tigers are described as prowling among the regal rooms, the half-savage marauding Bhil as eating his meal and feeding his cattle in the cloisters of its sanctuaries and the insidious *pīpāl* as levelling to the earth the magnificent remains.⁹ So favourite a tiger retreat was the Jahāz Palace that it was dangerous to venture into it unarmed. Close to the very huts of the poor central village, near the Jāmā Mosque, cattle were frequently seized by tigers. In the south tigers came nightly to drink at the Sāgar lake. Huge bonfires had to be burnt to prevent them attacking the houses.¹⁰ In A.D. 1883 Captain Eastwick wrote: At Māndu the traveller will require some armed men, as tigers are very numerous and dangerous. He will do well not to have any dogs with him, as the panthers will take them even from under his bed.¹¹ If this was true of Māndu in A.D. 1883—and is not as seems likely the repetition of an old-world tale—the last ten years have wrought notable changes. Through the interest His Highness Sir Anand Rao Pavār, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., the present Mahārāja of Dhār takes in the old capital of his state, travelling in Māndu is now as safe and easier than in many, perhaps than in most, outlying districts. A phaeton can drive across the northern ravine-moat through the three gateways and along the hill-top, at least as far south as the Sea Lake. Large stretches of the level are cleared and tilled, and herds of cattle graze free from the dread of wild beasts. The leading buildings have been saved from their ruinous tree-growth, the underwood has been cleared, the marauding Bhil has settled to tillage, the tiger, even the panther, is nearly

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NOTICES.

A.D. 1820-1893.

¹ Malcolm's Central India, I. 106.² Central India, II. 503.³ Ruins of Māndu, 43: March 1852 page 34.⁴ Ruins of Māndu, 45: March 1853 page 34.⁵ Malcolm's Central India, II. 503.⁶ Briggs' Fariashah, IV. 255 note *.⁷ Indian Architecture, 541.⁸ Ruins of Māndu, 9.⁹ Ruins of Māndu, 9.¹⁰ Ruins of Māndu, 13, 25, 35. Some of these extracts seem to belong to a Bombay Subaltern, who was at Māndu about A.D. 1842, and some to Captain Claudius Harris, who visited the hill in April 1852. Compare Ruins of Māndu, 34.¹¹ Murray's Handbook of the Panjab, 118.

Appendix II.

THE HILL FORT
OF MANDU,

HISTORY.

NOTICES,
A.D. 1820-1893.

as rare as the wild elephant, and finally its old wholesomeness has returned to the air of the hill-top.

This sketch notices only the main events and the main buildings. Even about the main buildings much is still doubtful. Many inscriptions, some in the puzzling interlaced *Tughra* character, have still to be read. They may bring to light traces of the Mándu kings and of the Mughal emperors, whose connection with Mándu, so far as the buildings are concerned, is still a blank. The ruins are so many and so widespread that weeks are wanted to ensure their complete examination. It may be hoped that at no distant date Major Delassenn, the Political Agent of Dhár, whose opportunities are not more special than his knowledge, may be able to prepare a complete description of the hill and of its many ruins and writings.

MARÁTHA HISTORY
OF
GUJARÁT:

A.D. 1760-1819.

BY
J. A. BAINES Esquire, C.S.I.,
LATE OF H.M.'S BOMBAY CIVIL SERVICE.

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HISTORY OF GUJARAT.

MARÁTHA PERIOD.

A.D. 1760-1819.

It will be evident from what has been related in the Musalmán portion of this history that long before 1760, the Maráthás had a firm foothold in Gujarát, and were able to dictate to the local chiefs the policy of the Dakhan Court. Long before 1819 too, Marátha influence was on the wane before the rising fortunes of the British. Between these two dates however is comprised the whole or nearly the whole of the period during which the Maráthás were virtually paramount in Gujarát. From each of these two dates the political history took a new departure, and on this account they serve respectively to denote the starting point and terminus of Marátha supremacy. Most of what took place before 1760 is so interwoven with the interests and intrigues of the Muhammadan delegates of the court of Dehli that it has been fully described in the history of the Musalmán Period. It is however necessary, in order to trace the growth of Marátha power, to briefly set forth in a continuous narrative the events in which this race was principally concerned, adding such as transpired independently of Musalmán politics. This task is rendered easier by the very nature of Marátha policy, which has left little to be recorded of its action in Gujarát beyond the deeds and fortunes of its initiators and their adherents.

The connection of the Maráthás with Gujarát can be divided by the chronicler into the following periods. First, the time of predatory inroads from 1664 to 1743, before the leaders of these expeditions had permanently established themselves within the province. Secondly, what may be termed the mercenary period, when the Maráthás partly by independent action, but far more by a course of judicious interference in the quarrels of the Muhammadan officials and by loans of troops, had acquired considerable territorial advantages. Towards the end of this period, as has been already seen, their aid was usually sufficient to ensure the success of the side which had managed to secure it, and at last the capital itself was claimed and held by them. Then came the time of domination, from 1760 to 1801, during which period the Gaikwár influence was occasionally greater than that of the Peshwa. From 1802, internal dissensions at the courts of Poona and Baroda weakened the hold the Maráthás had on the province, and the paramount power had to all intents and purposes passed over to the British long before the downfall of Bájiráv Peshwa and the final annexation of his rights and territory in 1819.

THE
MARÁTHÁS,
A.D. 1760-1819.

THE
MARÁTHAS,
A.D. 1760-1819.

Sivaji's First
Inroad,
1664.

Shortly after, when the Gaikwár made over to the British the work of collecting the tribute from Káthiáwáda, Marátha supremacy came to an end.

The first Marátha force that made its appearance in Gujarát was led there early in 1664 by Śiváji. This leader was at the time engaged in a warfare with the Mughals, which, however desultory, required him to keep up a much larger force than could be supported out of the revenues of his dominions. He therefore looked to plunder to supply the deficiency, and Surat, then the richest town of Western India, was marked down by him as an easy prey. His mode of attack was cautious. He first sent one Bahirji Náik to spy out the country and report the chances of a rich booty, whilst he himself moved a force up to Junnar on pretence of visiting some forts in that direction recently acquired by one of his subordinates. On receiving a favourable report from Bahirji, Śiváji gave out that he was going to perform religious ceremonies at Násik, and taking with him 4000 picked horsemen, he marched suddenly down the Gháts and through the Dáng jungles, and appeared before Surat. There he found an insignificant garrison, so he rested outside the city six days whilst his men plundered at their leisure. On hearing of the tardy approach of a relieving force sent by the governor of Ahmedábád, Śiváji beat a retreat with all his booty to the stronghold of Ráygad. By the time the reinforcement reached Surat, the only trace of the invaders was the emptied coffers of the inhabitants. About the same time, or shortly after, the fleet which Śiváji had equipped at Alibág about two years before came up to the mouth of the gulf of Cambay and carried off one or two Mughal ships which were conveying to Makka large numbers of pilgrims with their rich oblations.¹

Sivaji's Second
Attack,
1670.

This insult to the Muhammadan religion was enough to incense the bigoted Aurangzeb, apart from the additional offences of the sack of Surat and the assumption in 1665 of royal insignia by Śiváji. He therefore sent an expedition to the Dakhan strong enough to keep the Maráthas for some time away from Gujarát. One of Śiváji's officers, however, seems to have attacked a part of the Surat district in 1666, and to have got off safely with his spoils. In 1670, Śiváji again descended upon that city with about 15,000 men. The only serious resistance he experienced was, as before, from the English factors. He plundered the town for three days, and only left on receiving some information about the Mughals' movements in the Dakhan, which made him fear lest he should be intercepted on his way back to the country about the Gháts.

1671.

Śiváji left a claim for twelve lákhs of rupees to be paid as a guarantee against future expeditions. It is possible, however, that as he does not appear to have taken any immediate steps to recover this sum, the demand was made only in accordance with Marátha policy.

¹ Surat was known as Báb-ul-makkah or the Gate of Makka on account of its being the starting place of the ships annually conveying the Muhammadan pilgrims of India to the shrine of their Prophet.

which looked upon a country once overrun as tributary, and assumed a right to exercise paramount authority over it by virtue of the completed act of a successful invasion. In 1671 the Maráthá fleet was ordered to sail up the gulf and plunder Broach, and it is probable that Śiváji intended at the same time to levy tribute from Surat, but the whole expedition was countermanded before the ships sailed.

The conduct of the military authorities in Gujarát with regard to this expedition of 1670 was such as to render it highly probable that the Mughal leaders were in complicity with the Maráthás in order to gain the favour and support of their leader. Shortly before Śiváji's arrival there had been a large garrison in Surat, apparently kept there by the governor, who suspected that some attempt on the town would soon be made. This garrison was withdrawn before Śiváji's attack, and almost immediately after his departure 5000 men were sent back again. The commanders of the Mughal army in the Dakhan were Jasyant Singh the Ráhtor chief of Jodhpur and prince Muazzam. Jasyant Singh had been viceroy of Gujarát from A.D. 1659 to 1662, and in A.D. 1671 shortly after Śiváji's second expedition was re-appointed to that post for three years. He had, moreover, been accused of taking bribes from Śiváji during the operations in the Dakhan. Prince Muazzam, again, had every reason for wishing to secure to himself so powerful an ally as Śiváji in the struggle for the imperial crown that took place, as a rule, at every succession. Aurangzeb, reasoning from his own experiences as a son, refused to allow a possible heir to his throne to become powerful at court; and accordingly sent him against Śiváji with an army quite inadequate for such operations. It is therefore not unreasonable to suppose that if there had not been some previous understanding between Śiváji and the Mughal leaders, the troops that were known to be within easy reach of Surat would have been found strong and numerous enough either to have repulsed him altogether or at least to have prevented the three days' sack of the city.

In A.D. 1672 Śiváji took some of the small forts to the south of Surat, such as Párnara and Bagváda, now in the Párdi sub-division of the Surat district, whilst Moro Trimal got possession of the large fort of Sâler in Bâglân, which guarded one of the most frequented passes from the Dakhan into Gujarát. The Maráthás were thus able to command the routes along which their expeditions could most conveniently be despatched.

No further incursion was made till 1675, in which year a Maráthá force first crossed the Narbada. On the resumption of hostilities between Śiváji and the Mughals, Hasáji Mohite, who had been made Senápati, with the title of Hambirráv, marched up the North Konkan, and divided his army into two forces near Surat. One portion plundered towards Burhânpur, the other commanded by himself plundered the Broach district. Ten years later a successful expedition was made against Broach itself, either preconcerted or

THE
MARÁTHÁS,
A.D. 1700-1819.

Sâler Taken,
1672.

The Narbada
Crossed,
1675.

THE
MARATHAS,
A.D. 1760-1819.

actually led by a younger son of Aurangzeb, who had taken refuge with the Maráthas. Broach was plundered, and the booty safely carried off before the local force could get near the invaders. Gujarát was now left free from inroad for some fourteen years, probably because the attention of the Marátha leaders was concentrated on their quarrels in the Dakhan.

Raids
by Dábháde,
1699.

In A.D. 1699 Rám Rája appointed one of his most trusted officers, Khanderáv Dábháde, to collect in Báglán the *chauth*¹ and *sardesh-mukhi* imposts which had by that time become regularly instituted. This chief, whose name was afterwards so intimately connected with Gujarát, not only collected all that was due to his master from the village officers in Báglán, but also made an incursion into the Surat districts on his own account. Between 1700 and 1701 Khanderáv attempted two expeditions, but was foiled by the vigilance of the Mughal authorities. In 1705, however, he made a raid on a large scale and got safely across the Narbada, where he defeated two Muhammadan detachments sent against him, and got back to Sálér with his booty. Khanderáv now kept bodies of troops constantly hovering on the outskirts of Gujarát and along the road to Burhánpur. He himself led several expeditions into the Ahmedábád territory, and is said to have once got as far as Sorath in the peninsula, where however he was repelled by the Musalmán governor. In 1711, again he was severely defeated by the Mughals near Anklesvar in the Broach district, and had to withdraw to the borders of Khándesh.

1700-1704.

1705.

1706-1711.

1713.

In 1713 some treasure was being conveyed from Surat to Aurangábád escorted by a large force under Muhammad Tabrizi. The party was attacked in the jungles east of Surat and the treasure carried off. Just before this, Sarbuland Khán, the deputy viceroy, on his way to take up his office at Ahmedábád, was attacked and robbed in the wilds of Ságbara on the north bank of the Tápti. As Khanderáv had a short while previous to these occurrences taken up his position near Nándod² in the Rájpipla territory, it is probably to him or to his subordinates that these raids are to be attributed. He managed by a system of outposts to cut off communication between Surat and Burhánpur, except for those who had paid him a fee for safe conduct. If this charge was evaded or resisted, he appropriated one-fourth of the property that the traveller was conveying up country.

Dábháde,
1716.

As the Burhánpur road was one of those most frequented by both pilgrims and merchants, the Delhi authorities were obliged, in 1716, to organize an expedition against Dábháde. The leader of the force was one Zulfikar Beg, an officer inexperienced in Marátha warfare. Dábháde found little difficulty in decoying him into a mountainous country, and there completely defeated him with the usual Marátha accompaniment of plunder.

¹ *Sardeshmukhi* or ten per cent. on the revenue. The *chauth* was nominally one-fourth, but both these claims were fluctuating in their proportions to the total revenue.

² Now the capital of the Raja of Rájpipla.

Finding himself once more in the Dakhan, Khanderáv Dábháde took the opportunity of rejoining the court at Sátára, from which he had long been absent. He was lucky enough to arrive just as the Senápati Manáji Morár had failed on an important expedition and was consequently in disgrace. Rája Sháhu, pleased with Khanderáv's recent success against the Delhi troops, divested Manáji of the title of Senápati, and bestowed it upon the more fortunate leader.

Khanderáv remained away from Gujarát for three years, accompanying, meanwhile, Báláji Vishvanáth the Peshwa to Dehli, where the latter was engaged in negotiations for the confirmation of the Marátha rights to *chautá* and other tribute from certain districts in the Dakhan.

It is evident that at this time there was no definite claim to tribute from Gujarát on the part of the Marátha government; for in spite of the intrigues of Báláji and the weakness of the court party at Delhi no concessions were obtained with regard to it, although the Marátha dues from other parts of the country were fully ratified. The grounds on which Báláji demanded the tribute from Gujarát were that Sháhu would thereby gain the right to restrain the excesses of Marátha freebooters from the frontier and would guarantee the whole country against irregular pillage. The argument was a curious one, considering that the most troublesome and notorious freebooter of the whole tribe was at the elbow of the envoy, who was so strenuously pleading for the right to suppress him. It is probable that Báláji foresaw that Khanderáv's newly acquired rank would take him for a time from Báglán to the court, so that meanwhile an arrangement could be made to prevent the growth of any powerful chief in the Gujarát direction who might interfere with the plans of the central government. The Marátha statesman was as anxious to ensure the subordination of distant feudatories as the Mughals to secure the freedom of the Ghát roads to the coast.

In the redistribution of authority carried out about this time by Báláji Vishvanáth, the responsibility of collecting the Marátha dues¹ from Gujarát and Báglán was assigned to Khanderáv as Senápati or commander-in-chief; but as these dues were not yet settled, at least as regards the country below the Gháts, Khanderáv seems to have remained with the Peshwa in the field.

At the battle of Bálápur, fought against the Nizám-ul-Mulk, one of the officers of Khanderáv, by name Dámáji Gaikwár, so distinguished himself that the Senápati brought his conduct prominently to the notice of Rája Sháhu. The latter promoted Dámáji to be second in command to Khanderáv with the title of Shamsheer Bahádúr, which had been formerly borne by one of the Atole family in 1692. This is the first mention of the present ruling family of Baroda. Before many months both Khanderáv and Dámáji died. The former was succeeded by his son Trimbakráv, on whom his father's title was conferred. Piláji, nephew of Dámáji, was confirmed in his uncle's

THE
MARÁTHAS.
A.D. 1760-1819.

Dábháde
Senápati.

The Peshwa's
Negotiations,
1717.

Dámáji Gaikwár,
1729.

¹ *Chautá* and *Sardeshmukhi* as settled in 1692.

THE
MARÁTHAS,
A.D. 1760-1812.

1723.

Marátha Tribute,
1723.

Kantáji Kadam.

Marátha
Disensions,
1724.

honours and retired to Gujarát. As soon as he could collect a sufficiently strong force, he attacked the Surat district and defeated the Musalmán commander close to the city itself. After extorting from him a handsome sum as ransom, Piláji returned eastwards. He selected Songad,¹ a fort about fifty miles east of Surat, as his headquarters, and from thence made continual excursions against the neighbouring towns. He once attacked Surat, but although he defeated the Mughal leader, he seems to have contented himself with contributions levied from the adjacent country, and not to have entered the town. Piláji soon obtained possession of some strongholds in the Rájipla country between Nánded and Ságbara, which he fortified, as Khanderáv Dábháde had formerly done. Here he resided as representative of the Senápati, whose family had removed for a while to the Dakhan. The tribute collected from Báglán and Gujarát was supposed to be transmitted by Piláji to the royal treasury through the Peshwa; but there is no record of these dues having been levied with any regularity or even fixed at any special amount. Whilst Trimbakráv was taking an active part in the affairs of his royal patron in the Dakhan, Piláji occupied himself in sedulously cultivating the goodwill of the border tribes surrounding his residence in Gujarát.

The year 1723 is noteworthy as being the date of the first imposition of the regular Marátha demand of one-fourth, *chauth*, and one-tenth, *sardeshmukhi*, of the revenue of Gujarát. Whilst Piláji was directing his attacks against Surat and the south of the province another of Rája Sháhu's officers, who had been sent up towards Málwa, entered Gujarát by the north-east, and after ravaging the country round Dohad,² settled a fixed tribute on the district.

This officer, Kantáji Kadam Bándé, was soon after engaged by one of the parties struggling for the viceroyalty of Ahmedábád to bring his cavalry into the province and take part in the civil war. The leader of the opposite party, Rustam Ali, enlisted the services of Piláji Gaikwár. The Nizám-ul-Mulk, whose influence in the Dakhan was very great, managed to detach Piláji from Rustam Ali's side. This was the easier, as Rustam had already defeated Piláji more than once in attacks by the latter against Surat, of which district Rustam was governor. There are two different accounts³ of what took place when the rival forces came into action, but both show clearly that the Marátha leaders acted on both sides with utter disregard of their agreements and looked only to plundering the Muhammadan camps whilst the soldiers were engaged in battle. After the defeat of Rustam, the two Marátha chiefs joined forces and proceeded to levy *chauth*, of which the Mughal deputy had granted Piláji a share equal to that of his first ally Kantáji.

This division led to quarrels and at last to an open rupture between the two Marátha leaders, which was only patched up by the

¹ On the western skirts of the Dáng forests.

² Now in the British districts of the Panoh Mahals.

³ The Muhammadan account is given in the Musalmán portion of this history. Grant Duff's description differs considerably.

grant of the *chauth* north of the Mahi river to Kantáji and of that to the south to Piláji. The chief ground of quarrel seems to have been the relative position of the Gáikwár as agent for the Senápati, who had a right to collect all dues from Gujarát, and of Kantáji, who claimed superior rank as holding his commission direct from Rája Sháhu. On hearing of this dispute and the consequent partition of the Marátha tribute, Trimbakráv Dábháde himself hastened up to Cambay with an army, but effected nothing, and seems to have retired, leaving Piláji to look after his interests at Ahmedábád. Both the latter, however, and Kantáji soon after withdrew from Gujarát, but were within a short period encouraged to return by the success of a raid made by another leader, Antáji Bháskar, on the north-east district. They both joined Hamid Khán in his resistance to the new viceroy, but received several checks from the Muhammadan army, and after plundering again returned to their strongholds for the rainy season.

Next year they returned for the tribute and plundered as usual. The Peshwa Bájríráv then opened for the first time direct negotiations with the viceroy of Gujarát. The rapid increase of the authority of the Bráhma ministers at the Rája's court in the Dakhan had aroused the jealousy of the Maráthanobles, amongst whom Trimbakráv Dábháde was one of the most influential. Bájríráv, being fully aware of the fact, and having by this time acquired from the Rája the power of acting with foreign powers independently of the throne, determined to undermine Trimbakráv's authority in Gujarát by aiming at the rights said to have been formally granted to him by Hamid Khán over the country south of the Mahi. He therefore applied to the viceroy for a confirmation of the right to levy *chauth* and *sardesh-mukhi* over the whole country, on condition that he would protect it from the inroads of Kantáji, Piláji, and other irresponsible freebooters. The viceroy had still some resources left at his disposal and was in hopes that his repeated applications to Delhi for assistance would soon meet with a favourable answer. He declined therefore to accede to Bájríráv's proposals at once, on the grounds that the court at Delhi had repudiated the concessions made to Piláji and Kantáji by his predecessor's deputy. As however the depredations on the frontier caused serious injury both to the revenues and the people, he allowed the Peshwa to send a feudatory, Udáji Pavár, chief of Dhár, through the Mughal territories to operate against Piláji. The latter, who was fully aware of these negotiations, persuaded Kantáji to join him in expelling the agents of the Peshwa party, as it was clear that if Piláji's forces were scattered the way would be open for Udáji to attack Kantáji himself. The two then proceeded to Baroda and after a while drove back Udáji and occupied Baroda and Dabhoi. Here Piláji remained, and next year Kantáji succeeded in taking Chámpáner, thus advancing his posts nearer the centre of the province. With such an advantage gained these two chiefs instituted raids still more frequently than before. In these straits, and finding himself utterly neglected by the emperor, the viceroy re-opened negotiations with the Peshwa, who lost no time in sending his

THE
MARÁTHAS,
A.D. 1700-1819.

The Peshwa,
1728.

Cession
of Tribute,
1728.

THE
MARÁTHAS,
A.D. 1760-1819.

Cession
of Tribute,
1738.

brother Chimnaji Appa with an army through Gujarát. Petlad and Dholka were plundered, but Kantaji was left undisturbed, so he took this opportunity of marching to Sorath, where he remained for some time extorting tribute. The viceroy agreed formally to cede the *sardesmukhi* of the whole revenue, land and customs (with the exception of the port of Surat and the districts attached to it) and the *chauth* of the same district, with five per cent on the revenue from the city of Ahmedábad. Special clauses were inserted in the grant of *chauth* to suit the convenience of both the Peshwa and the viceroy. The latter stipulated that as few collectors as possible should be kept by the Maráthas in the districts under tribute, and that no extra demands beyond the one-fourth should be made. He also insisted that the percentage should be calculated on the actual collections and not on the *kamal* or highest sum recorded as having been collected.¹ The Maráthas were also to support the imperial authority and to keep up a body of horse. The Peshwa agreed (probably at his own request) to prevent all Marátha subjects from joining disaffected chiefs, or other turbulent characters, thus receiving the right to suppress Kantaji and Pilaji, as well as the Bhils and Kolis with whom the latter was on such friendly terms.

After this agreement was executed, Bájiráv made over part of the *sardesmukhi* to the Dábháde, as well as the *mokása* or three-fourths of the *svarajas* settled by Bálaji Vizhvanáthi. The consideration as set forth in the preamble of this agreement was the great improvement effected by the Marátha rulers as regards the wealth and tranquillity of the Dakhan provinces. This was inserted either to give the transaction the appearance of having been executed on the part of the emperor (for otherwise the viceroy had no concern in the state of the Dakhan), or simply as an expression of gratitude on the part of this special viceroy towards the Maráthas who had just brought to terms the Nizám-ul-Mulk, his former rival and enemy. It is even probable that it was merely intended, as usual with such preambles, to veil the forced nature of the treaty.

The hostile movements of the Pratinidbi in the Southern Marátha Country induced the Peshwa to return to the Dakhan. Kantaji returned from Sorath to Chámpáner, plundering part of the viceroy's camp on his way. Trimbakráv Dábháde, jealous of the interference of the Peshwa in the affairs of Gujarát, began to intrigue with other chiefs to overturn the power of the Bráhman ministers.

As soon as Nizám-ul-Mulk became aware of this discontent on the part of Trimbakráv, of whose power he was well informed, he proposed to assist him by an attack on the Peshwa from the east, whilst the Maráthas operated in another direction. Trimbakráv was successful in his overtures with Pilaji Gaikwár, the Bánde, the Pavárs, and a few other chiefs resident in Khándesh or the north Dakhan. The troops sent by them to join his standard soon amounted

Coalition against
the Peshwa,
1730.

¹ The Marátha practice was to base their demands on the standard or *tankha* assessment (which was seldom if ever collected), so that by this means they evaded all possibility of claims against them for over-collections.

to 35,000 men, who were collected in Gujarát. He then gave out that he was bent on rescuing the Marátha Rája from the thralldom in which he was being kept by the Bráhmans. The Peshwa, who had discovered the intercourse between Trimbakráv and the Nizám, proclaimed this treason on the part of the Dábháde as a royal officer, and stated that the malcontents were only planning the partition of the inheritance of Shiváji between the Rája of Kolhápúr and themselves. As soon as he found the Nizám's troops were on the march, he collected his picked men and advanced on the Dábháde in Gujarát.

The Peshwa's army was inferior in numbers but consisted of better trained men. He closed at once with the allies near Dabhoi, and easily defeated the undisciplined forces of the Pavárs and Bándes. The Dábháde's army, however, had more experience of regular warfare and made a stand. But a stray shot killed Trimbakráv as he was endeavouring to rally the forces of his allies, and as usual in such engagements, the loss of the leader disheartened the army. Utter confusion ensued, in which many of the nobles fell, others ran away, and the Peshwa, without the necessity of pushing further his advantage, made good his retreat to the Dakhan. The Nizám, who was in pursuit, only managed to capture some of the baggage with the rear guard as it was crossing the Tápti near Surat.¹

Safe again in the Dakhan, the Peshwa at once began negotiations with both the Nizám and the adherents of Trimbakráv Dábháde. He recognized the rights of the former to some possessions in Gujarát independent of the viceroy of Ahmedábád, and agreed to further his designs of severing the Dakhan from the possessions of the emperor. He conciliated the Dábháde family by establishing at Poona an annual distribution of food and presents to Bráhmans such as had formerly been the practice in the native village of Khandaráv.² This institution was known as Dakshiná.

Bájráv acquiesced also in the general tendency amongst Maráthas of all offices to become hereditary, and conferred the title of Senápati on Yeshvantráv the minor son of the deceased Trimbakráv. The widow Umábái became guardian, and Piláji Gáikwár deputy or *mutálik* in Gujarát. This latter appointment seems to have been made by the Peshwa and not by the Dábháde, for Piláji received at the same time a new title, namely that of *Sená Khás Khel* or commander of the special band or perhaps the household brigade. He was also bound on behalf of the Senápati to respect the Peshwa's rights in Málwa and Gujarát, and to pay half the collections from the territory he administered to the royal treasury through the minister. A provision was also inserted with regard to future acquisitions. This reciprocal agreement was executed at the special command of the Marátha Rája Sháhu, who had not yet quite abrogated his authority in favour of the Peshwa. Piláji after these negotiations retired to Gujarát.

THE
MARATHAS,
A.D. 1760-1818.

Defeat of the
Allies,
1751.

¹ At Gais about twelve miles above Surat in the territory of the Gáikwár.

² Talegaon is the north-west of Poona, now a station on the railway to Bombay.

THE
MARÁTHAS,
A.D. 1760-1819.
Assassination of
Piláji Gaikwár,
1732.

His influence amongst the Bhils and other troublesome races dwelling in the wild parts of the eastern frontier made Piláji an object of hatred and fear to the Mughal viceroy, who had him assassinated by one of his adherents whilst the latter was pretending to whisper some important and confidential news in Piláji's ear. This event took place at Dákor in the Kaira district. The followers of the Gaikwár slew the assassin and retired south of the Mahi. They were driven by the Mughals out of Baroda, but continued to hold Dabhoi. Dámáji Gaikwár, son of Piláji, was at this time prowling round Surat watching for an opportunity of interfering in the disturbed affairs of that town. One of the candidates for the governorship had offered him one-fourth the revenue of the city for his assistance, but the expedition was deferred on account of the appointment of a rival by the emperor. Dámáji therefore was preparing to act on his own account independently of his ally. The news of his father's assassination, however, took him northwards. He found that the Desái of Pádra near Baroda had stirred up the Bhils and Kolis to revolt, in order to give the relations of Piláji a chance of striking a blow at the murderers of their deceased leader. Umábái Dabhádo, too, bent on the same errand, moved down the Gháts with an army. The Maráthas were bought off, however, by the viceroy and peace was restored for a while.

1733.

Gaikwars Secure
Baroda,
1734.

In this year also Jádoji, a younger son of Trimbakráv, made an expedition to collect tribute through Gujarát as far as Sorath. Next year Mádhavrát Gaikwár, brother of Piláji, obtained possession of Baroda during the absence of Sher Khán Bábi the governor. Since that date this town has been the capital of the Gaikwár family. Sindia and Holkar soon afterwards joined the chief of Idar against the Musalmán deputy, and extorted from the latter a considerable sum as ransom.

The Maráthas
Deputy
Governor,
1736.

Umábái had recognized Dámáji as her agent in succession to Piláji; but as she required Dámáji in the Dakhan the latter had been obliged to leave in his turn a *locum tenens* in Gujarát. There ensued quarrels between this deputy, named Rangoji, and Kantaji Kadam which brought Dámáji back again, and after obtaining from the Muhammadan viceroy, who had espoused the cause of Kantaji, a grant of one-fourth the revenues of the country north of the Mahi he went as usual to Sorath. Kantaji Kadam, who as a partisan of the Peshwa was hostile to the Senápati, harassed the country within reach of his frontier. Dámáji, meanwhile, had again proceeded to the Dakhan, where Umábái was intriguing against the Peshwa and required all the help she could obtain to further the ambitious schemes she was devising in the name of her half-witted son. His deputy Rangoji, by demanding a heavy price for his aid at a time when an aspirant to the viceroyalty of Ahmedabad was in distress, managed to secure for the Maráthas half the revenue of Gujarát with certain exceptions.

Ahmedabad
Riots,
1738.

Dámáji then moved into Gujarát again, and on his way to join Rangoji extorted Rs. 7000 from the English at Surat as a

guarantee against plundering them. The events of this year have been detailed in full in the history of the Musalmán Period. After getting possession of a great part of the city of Ahmedábád the Maráthás, by their oppressive rule, excited a rising amongst the Musalmán inhabitants. Similar quarrels and subsequent reconciliations took place between 1739 and 1741, the Musalmáns distrusting the Maráthás, yet not daring to attempt to oust them. Dámáji, on his way back from one of his Sorath expeditions, laid siege to Broach, which was held by a Muhammadan officer direct from the viceroy of the Dakhan.¹ As the latter personage was still regarded by the Maráthá chiefs as a possible ally against the Peshwa, Dámáji at once obeyed the request of the Nizám to raise the siege, but probably obtained a promise of future concessions such as he had acquired at Surat.

Rangoji in the absence of Dámáji took up his residence in Borsad. There he fell into several disputes with the Muhammadan officials, in the course of one of which he was taken prisoner, but escaped the next year (1743). Meanwhile Dámáji had joined with Rághoji Bhonslé in attacking the Peshwa. Whilst Rághoji was preparing his army in the east, Dámáji made a feint against Málwa, which had the desired effect of withdrawing a large portion of the ministerial army. The Gaikwár's troops retreated without giving battle, but to prevent any future junction between Dámáji and the Bhonslé party in Berár, Báláji Peshwa confirmed the Pavár family in their claims to Dhár, which had never been acknowledged as their territory since the defection of the Pavárs to the Dabháde party in 1731. It is worth remarking that though the rank of Senápati had apparently been made hereditary in the Dabháde family (for the owner of the title was quite unfit for the command of an army), the Ghorpadé family applied at this time to have it restored to them on the ground that it once had been held by one of their house. The Peshwa, however, managed to secure their alliance by a grant of land, and their claims to the chief command of the army seem to have been waived.

For the next two years the Maráthá force in Gujarát under Rangoji and Deváji Takpar was employed by the Musalmáns in their quarrels regarding the vicereignty. The Maráthá practice of appointing deputies gives rise to some confusion as to the negotiations that took place about this time between the Gaikwár's party and the rival candidates for the office of subhedár. For instance, Umábái Dabháde had appointed the Gaikwár family as her agents-in-chief, but the principal members of that house were absent in the Dakhan. Dámáji Gaikwár had appointed Rangoji, who in his turn left one Krishnáji in charge of the Maráthá share of the city of Ahmedábád. On the departure, however, of Dámáji from Gujarát, Umábái left Rámáji as her agent. Rámáji, who seems to have

THE
MARATHAN
A.D. 1700-1819.

1739.

1741.

1742.

1743-44.

¹ Broach was constituted part of the Nizám's personal estate on his resigning the vicereignty in 1722.

THE
MARATHAS,
A.D. 1769-1819.

been employed previously by Dámáji, followed the example of his predecessors and placed one Rámchandra in charge at Ahmedábád. There does not appear to have been any direct agent of the Peshwa in Gujarát at this time.

1745.

On Khanderáv Gaikwár's return from the Dakhan he demanded the accounts of the tribute from Rangoji, and not being satisfied with this agent confined him in Borsad and appointed one Trimbakráv in his place. Umábái caused Rangoji to be set at liberty and sent to her in the Dakhan, after which she reappointed him her agent. He expelled Trimbakráv from Ahmedábád, but was attacked by Krishnáji and Gangádhár, two other late deputies. Dámáji and Khanderáv were obliged at last to come to Gujarát and summon all these deputies to their presence. A private arrangement was concluded under which Khanderáv was allowed by Dámáji to keep Nadiád and Borsad as a private estate and to act as the Gaikwár's deputy at Baroda. Rangoji was to live at Umreth when not on active service. Gangádhár and Krishnáji were censured and forbidden to engage in any independent alliances with the Muhammadan leaders.

1746.

After this Dámáji sent a general named Kánoji Tákar to collect the Sorath tribute whilst he himself retired to Songad.

Rangoji returned to Ahmedábád, and not long after began to quarrel with the viceroy about the Maráthá share in the revenue of the city ceded in 1728.

The Gaikwár
in Surat,
1747.

In A.D. 1747 Kedárji Gaikwár, cousin of Dámáji, was asked by Syed Achchan, an aspirant to the governorship of Surat, to assist him in maintaining possession of that city. Before Kedárji could reach Surat the disputes as to the succession had been settled by negotiations, and the aid of Maráthá troops was no longer required. Kedárji, however, finding himself in a position to dictate terms, demanded three lákhs of rupees for the aid that he was prepared to give, and as the Surat treasury could not afford to pay this sum in cash, one-third of the revenues of Surat was promised to the Gaikwár.

1748.

Rangoji meanwhile attacked Haribá, an adopted son of Khanderáv Gaikwár, and recovered from him the town and fort of Borsad, which had been seized during the time that Rangoji had been occupied with his disputes in Ahmedábád. Khanderáv and Dámáji both turned against him and captured the fort after a long siege. Rangoji was then again imprisoned, and not released until the next year when the Peshwa sent a body of troops into Gujarát. In 1748 Umábái, widow of Trimbakráv Dábháde, died, leaving one Báburáv guardian of Yeshvántráv her son. Partly through the solicitations of Khanderáv, who had private influence with the Dábhádes, partly from the fact of previous possession, Dámáji was confirmed as deputy of the Maráthás in Gujarát. He there began to collect an army as quickly as possible, in order to co-operate with Raghunáth Bhonslé against the Peshwa, in answer to an appeal by Sakvárbái, widow of Sháhu, to support the throne against the ministers, and to secure the

succession of Sambhaji to the Sátara kingdom. The Peshwa, aware of Dámaji's ill-will towards himself, did his best to foment disturbances in Gujarát and to extend his own influence there so as to keep Dámaji away from the Dakhan.

The Peshwa accordingly entered into some negotiations with Jawán Mard Khán, then in power at Ahmedábád, but was unable to lend substantial aid in Gujarát against Dámaji's agents, as the whole Marátha power was required in the Dakhan to operate against the son of the late Nizám-ul-Mulk.

Next year Dámaji, at the request of Tarábái, guardian of Rám Rája, ascended the Salpi ghát with a strong force, defeated the Peshwa's army, and advanced as far as Sátara. From this position he was forced to retire, and whilst in treaty with the Peshwa was treacherously seized by the latter and put into prison. Baláji at once demanded arrears of tribute, but Dámaji declined to agree to any payment, on the ground that he was no independent chief but only the agent of the Senápati. He therefore refused to bind his principal or himself on account of what was due from his principal. Baláji then imprisoned all the members of the Gaikwár and Dábháde family that were at that time in the Dakhan.

The state of Surat was at this time such as to afford a good opportunity to the Peshwa to obtain a footing there independently of the English or of Dámaji. He had recently had dealings with the former in the expeditions against Angria of Kolába, and as the merchants had found him one of the most stable and powerful rulers of the country, they were willing to treat with him for the future security of their buildings and goods in Surat. Taking advantage of Dámaji's confinement, Baláji sent Ragunáthráv to Gujarát. This leader, afterwards so well known as Rághoba, took possession of a few *tálukas* in the north-east of the province, but was recalled to the Dakhan before he could approach Surat. Jawán Mard Khán also took advantage of Dámaji's absence to make an expedition into Sorath and Káthiáwáda where the Gaikwár family had now established themselves permanently.

The news of these two expeditions made Dámaji very eager to return to his province; and as he had full information as to Baláji's plans with regard to Gujarát, he bribed freely, and in order to regain his liberty consented to much harsher terms than he would otherwise have done. He agreed to maintain an army for defence and collection purposes in Gujarát, as well as to furnish a contingent to the Peshwa's army in the Dakhan, and to contribute towards the support of the Rája, now in reality a state-prisoner dependent upon the wishes of his minister. The Gaikwár was also to furnish the tribute due on account of the Dábháde family, whom the Peshwa was apparently trying to oust from the administration altogether. After deducting the necessary expenses of collection and defence, half the surplus revenue was to be handed over to the Peshwa. Even after acceding to all these proposals, the Gaikwár was not at once released. The Peshwa protracted the negotiations, as he had

The
Mamúrús,
A.D. 1760-1819.

1750.

Dámaji Gaikwár
Arrested,
1761.

The Peshwa
and Surat.

Release of
Dámaji,
1752.

THE
MARATHAS,
A.D. 1700-1819.

to contend against a factious court party in whose counsels he knew Dāmāji would play a leading part when once set at liberty. At last, however, after agreeing to a final request that he would assist Raghunāthráv against Surat, Dāmāji was allowed to go. There was at this time one Pándurang Pant levying tribute on behalf of the Peshwa in Cambay and Ahmedábád. The Nawáb of Cambay, not having any reason to like or trust his neighbour the Gaikwar, had persuaded the Peshwa at the time the partition of the Maráthá rights over Gujarát was being settled at Poona, to take Cambay into his share of the province. The Nawáb bought off the agent of his ally with a present of guns and cash. The ruler of Ahmedábád also came to terms with the Maráthás, so Pándurang was at liberty to go and see if he could find equal good fortune in Sorath.

Capture of
Ahmedábád,
1753.

Dāmāji now came back with a fresh army, which was soon reinforced by Raghunāthráv. They marched towards Ahmedábád, and Jawán Mard Khán was too late to intercept them before they invested the capital. He managed, however, by a bold movement to enter the town, but after a long siege was obliged to capitulate and march out with the honours of war. The Maráthás conferred on him an estate in the north-west of Gujarát, which, however, was recovered by them some time afterwards.

1754.

After taking possession of Ahmedábád in April 1753, Raghunāthráv went to Sorath, and on his return extorted a large sum as tribute from the Nawáb of Cambay. He left a deputy in Ahmedábád, who marched against the same chief again in 1754, but on this occasion he could levy no tribute. As the Nawáb had firmly established himself and considerably enlarged his dominions, the Peshwa's deputy marched against him in person a second time, but was defeated and taken prisoner. The nominee of Raghunāthráv procured his release, and the Peshwa's deputy continued to demand arrears of tribute for his master till he obtained an agreement to pay at a future date. He then retired to the Dakhan, and the Nawáb, taking advantage of the lull to strengthen his army, captured Ahmedábád from the Maráthá garrison and established himself in the city. After a while Dāmāji and Khanderáv Gaikwár, with an agent sent direct by the Peshwa, arrived before the town and commenced a siege. It was not until April 1757 that the Maráthás again entered the city. The Nawáb surrendered after the Maráthás had fully ratified the conditions he himself had proposed.

1755.

1757.

1758.

Sayājiráv, son of Dāmāji, remained in Ahmedábád on behalf of his father, and the Peshwa's agent Sadáshiv put in a deputy in his turn and went himself to Surat. Here he was soon joined by Sayāji, who had to arrange the shares of the tribute in accordance with the partition treaty of 1751. Next year a body of Maráthá troops was sent to the aid of the Ráv of Kachh, who was engaged in an expedition against Thatta in Sindh. Sadáshiv lent the Nawáb of Cambay some money on the part of the Peshwa to enable him to liquidate the arrears of pay due to his army, but a year afterwards the Maráthá army appeared at the town gates with a demand for

two years' arrears of tribute in full, amounting to Rs. 20,000. The Nawáb managed to raise this sum, and the Maráthás moved south. Dámáji was at this time in Poona.

The Peshwa had supported Syed Achchan of Surat with the view of putting him under an obligation so as to secure some future advantages, and this year lent him some troops as a bodyguard. The Nawáb of Cambay, who was also indebted to the ministerial party, left his dominions to pay a visit to the Peshwa at Poona. Khanderáv meanwhile plundered Lanáváda and Idar, whilst Sayájiráv was similarly engaged in Soráth.

Dámáji Gaikwár accompanied the Peshwa to Delhi, and was one of the few Marátha leaders that escaped after the defeat at Pánapat. On his return to Gujarát he successfully opposed an expedition by the Nawáb of Cambay against Bálásinor and re-took the estates of Jawán Mard Khán. He also strengthened his position in Soráth and Káthiéváda against the Peshwa's party.

The Peshwa, being hard pressed by his rival the Nizám, began in this year to make overtures to the East India Company's officers in Bombay, with a view to getting the aid of European artillery and gunners. He at first offered to give up a valuable tract of land in Jámbusar. But the English would accept no territory but the island of Sálsette, the town of Bassein, and the small islands in the harbour of Bombay. These the Marátha government declined to give up, so negotiations were broken off.

Next year Raghunáthráv, as guardian of the son of Báláji, named Mádhavráv, who was still a minor, conferred the title of Senápati on one of the Jádhav family who had formerly borne it. The administration of Gujarát, however, which had always accompanied the title when held by the Dábháde family, was left practically in the hands of Dámáji, and no mention of any transfer of it was made at the time Jádhav was appointed commander-in-chief. Discontented with the empty honour thus conferred, Rámchandra, the new Senápati, joined the Nizám's party, and on account of this defection the Peshwa, two years afterwards, cancelled the appointment and restored the office to the Ghorpade family, one of whose members had held it long before. This put an end to the connection of Gujarát with the chief military dignity of the Marátha state.

After Mádhavráv Báláji came of age he had constantly to be on this guard against the plots of his uncle Raghunáthráv, who had refused to accept the share in the government offered him by the young Peshwa. Raghunáthráv, perhaps instigated by his wife, had no doubt great hopes of obtaining a share in the whole power of the administration, and suspecting Mádhavráv to be aware of his designs, looked upon all the overtures made by the latter as intended in some way or other to entrap him. He therefore collected an army of some 15,000 men in Báglán and Násik, and hoping to be joined on his way by Jánoji Bhonslé, advanced towards Poona. In his army was Govindráv, son of Dámáji Gaikwár, with a detachment of his father's troops. The Peshwa, without giving Jánoji time to effect

The
Maráthas,
A.D. 1760-1819.

1759.

1761.

1761.

1762.

Intrigues of
Raghoba,
1768.

THE
MARÁTHAS,
A.D. 1700-1819.

Death of Dámáji
Gaikwár,
1768.

Disputed
Succession.

a junction with Raghunáthráv, even if he had been prepared to do so, defeated his uncle's army at Dhorap, a fort in the Ajunta range, and carried off Rághobá and Govindráv to Poona, where they were placed in confinement.

Not long after this action Dámáji died. He had brought the fortunes of the Gaikwár house to the highest pitch they ever reached and not long after his death the family influence began to decline. It was his personal authority alone that was able to counteract the usual tendency of quasi-independent Marátha states towards disintegration, especially when they are at a distance from the central power. Khanderáv and Sayájráv had shown frequent signs of insubordination (as for instance in their espousal of the cause of Rangoji) and a desire to establish themselves in an independant position, but the sagacity of Dámáji foresaw the advantage such a partition would give an enemy like the Peshwa, and his tact enabled him to preserve unity in his family, at least in resistance to what he showed them to be their common foe.

The quarrel for the succession that arose on Dámáji's death was the first step towards the breaking up of the Gaikwár's power. Dámáji had three wives. By the first he had Govindráv, who however was born after Sayájráv, the son by the second wife. His sons by the third wife were Mánáji and Fatesingh. Govindráv was in confinement at Poona near the court, and therefore in a position to offer conditions for the confirmation of his rights without loss of time.

In the Hindu law current amongst Maráthás, there are to be found precedents in favour of the heirship of either Govindráv or Sayájráv. Some authorities support the rights of the son of the first wife whether he be the oldest or not, others again regard simply the age of the claimants, deciding in favour of the first born, of whatever wife he may be the son. Rámráv Shástri, the celebrated adviser of Mádhavráv Peshwa, is said to have expressed an opinion in favour of the rights of Sayájráv. Govindráv, however, was on the spot where his influence could be used most extensively. Sayáji, moreover, was an idiot and a puppet in the hands of his half brother Fatesingh. Govindráv applied at once for investiture with the title of Sená-Khas-Khel. A payment of 50½ lakhs of rupees to the Peshwa on account of arrears of tribute and a fine for his conduct in taking part with Rághobá was a strong argument in his favour, and when he agreed to a tribute previously demanded from his father of Rs. 7,79,000 yearly and to maintain a peace contingent at Poona of 3000 horse, to be increased by a thousand more in time of war, there could be little doubt as to the legitimacy of his claim, and he was duly invested with his father's title and estate.

1771.

For reasons not apparent Sayáji's claims were not brought forward till nearly two years later. Govindráv had never been allowed to join his charge in Gujarát, so that he could exercise no interference in that direction, and the court affairs in the Dakhan left perhaps little time for the disposal of Sayájráv's application, even if it had been made. Sayáji had entrusted his interests to Fatesingh, a man

of considerable ability, who came at once to Poona to get a reversal of the recognition of Govindrāv. The Peshwa was glad to have this opportunity of undoing so much of Dāmājī's work and dividing the Gaikwār family against itself, so using the verdict of Rām Shāstri as his weapon, he cancelled the former grant in favour of Govindrāv, and appointed Sayājirāv with Fatesingh as his *mudlik* or deputy. The latter, by agreeing to pay an extra sum of 8½ lakhs of rupees annually, got permission to retain the Poona contingent of Gaikwār horse in Gujarāt, on the pretext that Govindrāv would probably attack his brothers on the earliest opportunity. Thus, whatever happened, all went to the profit of the Peshwa's party and to the injury of the tax-paying Gujarāt ryot.

Fatesingh retired in triumph to Baroda, and opened negotiations with the English in Surat, as he had been endeavouring to do for a year past without success. In January 1773, however, he succeeded in getting an agreement from the Chief for Affairs of the British Nation in Surat, that his share in the revenues of the town of Broach, which had been taken by storm in 1772 by the English, should not be affected by the change of masters. In the same year Nārāyanrāv Peshwa was murdered, and Rāghobā was invested by the titular king at Sātara with the ministerial robe of honour. Govindrāv Gaikwār, still in Poona, reminded the new Peshwa of the good offices of the Gaikwār family at Dhorap and elsewhere, and found means of getting reinstated as Senā-Khās-Khel. In 1774 he set out for Gujarāt, and collecting a fair number of adherents on his way, he attacked Fatesingh. After various engagements of little importance, the latter found himself shut into the city of Baroda, which was invested by Govindrāv in January 1775.

In the meantime Rāghobā had been driven from power by the intrigues of Brāhmins of a different class from that to which he belonged, headed by the afterwards well-known Nāna Phadnis. The ex-Peshwa first betook himself towards Mālwa, where he hoped to be joined or at least assisted by Holkar and Sindia. As soon however as he got together some scattered forces he marched down the Tāpti and opened negotiations with the English through Mr. Gambier, the chief at Surat. The Bombay Government at once demanded the cession of Bassein, Sālsette, and the adjacent islands. Rāghobā refused, partly, in all probability, on account of the pride felt by the Marāthā soldiery in their achievements before Bassein at the time of the great siege. He however offered valuable territory in Gujarāt, yielding a revenue of about eleven lakhs, and to pay six lakhs down and 1½ lakhs monthly for the maintenance of a European contingent with artillery. The English at Bombay were debating whether this offer should not be accepted when news reached them that the Portuguese were about to organise an expedition to re-take Bassein. Negotiations with Rāghobā were hastily broken off and a small force sent to forestall the rival Europeans. Before the end of 1774, both Thāna and Versova fort in Sālsette had been taken.

Rāghobā now heard that Sindia and Holkar had been bought over by the ministerial party and would not come to his assistance.

THE
MARATHAS
A.D. 1760-1819.

1773.

1774.

Rāghobā
Peshwa,
1774.

Rāghobā in
Gujarāt,
1776.

THE
MARATHAS.
A.D. 1760-1819.

Quickly moving his force down the river he reached Baroda in January 1775 with 10,000 horse and 400 foot. He joined Govindrāv in investing that town, but sent meanwhile an agent to re-open the discussion of his proposals in the Bombay Council. This agent was captured by a party of Patesingh's horse whilst he was out on an expedition near Pārnera on behalf of Govindrāv. On his release he repaired to Surat and took steps to get a treaty of alliance signed as soon as possible.

Rāghobā
Defeated.

The ministerial army of 30,000 men under Haripant Phadke entered Gujarāt and obliged Govindrāv and Rāghobā to raise the siege of Baroda and to retire towards the Mahi. Patesingh's force then joined Haripant. An attack on all sides was made (Feb. 17th). Rāghobā, who was in the centre, was first charged, and before Govindrāv and Khanderāv Gāikwār could come to his assistance his best officers were wounded, some of his Arab mercenaries refused to fight as large arrears of pay were due to them, and he was defeated on both flanks. He fled to Cambay with only 1000 horse; whilst the two Gāikwārs and Manāji Sindia (Phadke) led the rest of the scattered army to Kapadvanj, where it was again set in order. The Nawab of Cambay, fearing lest the Marātha army should come in pursuit, shut the town gates on the fugitive and refused to give him shelter. Mr. Malet, chief of the English residents, who had been informed of the negotiations in progress between his Government and Rāghobā, contrived to get the ex-Peshwa conveyed privately to Bhāvnagar and from thence by boat to Surat. Here he arrived on February 23rd.

Reaches Surat.

Treaty of Surat,
1775.

The stipulations of the treaty negotiated by Narotamdas, agent of Rāghobā, and the Bombay Government were: The English to provide a force of 3000 men, of which 800 were to be Europeans and 1700 natives, together with a due proportion of artillery. In return for this Rāghobā, still recognized as Peshwa, was to cede in perpetuity Salsette, Bassein and the islands, Jāmbusar, and Olpād. He also made over an assignment of Rs. 75,000 out of the revenues of Anklesvar, the remaining portion of which district, together with Amod, Hānsot, and Balsar was placed under British management as security for the monthly contribution of 1½ lakhs for the support of the troops in his service. He also promised to procure the cession of the Gāikwār's share in the revenues of Broach. Sundry other provisions (dealing with different parts of the Marātha dominions) were inserted, Rāghobā being treated throughout as the representative of the Marātha kingdom. This treaty was signed on March 6th, 1775, at Surat, but on the previous day there had been a debate in the Council at Bombay as to the propriety of continuing to support Rāghobā, as the news from Gujarāt made the British authorities doubtful whether the contingent they had already sent to Surat was enough to ensure success.

Colonel Keating
in Gujarāt.

Just before the treaty was drawn up, at the end of February Lieut.-Colonel Keating had been despatched in command of 350 European infantry 800 sepoys 80 European artillerymen and 60 gun lascars with others, in all about 1500 men, ready for active service. This force landed at Surat four days after Rāghobā had arrived from Bhāvnagar.

Before receiving this token of the intention of the British to support Raghobá, the Nawáb had treated the latter simply as a fugitive, but upon finding that the Bombay Government had determined to make the ex-Peshwa their ally, he paid the customary visits and offered presents as to a superior.

When the news reached Surat that Govindrav's troops and the rest had been reorganized at Kapadvanj, it was determined to effect a junction with them by landing Colonel Keating's detachment at Cambay and from thence marching north.

* Considerable delay occurred in carrying out the first part of this proposal. First of all Raghobá detained the army at Dumas¹ whilst he paid a visit of ceremony to the frequented temple of Bhimpor in the neighbourhood. Then again, the convoy met with contrary winds the whole way up the gulf, and it was not till March 17th that the contingent landed. The Nawáb, accompanied by the British Resident, paid a visit of ceremony and presented *nazarinás* to Raghobá as a sort of atonement for his previous discourtesy and neglect. The Maráthás, however, knowing that this change of tone was entirely due to the presence and alliance of the Europeans, paid much more attention to the latter than to the Muhammadans.

The British contingent encamped at a place called Náráyan-Sarovar, just north of the town. Here they waited until the reinforcement from Bombay arrived, bringing the whole force up to the complement stipulated for in the treaty. Raghobá's army under Govindrav Gaikwar was reported to be moving southwards, and Colonel Keating agreed to let it pass the Sábarmati river before joining it. Meanwhile the enemy, said to number 40,000 infantry and 12,000 cavalry, marched north to intercept Govindrav. The latter, however, by forced marches succeeded in crossing the Sábarmati before the arrival of the ministerial army, and encamped a few miles north-east of Cambay at a place called Darmaj or Dara. Here Colonel Keating joined him about the middle of April.

Govindrav's army consisted of about 8000 fighting men and nearly 18,000 camp followers. These latter were chiefly Pindháris who used to attach themselves to the camp of one of the Maráthha chiefs, on condition of surrendering to him half their plunder. Each chief had his separate encampment, where he exercised independent authority over his own troops, although bound to general obedience to the commander-in-chief of the whole army. The confusion of this arrangement is described by an eye-witness as utterly destructive of all military discipline. To add to the cumbrousness of such an expedition, most of the Pindháris brought their wives and children with them, the cooking pots and plunder being carried on bullocks and ponies, of which there were altogether nearly 200,000 attached to the troops. In every camp there was a regular

THE
MARÁTHÁS,
A.D. 1760-1819.

Keating Falls
with Raghobá
for Cambay.

Raghobá in
Cambay,
1775.

Govindrav
Gaikwar's
Army.

¹ At the mouth of the Tápti, now belonging to the little Muhammadan state of Sachin.

THE
MARATHAS,
A.D. 1760-1819.

Advance of
the Combined
Forces.

bazār where cash payment or barter passed equally current, so that a premium was thus placed on the pilfering of small articles by the Pindhāris, whose stipulations as to plunder were confined neither to friend nor enemy.

When all needful preparations had been made, the army, accompanied by a battery of ten guns, besides mortars and howitzers, all of which were manned by Europeans, moved out against the enemy. The latter slowly retreated, burning the crops and forage and destroying the water-supply on its way. On the 20th April the first engagement took place at Usāmlī, resulting in the repulse of the ministerial troops. On May 1st a similar skirmish on the banks of the Vātrāk drove the ministerialists into Kaira. From this post they were driven after a series of slight engagements with the army of Rāghobā, which crossed the river at Mātar. Fatesingh now received a reinforcement of 10,000 horse under Khanderāv Gaikwār, but to counterbalance this aid, Sindia and Holkar from some unexplained cause, connected probably with intrigues at Poona, withdrew from further co-operation with him. Colonel Keating was unable to follow up the advantages he had gained owing to the large proportion of cavalry in the enemy's army. He therefore continued his march southwards, after persuading Rāghobā to spend the monsoon in Poona, where he would be on the spot to counteract intrigues, instead of at Ahmedābād, as had been at first proposed.

On May 8th the army reached Nadiād, after repulsing on the road two attacks by the enemy's cavalry. This result was obtained chiefly by means of the European light artillery. Nadiād belonged at this time to Khanderāv Gaikwār, and to punish his defection to Fatesingh, Rāghobā inflicted a fine of 60,000 rupees on the town. The amount was assessed on the several castes in proportion to their reputed means of payment. The Bhāts, a peculiar people of whom more hereafter, objected to being assessed, and slaughtered each other in public: so that the guilt of their blood might fall on the oppressor. The Brāhmans, who also claimed exemption from all taxation, more astutely brought two old women of their caste into the market place and there murdered them. Having made this protest, both castes paid their contributions. Rāghobā injudiciously wasted seven days over the collection of this fine, and in the end only levied 40,000 rupees.

Defeat of
Fatesingh,
1775.

On May 14th the march was resumed, under the usual skirmishing onslaughts of the ministerial party. At Aras, where Rāghobā had been defeated shortly before, he was in imminent danger of a second and still more serious discomfiture. An order mistaken by a British company, and the want of discipline on the part of Rāghobā's cavalry nearly led to a total defeat with great slaughter. The European infantry and artillery, however, turned the fortunes of the day. The troops of Fatesingh were allowed to approach in pursuit to within a few yards of the batteries, all the guns of which then opened on them with grape, the infantry meanwhile plying their small arms along the whole line. Fatesingh was obliged to withdraw his diminished forces and the army of Rāghobā received no further molesta-

tions from him on its way to the Mahi. Colonel Keating then ordered a general move to Broach, where he arrived safely on 27th May, after a troublesome march through the robber-infested country between the Dhādhar river and Amod.

Here they remained until June 8th, when Colonel Keating was about to move south again. Luckily, as it turned out for him, the nearest ford was impassable and he had to march to one higher up at a place variously called Bāba Pīra or Bāva Pir. On his way thither he heard that Haripant, the ministerial commander-in-chief, was halting on the north bank by the ford; he therefore pushed on to make an attack on the rear, but owing partly to timely information received and partly to the confusion caused by the irrepressibility of Rāghobā's cavalry, Haripant had time to withdraw all his force except some baggage and ammunition, which, with a few guns, he was forced in the hurry of his passage across the river to leave behind. Colonel Keating then marched fourteen miles north from the ford and halted before proceeding to Dabhoi, a town belonging to Fatesingh. The general ignorance of tactics and want of discipline in the native army had determined Colonel Keating not to lead his force as far as Poona, but to spend the monsoon near Baroda.

Rāghobā detached one of his generals, Amir Khān, in pursuit of Ganeshpant, whom Hari Pant had left as his deputy in Gujarāt. Ganeshpant with a detachment of the ministerial army had separated from Hari at the Bāba Pīra ford and found his way through the wild country on the north of the Tāpti towards Ahmedābād. He was finally caught by Amir Khān.

Dabhoi was at this time in charge of a Brāhman governor, who submitted on the approach of Rāghobā's army. Colonel Keating quartered his force in the town, but Rāghobā, after exacting a levy of three lakhs of rupees, encamped at Bhilāpur on the Dhādhar, ten miles from Dabhoi. Here he began to negotiate with Fatesingh in Baroda through the mediation of Colonel Keating. Fatesingh was all the more ready to come to definite terms of agreement, as he knew that Govindrāv was on the watch to recover Baroda.

It is not certain what the terms proposed and agreed to really were. The only record of them is a copy sent in 1802 to the Resident at Poona by Governor Duncan. According to this document Govindrāv was to lose his pension and to occupy the same position as before the accession of Rāghobā. Khandarāv was to revert to the situation in which he had been placed by Dāmāji. The provision of the treaty of the 6th March regarding the Gāikwār's claims on Broach was ratified, and as a reward for the mediation of the Bombay Government, the Gāikwār ceded to the British in perpetuity the sub-divisions of Chikhli and Variāv near Surat and Koral on the Narbada. Before this treaty could be concluded, Colonel Keating received orders to withdraw his contingent into British territory and to leave Rāghobā to manage for himself. This change of policy was due to the disapproval by the Supreme Government of the treaty of 6th March, which they alleged had been

THE
MINISTRIES,
A.D. 1760-1819.

The
Ministerial
General
Retreats.

Colonel Keating
at Dabhoi,
1776.

Rāghobā and
the Gāikwār.

THE
MARÁTHAS,
A.D. 1760-1819.

Withdrawal
of the British
Contingent.

Negotiations
at Poona.

Rághobá at
Surat,
1776.

made inconsistently with the negotiations then being carried on with the ruling powers at Poona as well as with the authority of the Calcutta Government. The treaty was therefore declared to be invalid and the troops in the field were ordered by the Supreme Government to be withdrawn at once into British garrisons. A special envoy, Colonel Upton, was sent from Bengal to negotiate a treaty with the Ministers in accordance with the views current in Calcutta.

As soon as the roads were open Colonel Keating moved towards Surat, but at the solicitation of Rághobá he disobeyed his orders so far as to encamp at Kadod, about twenty miles east of Surat, but not in British territory. Here he awaited the results of the overtures of Colonel Upton. This envoy remained at Poona from the 28th December 1775 till the 1st March 1776, on which date he signed the treaty of Porandhar, in which the office only and not the name of the Peshwa is mentioned. By this compact the Peshwa ceded all claims on the revenue of Broach together with land in the neighbourhood of that town to the British. He also paid twelve lakhs of rupees in compensation for the expenses of the war. Sálsette was to be either retained by the English or restored in exchange for territory yielding three lakhs of rupees annually. The cessions made by Fatesingh Gaikwár were to be restored to him if the Peshwa's Government could prove that he had no right to make them without due authorization from Poona. The treaty of the 6th March was declared null and void. Rághobá was to disband his army and take a pension. If he resisted, the English were to give him no assistance. If he agreed to the terms proposed, he was to live at Kopargaon¹ on the Godávari with an ample pension. When he received information as to the terms of the new treaty, he at once declined to accept the pension, and, as he could not understand the position of the Bombay Government with regard to that at Calcutta, he proceeded to offer still more favourable terms for further assistance.

Rághobá was at Mándvi² on the Tápti when he was finally given to understand that the British could no longer aid him. He thereupon took refuge in Surat with two hundred followers. The rest of his army which had been ordered to disperse, gathered round Surat, on pretence of waiting for the payment of the arrears due to them. As their attitude was suspicious, and there were rumours of an expedition having started from Poona under Haripant to subdue them, the Bombay Government garrisoned Surat and Broach with all the forces it could spare.

Colonel Upton meanwhile offered Rághobá, on behalf of the ministers, a larger pension with liberty of residing at Benárees. This also was declined, and the ex-Peshwa fled to Bombay, where he lived on a monthly pension allotted him by the Government.

¹ Now in the Ahmednagar district.

² In the Surat district—some thirty miles east of the city.

On 20th August 1776, a despatch of the Court of Directors arrived confirming the treaty of the 8th March 1775. At first the Bombay Government were inclined to take this as authorising the retention of all the territory ceded, but on further deliberation it was decided that as the treaty of Parandhar had been ratified by the Supreme Government subsequent to the signing of the despatch, which was dated 5th April 1776, it was evident that the Court of Directors did not mean to uphold the previous engagement more than temporarily, or until the final treaty had been concluded.

At the end of 1776, a Bombay officer was sent in place of Colonel Upton to be a resident envoy at Poona for the carrying out of the provisions of the treaty. Mr. Mostyn was the person selected, and he arrived in Poona in March 1777. He soon found that the ministers had little intention of adhering to the treaty, so he at once took up the question that he thought it most important to the Bombay Government to have settled, namely the relations of the Peshwa's Court with Fatesingh Gaikwār as regards the cessions of territory. The ministers asserted that the Gaikwars merely administered Gujarāt on the part of the Peshwa and were entirely dependent upon the Poona government, so that they could conclude no agreement with foreign states except with its approbation. Fatesingh did not deny the dependence, but evaded the question of his right to make direct treaties and claimed the restitution of the cessions on the ground that Raghunāthrao had failed to perform his part of the stipulations. The point was discussed for some time, and at last the question of dependence seems to have been let drop, for in February 1778 Fatesingh paid up the arrears of tribute, made the usual presents to the ministers and their favourites, and was again invested with the title of Senā-Khās Khel.

In October a despatch from the Court of Directors reached the Governments of Bengal and Bombay, disapproving of the treaty of Parandhar, but ratifying it on the principle of *factum valet*. It was suggested, however, that in case of evasion on the part of the ministers, a fresh treaty should be concluded with Rāghobā on the lines of that of 1775.

In November 1778 it was rumoured that the ministers in Poona were intriguing with the French, so the Bombay Government took this opportunity of entering into a treaty with Rāghobā, who was still in Bombay. He confirmed the grants of 1775, and as security for the pay of the British contingent that was to help in placing him on the Peshwa's throne in Poona, he agreed to assign the revenues of Balsār and the remainder of Anklesvar, as he had done before. He stipulated, however, that his own agents should collect the dues from these districts, and that the British should take charge of them only in case of the full sum due not being paid and then merely as a temporary measure.

On the 22nd November 1778 the force moved out of Bombay, and by dint of mismanagement and internal dissension the campaign was brought to an end by the convention of the 16th January 1779.

The
MARATHAS.
A.D. 1760-1818.

Negotiations
at Poona,
1777.

Fresh Alliance
with Rāghobā,
1778.

The Convention
of Bhadgaon,
1779.

THE
MARATHAS,
A.D. 1760-1819.

Negotiation
with the
Gaikwar.

Raghobā Escapes
from Sindia,
1779.

League against
the English,
1780.

Treaty with
Fatesingh
Gaikwar.

Under this agreement all possessions in Gujarāt acquired since the time of Mādhavrāy Peshwa were to be restored by the British, together with Sālsētte, Uran, and other islands. Rāghobā was to be made over to Sindia's charge, and a separate treaty assigned to Sindia the sovereignty of Broach.

The Council at Bombay disavowed the convention and were inclined to adhere only to the clause allotting Broach to Sindia. Mr. Hornby proposed to the Supreme Government an alliance with Fatesingh, engaging to free him from dependence on the Poona Government and to reconcile the disputants within the Gaikwar family itself. After the arrival of General Goddard with reinforcements from Bengal the Governor General approved of the alliance proposed with Fatesingh as head of the Baroda state, but specially declined to admit any participation or support in the family disputes. The British were to conquer for themselves the Peshwa's share of Gujarāt, if they were able to do so.

Rāghobā, meanwhile, who had been given over to Sindia to be conveyed to Bundelkhand, escaped with the connivance of his custodian and fled to Broach. This was evidently a move calculated by Sindia to bring on hostilities between Nāna Phadnis, the head of the ministerial party, and the English. General Goddard, who was conducting the negotiations with Poona on the part both of the Supreme Government and of the Government of Bombay, received Rāghobā on June 12th, but evaded any proposals for a direct alliance. At the end of the rains of the same year, information was received by the English that a coalition against them had been formed by the Marāthās, the Nizām, and Hyder Ali of Mysor. The rumour was partially confirmed by the demand by Nāna Phadnis for the cession of Sālsētte and the person of Rāghobā as preliminaries to any treaty. No answer was given, but reinforcements were called for and the overtures with Fatesingh pushed forward. This chief prevaricated about the terms of the treaty and evidently did not like to enter into any special engagement that might perhaps bring down upon him the Poona army. General Goddard therefore advanced on 1st January 1780 against Dabhoi, which was garrisoned by the Peshwa's troops from the Dakhan, whilst the English in Broach expelled the Marāthā officers from their posts and re-took possession of Anklesvar, Hānsot, and Amēd. On January 20th Dabhoi was evacuated by the Marāthās and occupied by General Goddard. Fatesingh now showed himself willing to enter into the proposed treaty, and on the 26th January 1780 signed an offensive and defensive alliance.

In the re-opening of hostilities there was no mention of Rāghobā, but the ground given was simply the non-fulfilment on the part of the Peshwa of his treaty engagement. Rāghobā remained under English supervision in the enjoyment of a large allowance. Dabhoi was occupied by an English civil officer with a detachment of irregulars, and General Goddard moved towards Ahmedābād.

By the treaty of 1780 the Peshwa was to be excluded from Gujarát. To avoid confusion in collection, the district north of the Mahi was to belong entirely to the share of the Gaikvár. The English were to enjoy the whole district south of the Tápti, together with the Gaikvár share in the revenue of Surat. In return for the support the English were to give him in withholding tribute from the Peshwa, Fatesing ceded Sinor on the Narbada and the Gaikvár's villages round Broach. These cessions, however, were not to have effect until Fatesingh was in possession of Ahmedábád. The contingent of 3000 horse was to be still furnished by the Gaikvár government.

As soon as these conditions were agreed upon, General Goddard went with his own army and the contingent furnished by Fatesingh to Ahmedábád. After encamping before it for five days, he took the city by storm on 15th February 1780.

Sindia and Holkar had combined their forces against the English and were marching up Gujarát, plundering on their way. They were opposed by General Goddard, who marched across the Mahi early in March. The allies turned off towards Chámpáner without risking a pitched battle on the plain. Sindia at once opened negotiations with the view of wasting time during the fair season. His first proposal was that Rághobá should be sent to Jhánsi, where Sindia had allotted him an estate, and that Bájiráv, Rághobá's son, should be appointed *dirda* or manager of the Peshwa Madhávráv, who was a minor. Bájiráv himself was under age, so Sindia was, of course, to assume temporarily the reins of government.

Goddard at once refused to force Rághobá to take any course other than the one he should select of his own free will; for Sindia did not appear to be aware that the English were now at war with the ministers on their own account and not as allies of an ex-Peshwa. Negotiations were broken off and Sindia and Holkar dislodged from place after place without any decisive engagement being fought. General Goddard was preparing monsoon quarters for his army, when he heard that a division of a Maráthá force which had been plundering the Konkan in order to cut off supplies from Bombay had attacked parts of the Surat Athávisi. He detached some troops under Lieut. Welsh and sent them to the south, whilst he remained himself on the Narbada. Lieut. Welsh drove back the marauders and took possession of the forts of Párnera, Indargad, and Bagváda.

After the monsoon of 1780, General Goddard went to besiege Bassein, leaving Major Forbes in charge of the Gujarát army. This officer posted one body of troops at Ahmedábád for the protection of Fatesingh, another at Surat, and a third at Broach. Two battalions of Bengal infantry were sent to Sinor and some few men to Dahhoi.

An attack was made by Sindia on the newly acquired district of Sinor, but Major Forbes successfully resisted it and Sindia's position with regard to his own dominions was now such as to prevent him from sending more expeditions against Gujarát.

The military necessities of other parts of India were such as to induce General Goddard to apply to Fatesingh for an increase to

THE
MARATHAS,
A.D. 1769-1819.

General Goddard
takes Ahmedábád,
1780.

Operations
against Sindia
and Holkar.

1781.

THE
MARÁTHAS,
A.D. 1760-1819.

Treaty of Sálbai,
1782.

his contingent, in accordance with the treaty of 1780. After some personal communications with this Chief in Gujarát, General Goddard was able to arrange with the Gaikwár for the defence of part of that province and thus set free some European troops for service elsewhere.

No further attack was made in this direction during the continuance of the war which came to an end on 17th May 1782. The treaty of Sálbai between an envoy of the Governor General on one side and Mahádáji Sindia as plenipotentiary for the Peshwa and minister of Poona on the other, replaced the Maráthá territory in Gujarát exactly where it was on the outbreak of hostilities against Rághobá in 1775. It was, however, specially stipulated that no demand for arrears of tribute during the late hostilities should be made against the Gaikwár, a clause that led to misunderstandings many years later. The town of Broach was given over to Sindia in accordance with the secret negotiation of 1779 and the votes of the Bengal and Bombay Councils. The territory round Broach yielding a revenue of three lákhs of rupees, ceded by the Peshwa, was likewise returned. Rághobá was granted a pension of 25,000 rupees a month and allowed to select his own place of residence. He went to Kopargaoon and there died a few months after the conclusion of the treaty of Sálbai. Thus came to an end one of the chief sources of disturbance to the Poona government. For the next six years no event of any political importance took place in Gujarát, which province was left almost entirely to the administration of the Gaikwár family.

Death of
Fatesingh,
1789.

In 1789, however, Fatesingh died, leaving Sayájináv without a guardian. Mánáji, a younger brother, at once seized the reins of government and began the usual sort of negotiations to secure his recognition by the Poona government. He paid a nazarána of 3,13,000 rupees and agreed to pay up thirty-six lákhs of rupees as arrears, though it is not clear on what account, unless that sum had accrued since the treaty of Sálbai, or was part of the long standing account left open by Dámáji in 1753. Mánáji, however, was not allowed to succeed to the post of guardian without opposition. Govindráv Gaikwár was living at Poona, and, though he had himself little influence with the Peshwa's immediate adherents, he had managed to secure the then powerful Sindia on his side. This chief, since his recognition as plenipotentiary at the treaty of Sálbai, had been gradually making good his position with the Peshwa and his favourites as well as with the leading Maráthá nobles, so as to be able to successfully oppose Nána Phudnis when the time came for a coalition of the outlying chiefs against the ministerial party. Govindráv offered his son Anandráv as husband for the daughter of Sindia, a proposal which it is not probable that he ever intended to carry out. A grant of three lákhs of rupees was also promised, in return for which Sindia allowed his garrison in Broach to assist Govindráv's illegitimate son Kánhoji to reach Baroda. Mánáji applied to the Bombay Government on the grounds that the steps taken by Govindráv were contrary to the provisions of the treaty of 1780. As however this treaty had been abrogated by the later agreement at Sálbai, the Bombay Government declined to interfere. Mánáji's agents at Poona

contrived to get Nāna Phadnis to propose a compromise, to which however Govindrāv, at the instigation probably of Sindia, declined to accede. Before any decision was reached Mānājī died.

THE
MARATHAS,
A.D. 1760 - 1819.

Nāna detained Govindrāv in Poona till he had agreed to hold by former stipulations and to cede to the Peshwa the Gaikwār's share in the districts south of the Tāpti together with his share of the Surat customs. To this the Government of Bombay demurred as an infraction of the provision of the Sālbai treaty whereby the integrity of the Gaikwār's possessions was assured. Nāna Phadnis at once withdrew his proposals. Govindrāv at last joined his brother at Baroda on 19th December, and took up the office of regent.

1793.

For two years Gujarāt remained quiet. In 1796 Bājirāv, son of Rāghobā, succeeded to the Peshwa's dignity and at once appointed his younger brother, ten years of age, governor of Gujarāt. In accordance with Marātha custom a deputy was sent to take charge of the province, one Aba Shelukar, and he too seems to have administered vicariously, for next year (1797) we find him amongst those taken prisoners with Nāna Phadnis when that minister was treacherously seized by Daulatrāv Sindia in the Dakhan. Aba was released on promising to pay ten lākhs of rupees as ransom. He then joined his appointment as subhedār in order to take measures to get together the money he required.

Aba Shelukar
Deputy Governor
of Gujarāt.
1796.

1797.

Bājirāv Peshwa was anxious to embroil Aba with Govindrāv, whom he knew to be favourable to Nāna Phadnis and too powerful to be allowed to acquire influence beyond the reach of head-quarter supervision. A cause of quarrel soon arose. Daulatrāv pressed Aba for part payment of the above ten lākhs, and the latter being unable to squeeze enough out of his own territory, forced contributions from some of the villages administered by the Gaikwār. Govindrāv at once took up arms against him and applied for aid to the English Agent at Surat. In this city Governor Jonathan Duncan had just assumed chief authority in accordance with an agreement between the English and the Nawāb. Duncan was anxious to secure for his government the land round Surat and the Gaikwār's share in the *chauth* of the town and district. Govindrāv, when this demand was made, referred the Governor to Poona, knowing that under the treaty of Sālbai the British Government had no more right to acquire a share of the Gaikwār territory than the Poona authorities had when they made a somewhat similar demand in 1793, which was withdrawn as stated above. Before the reference could be made, Aba was penned up by Govindrāv's own army in Ahmedābād and forced to surrender that city. He was kept in confinement for more than seven years.

Disputes
between Aba
and Govindrāv
Gaikwār.

1798.

In the same year (1799) the Peshwa, apparently without formally revoking the appointment of his brother Chhmnājī as Subhedār, gave Govindrāv a farm for five years of his whole rights in Gujarāt, at the rate of five lākhs of rupees a year. These rights included shares in the Kāthiāvāda and Sorath tribute, the revenue of Petlād, Nāpād, Rānpur, Dhandhuka, and Gogha, together with rights to certain customs dues in Cambay and a share in the revenue of the city of Ahmedābād.

Gujarat farmed
to the Gaikwār,
1799.

THE
MARÁTHAS,
A.D. 1700-1819.

Anandráv
Gaikwár,
1800.

Govindráv unfortunately died a month before this farm was formally made over by the Peshwa.

As had happened at the death of Dámáji, so again now, the heir Anandráv was all but an idiot and quite incapable of managing his affairs. The disputes as to the guardianship again set the whole state in confusion. Kánhoji, a son of Govindráv by a Rájputni princess of Dharampor, who had been the first agent of his father in Baroda in 1793, had been put in prison for refusing to give place to Govindráv when the latter at length joined him at Baroda. At the death of Govindráv, Kánhoji managed to obtain his liberty and to secure the ascendancy in the counsels of his weak-minded elder brother. He assumed, in fact, the whole government. His arrogant conduct in this new position excited the Arab guard against him and he was again thrown into confinement. His mother Gajrábái, who was a refugee in Surat, endeavoured to get assistance from the English there, and at the same time made overtures to Malhár, son of Khanderáv Gaikwár, who had formerly been one of Govindráv's bitterest opponents.

1800.

The British aid
Govindráv's
Party.

Meanwhile the administration of the Gaikwár's affairs passed into the hands of Rávji and Báráji Appa, two brothers who had been brought to Baroda in 1793 by Govindráv himself. Rávji took charge of the civil work, whilst Báráji undertook the military duties, which at that time consisted in great measure in collecting the revenue by show of force. These two ministers, on hearing of the proceedings of Gajrábái, outbid her for the aid of the Bombay Government. In addition to the cessions formerly offered by Govindráv, they were willing to give up Chikhli also. Matters were precipitated by the successes of Malháráv in the field. Rávji offered to subsidize five European battalions, and Governor Duncan took upon himself the responsibility of sending an auxiliary force of 1600 men, under Major Walker to act with the troops of Rávji and Báráji north of Ahmedabad. Reinforcements were afterwards sent up, but the campaign was not closed till April 1802, when the fort of Kadi had been taken by storm. Malháráv surrendered and a residence in Nadiad, was assigned him with a liberal pension out of the revenues of that subdivision. The fort of Sankheda, which had been held by Ganpatráv Gaikwár for his cousin Malháráv, was soon after this reduced and the country for a time pacified.

The British and
the Gaikwár,
1800.

In March Rávji had an interview at Cambay with Governor Duncan, which was followed on June 6th by a definite treaty, of which the groundwork had been previously sketched in anticipation of the reduction of the revolted Gaikwárs. Two thousand men, besides artillery, were to be subsidized and a *jáidád* or assignment for their payment was made on the revenue of Dholka and the part of Nadiad not assigned to Malháráv. Chikhli was given to the British in reward for their aid in storming Kadi, and Residents were to be appointed reciprocally. A large sum of money was borrowed by Rávji, partly from Bombay partly from Baroda bankers, to pay off the arrears due to about 7000 Arab mercenaries, who had usurped a great deal of objectionable influence in civil affairs at the Gaikwár's

capital. Major Walker was appointed Resident and proceeded to Baroda on 8th June.

On the same day was signed a secret compact assuring Rájvi of the support of the British Government and awarding him a village out of the territory ceded by the treaty of June 6th. It was deemed advisable by the British Government to have at the Baroda court some leading personage who might, in the present state of the relations between Bombay and Poona, further the designs of the former government in preventing a recurrence of the coalition of Marátha powers. Rájvi was sure of his reward if he served British interests, whilst in case of the reorganization of a Marátha confederacy the state he was administering would probably play but a very subordinate part in subsequent events.

The treaty of June 6th was disapproved by the Court of Directors as being in direct contravention of the treaty of Sálhai. Before, however, any orders had been issued by the Home authorities to restore to the Gáikwár the territory he had ceded, the Peshwa, out of regard for whom the treaty had been disavowed, was a fugitive before the army of Holkar, and by December had ratified these very concessions at the treaty of Bassein. By this treaty the Peshwa virtually placed his independence in the hands of the British. He ceded his share of Surat, thus giving them sole control over that district. In payment of the subsidiary force required he handed over territory in Gujarát, the revenue of which amounted to 12,28,000 rupees, and finally he constituted the British Government arbiter in the disputes between his government and that of Baroda. The grants made by the Gáikwár for the support of the subsidiary force amounted in 1802 to 7,80,000 rupees.

Major Walker attempted to negotiate with the Arab guard, but the greater part of them flew to arms and released Kánhoji Gáikwár. The latter then tried to collect an army near Baroda, and succeeded in obtaining possession of the person of Anandráv the titular ruler. The British force then took Baroda by storm, after which most of the Arabs submitted, except a few who joined Kánhoji. The rest took the arrears due to them and left the country. Kánhoji was not subdued till February 1803. Malhárráv meanwhile had broken out in rebellion in Káthiávád and was plundering the Marátha possessions there. Bábáji Appáji and a young officer named Vithal Deváji (or Divánji) led the operations against him; and to the latter belongs the honour of having captured this troublesome member of the ruling family. The estate of Nadiád, which had been assigned to Madhavráo by Govindráv, was resumed by Rájvi Appáji and made over in its entirety to the British Government. A treaty, supplementary to that of 1802, was drawn up guaranteeing this cession as well as the *inám* or free gift of the fort and district of Kairn, "out of gratitude for the support given in the recent troubles to the Gáikwár's honour and for assistance in securing the good of the State."

THE
MARÁTHÁN,
A.D. 1760 - 1819.

The Gáikwár's
Minister Rájvi.

Treaty of Bassein,
31st Dec. 1802.

Arabs
Disbanded.

Malhárráv
in Revolt,
1803.

THE
MARÁTHAS,
A.D. 1760-1819.

Contingent
Strengthened,
1803.

Death of Rájí,
1803.

War with Sindia.

The Revenue
Collecting
Force.

Very soon after this agreement Rájí applied for an addition to the subsidiary force, in payment of which he assigned Mátar Mahudha and the customs of Kim-Kathodra, a station about seventeen miles north of Surat. His reason for strengthening the subsidiary force appears to have been that owing to the reduction of the Arabs, his own force was not enough to guard even the frontier, and that a great part of that duty fell on the European contingent, which was numerically insufficient for service on so extended a scale. This was the last public act of note on the part of Rájí Appa, who died in July 1803, after adopting one Sitáram to succeed to his estate.

Whilst these arrangements were being carried out at Baroda, Bájiráv Peshwa, chafing at the dependence to which his straits of the previous winter had reduced him with regard to the English, was actively propagating dissension between Sindia and the Calcutta Government. Not long after, the war that had been some time imminent broke out, and a contingent of 7352 men from Gujarat was ordered to the field. In August or September Broach and Pávágad¹ both fell to the British.

Under the treaty of Sirjó Anjangaon in December 1803, both Pávágad and Dohad were restored to Sindia, but Broach remained British. By this means one of the rising Marátha powers was extruded from the centre to the outlying portion of the province. The employment of all the British contingent against Sindia's possessions in Gujarat precluded Major Walker from furnishing any portion of the army that was annually sent to collect the tribute in Káthiávada. Rájí Appaji had expressly stipulated that some part of the contingent might be so used when it could be spared from its main duties. The Supreme Government agreed to the proposal when made by Governor Duncan, on the grounds of the advantage both to the Gaikvár and the tributaries of employing on this disagreeable duty a strong and well-disciplined force. Already some of the tributaries had made overtures to Major Walker with a view to obtaining British protection against powerful neighbours. Governor Duncan was in favour of accepting the duty of protection and also of helping the Gaikvár's commander in his expeditions through the peninsula on these grounds. Firstly, the officer in command could exercise a certain supervision over the collections in which the British as part assignees had a direct interest. Secondly, a way could thus be opened for the acquisition of a port on the coast from which the intrigues, supposed to be carried on by agents from the Isle of France, could be watched and counteracted. From such a point, too, the views of the Bombay Government as regards Kachh could be promoted. Thirdly, the commandant could take steps to improve the system of forcible collections, and towards abolishing the barbarous features of this rude method of levying tribute. He could also, perhaps, suggest some system by which the advantages of all three parties concerned would be better secured than by reliance on the uncertainty of temporary expeditions. The fourth and last

¹ A celebrated hill fort south of Champáner in the Panch Maháls district.

reason given savours strongly of the Marátha policy of the time, of which the leading maxim was *Divide et impera*. It was represented that Bábjí, who had successfully collected the tribute during 1802-03 and whose subordinate and companion Vítthal Devsáji was a person of similar energy and capability, might possibly acquire too great influence if left in a quasi-independent command at such a distance from the Court. It was politic, then, to join with the force under his command a strong foreign body, thus dividing both the power and the responsibility. The war with Sindia caused these proposals to fall into abeyance for some time.

Meanwhile the Resident at Poona was doing his best to secure for the Gaikwár a further lease for ten years of the farm of the Peshwa's dominions in Gujarát; so that the inconveniences of dual government might be avoided. In October 1804 a ten years' farm was granted in the name of Bhagvantráv Gaikwár at an annual rate of 4½ lakhs of rupees.

This grant led to the consolidation of all previous engagements into a single treaty, which was signed in April 1805. Previous agreements were confirmed and the whole brought into consonance with the treaty of Bassein. Districts yielding 11,70,000 rupees per annum were made over for the support of the subsidiary force, and arrangements were also made for the repayment of the cash loan advanced by the British Government in 1802, when the liquidation of the arrears due to the Arabs was a matter of urgent political necessity. The British contingent was to be available in part for service in Káthiáváda, whenever the British Government thought such an employment of it advisable.

Finally, the British Government was constituted arbiter in all disputes of the Gaikwár, not alone with foreign powers, but also in the adjustment of his financial transactions with the Peshwa his paramount power. These transactions, which ranged back from the capture of Dámáji in 1751, had never been the subject of a formal investigation, and were by this time complicated by the numerous engagements with third parties into which both governments had been obliged to enter at their various moments of distress. Bájráv, who was apparently intriguing for a Marátha coalition against his new protectors, was careful not to bring before the notice of the chiefs, whose esteem he wished to gain, a provision which exhibited him as in any way dependent upon the arbitration of a foreign power. He therefore granted the farm for ten years to the Gaikwár, as much by way of remanding for a time the proposed inquiries and settlement of their respective claims as for the purpose of diverting the attention of the British to the administration of this new appanage, whilst leaving him free scope for his intrigues in the Dakhan. He used, moreover, every pretext to defer the consideration of the Gaikwár question until he could make use of his claims to further his own designs. His success in preventing a discussion of these transactions is apparent by the fact that in the financial statement of the Gaikwár's affairs made by Colonel Walker in 1804, no mention of the Poona demand is to be found.

THE
MARATHÍS,
A.D. 1760-1819.

Renewal of
Farm,
1804.

The British and
the Gaikwár,
1805.

THE
MADATHAS,
A.D. 1760-1810.

No important event took place during the next year or two. Bābaji relinquished the command of the force in Kāthiāvāda in favour of Vithalrāv Devājī, whilst he himself took part in the civil administration at Baroda. The Resident, too, seems to have been likewise engaged in internal matters and in securing the country against an invasion by Kānhoji, now a fugitive at the court of Holkar.

1807.

In 1807 the Resident made over Aba Shelakar, late Sar Subhedar of the Peshwa, to the British Government, by whom he could be prevented from engaging in fresh conspiracies. After this Colonel Walker was at last enabled to leave Baroda in order to assist in the settlement of the Kāthiāvāda tribute question, an object he had long had in view, but which the necessity for his continuous presence at the Gaikwār's capital had hitherto prevented him from undertaking.

Kāthiāvāda
Tribute.

The changes with regard to the collection of the tribute from the chiefs of Kāthiāvāda that were carried out in 1807 deserve a special description. Firstly, they placed the relations of the tributary to the paramount power on quite a new basis. Secondly, by them the British influence over both parties concerned was much increased and the connection between the governments of Bombay and Baroda drawn closer. Thirdly, they were subsequently, as will be seen hereafter, the subject of much discussion and delay in the settlement of the questions at issue between the Peshwa and the Gaikwār. And lastly, their effect was most beneficial to both the chiefs and their subjects in removing the uncertainty that had hitherto pervaded the whole revenue administration of Kāthiāvāda.

Before entering on the details of the settlement itself, some description is necessary of the social and political state of the peninsula at the time the changes were introduced.

State of
Kāthiāvāda,
1807.

The greater part of the population of Kāthiāvāda consisted of two classes, chiefs and cultivators, called Bhumiās and ryots. The power of the chief ranged from the headship of a single village up to absolute jurisdiction over several score. The ryots were usually tenants long resident in the province. The chiefs were in almost every case foreigners, invaders from the north and north-east; Muhammadan adventurers from the court of Ahmedābād; Kāthiās animated by the love of plunder and cattle-lifting; and Miānās and Vāghelās who had settled on the coast on account of the facilities it afforded for their favourite pursuits of wrecking and piracy. More numerous than any others were the Rajputs, driven south by the disturbed state of their native kingdoms or by the restless spirit of military adventure to be found in a class where one profession alone is honourable. There is a certain uniformity in the building up of all these chieftainships. A powerful leader, with a sufficient band of followers, oppressed his weaker neighbours till they were glad to come to terms and place themselves under his protection, so as both to escape themselves and to take their chance of sharing in the plunder of others. It frequently happened in the growth of one of these states that the *bhāyād* or relations of the chief (who are sure to be numerous in a polygamous society) were influential enough to assume, in their turn, a partial independence and to claim recogni-

tion as a separate state. As a rule, however, they continued to unite with the head of the family against external foes, and only disagreed as to domestic administration. It is also noticeable that though so addicted to the profession of arms, the Rajputs cannot be called a military race; they possess few of the true military virtues; hence the slowness of their advance, and their failure in competition with perhaps less courageous though more compact and pliable races. In Káthiaváda fortified strongholds, formidable enough to an army moving rapidly without siege trains, arose in all directions, and even villages were surrounded by a high mud wall as a protection against cattle-lifters.

The groundwork of these states being itself so unstable, their relations with each other were conducted on no principle but the law of the stronger. General distrust reigned throughout. Each chief well knew that his neighbours had won their position as he had won his own by the gradual absorption of the weaker, and that they were ready enough whenever opportunity offered to subject his dominions to the same process. The administration of his territory consisted merely in levying, within certain limits sanctioned by long usage, as much revenue as would suffice to maintain himself and his forces in their position with regard to the surrounding states. When a foreign enemy appeared there was no co-operation amongst the local chiefs in resistance. It was a point of honour not to yield except to a superior force. Each chief, therefore, resisted the demands made upon him until he considered that he had done enough to satisfy the family conscience and then, agreeing to the terms proposed, he allowed the wave of extortion to pass on and deluge the domains of his neighbour. It should be remembered that the peninsula had never been subjugated, though overrun times innumerable. The evil of invasion was thus transitory. To a chief the mere payment of tribute fended in no wise to derogate from his independence. In his capacity of military freebooter he acknowledged the principle as just. His country had been won by the sword and was retained by the sword and not by acquiescence in the payment of tribute, so that if he could avoid this extortion he was justified in doing so. If he weakened his state in resisting foreigners, he knew that his neighbours would certainly take advantage of the favourable juncture and annex his territory. It was his policy therefore, after resistance up to a certain point, to succumb.

Owing to this local peculiarity and to the general want of union in the province, both the Mughals and Maráthas found it advantageous to follow a system of successive expeditions rather than to incur the expense of permanently occupying the peninsula with an army which would necessarily have to be a large one. There is every reason to believe that in adopting the raid system the Musalmáns were only pursuing the practice of their predecessors, who used to take tribute from Jodhpur to Dwárka.

Some of the sabbédárs of Ahmedábád divided their tributary district into three circuits of collection and personally undertook the

THE
MARATHAS.
A.D. 1760-1800.

State of
Káthiaváda,
1807.

The Revenue
Raid System.

THE
MARATHAS,
A.D. 1790-1819.

The Revenue
Raid System.

charge of one each year. This was the *mulakgiri* Land-raiding system. Besides this chief expedition, there was the smaller one of the Bābi of Junāgadh and the still more minute operations of the Rāval of Bhāvnagar against some of his weaker neighbours. The great Ahmedābād expedition had long been an annual grievance and was conducted with some show of system and under special rules called the *Raj-ul-Mulak*. Three of these rules are of importance, and seem to have been generally acquiesced in before the great incursions of Bābāji and Vithalrāv at the beginning of the nineteenth century. The first was that the paramount power (by which was meant the foreign government which was strong enough to enforce tribute from all the chiefs) had authority to interfere in cases of dismemberment, or in proceedings tending to the depreciation of the revenue or to the dismemberment of any tributary state. It was again an acknowledged rule that whilst the *mulakgiri* expedition of the paramount power was in motion no other army should be in the field throughout the whole province. The third provision was not so well established, but it appears to have been understood that the tribute from each state should be regulated by some standard of former date. In practice, however, the measure of the Marāthā demand was simply the power to enforce payment.

It is worthy of remark that about the beginning of this century the resistance to the collection of tribute was stronger towards the west than in the east and south of the province. In the Mahi Kāntha the lawlessness of the Koli chiefs, who had established themselves in the ravines and on the hills, necessitated the employment of a military force for collections. In the neighbourhood of Bijāpur and Kadi, the chiefs would not pay tribute except under the compulsion of a siege or raid, but the *mulakgiri* system only reached its full development west of Dholka.

From these explanatory remarks the system and practice of the Marāthās can be clearly understood.

The Marāthās
in Sorath.

The Marāthās found their way to Sorath very early in their Gujarāt career. The first raid probably took place about 1711, when the Muhammadans were occupied near Ahmedābād. After this incursions were frequent, and under Dāmāji Gaikwār became, as has been seen above, annual. This leader did more. He took to wife a daughter of the Gohil chief of the small state of Lāthi in east central Kāthiāvāda, whose dowry in land gave him the standpoint he sought in the heart of the peninsula. He managed also to secure his position in what are known as the Amreli Mahāls, probably under the force of circumstances similar to those which caused the weaker Rajputs to gravitate towards the stronger of their own tribe. His expedition through the peninsula, generally as near the time of harvest as possible, was made regularly every year as soon as he had amassed a sufficient number of troops on the mainland to admit of a force being detached for *mulakgiri*. The object of these inroads was plunder, not conquest; the leaders would readily have entered into negotiations for the payment of the tribute had the chieftains been disposed to treat otherwise than after defeat. The expenses

of such an army were heavy, and the more so as the time during which it would be in the field was quite indefinite, and dependent entirely upon the amount of resistance offered. In more than one instance the Marátha leaders, who usually had no artillery for a siege, were obliged to regularly beleaguer a town. Early in this century the town of Mália successfully defended itself against a remarkably well equipped force under Bábáji, and the Junágadh state was usually avoided by the Maráthás as much as possible on account of the time it would take to reduce its army to terms.

It is not on record that the mulakgiri force habitually devastated the country over which it passed, or caused much greater hardships to the ryots than are inseparable from the passage of an army in the field. There are, however, well authenticated stories of the depredations and damage committed during these expeditions. A village is said to have been deserted by order of the *bhumia* in order that the timber of its houses might furnish fuel for the Marátha army on its march. Tortures were doubtless inflicted on men supposed to be well off, who were suspected to have hidden their property. A Marátha army was usually, if not always, ill disciplined, as is proved by the testimony of Mr. Forbes, an eye witness of the campaigns of 1775.¹ From the same writer it is learned what an immense proportion the camp followers bore to the actual combatants. If this were the case in a real campaign against a formidable and active enemy, it is likely that the irresponsible element was still larger in an expedition like this of mulakgiri, where the enemy was insignificant and the country at the mercy of the invaders. It is probable therefore that the troops have been credited with misconduct that should in point of fact be attributed to these Pindháris. In after years, when the expeditions were conducted systematically, villages on the line of march were always allowed the alternative of entertaining a pioneer or two as a sort of guarantee. If no *bandhári* of this sort were accepted, the army occupied the place. In many cases the demands for supplies made by these pioneers were so exorbitant that the villagers preferred to compound in turn with them also for their absence. Another method by which a chieftain might avoid the necessity of the army's passing through his territories was by sending to the commander of the expedition an envoy empowered to treat for the amount of tribute and to execute a provisional guarantee for its future liquidation. This deed was destroyed on the subsequent confirmation by the chief himself of the agreement for the sum fixed.

This habit of taking securities in all engagements was so prevalent in all parts of the province, and played so prominent a part in the financial administration of the Gaikwár's home and tributary domains, that its main features are worth describing.

It is a well known characteristic of Hindu dealings that no transaction is carried on by two parties alone if a third can possibly be dragged in. This practice no doubt originated in the former insecure

THE
MARATHÁS,
A.D. 1700-1819.

The Maráthás
in Scythia.

Securities.

¹ Oriental Memoirs.

THE
MARATHAS,
A.D. 1760-1819,
Securities.

state of society when no man considered himself safe in person or property from government on the one hand and his neighbour on the other. With classes like Kolis and predatory Rajputs, the feeling is intelligible enough, and from these it spread into other branches of the society. To such a pitch was distrust carried in the early part of the nineteenth century, that the Gaikwār himself could find no one to enter into a contract with him without the guarantee of one of his own subjects. The consequences of this practice and the power it threw into the hands of the Arab mercenaries, who were the principal securities for the public debts, are matters that touch the history of the Baroda State rather than that of the province. The chiefs in their dealings employed a special sort of security which owed its validity not to political consideration like that of the Arab Jamādārs but entirely to its religious and traditional character.

Bhāts and
Chāraus,
1867.

A society of the military type like the Rajput has a tendency towards caste and privilege. Without a leader the warlike instincts of the tribe would not carry them beyond petty robberies; whilst with a leader they can achieve greater exploits of valour and destruction. The successful chief then is idolized, and after a certain stage the privileges of the chieftainship become hereditary. Once this system is established, the celebration of ancestors follows, and when circumstances are favourable to the perpetuation of the hereditary position, the genealogy of the chief is a matter of the highest importance, and the person entrusted with the record of this is vested with peculiar sanctity. It is the genealogist's duty to enter in the record, not only the direct line but the names of the more distant relations of the chief by whom he is retained, and also to be the continual chanter of the glorious deeds of their common ancestors. He is therefore a referee of the highest authority in questions of pedigree or of the partition of inheritance. An injury to his person might entail the loss of the pedigree of the ruling family, (especially as many of the bards kept no written record) and thus produce a misfortune which would be felt by the whole tribe. The chief, being a warrior, must take his chance in the field with the rest, but the person of the genealogist was sacred and inviolable. Amongst the Rajputs the greatest reverence was paid to purity of pedigree, and each principal family had its Bhāt to record births and deaths amongst its members and to stimulate pride in their lineage by the recital of the wars and exploits of their ancestors.

These Bhāts necessarily multiplied beyond the number of the families that could entertain them, so that many took to banking and some to cultivation. Surrounded as they were by the social system of the Hindus, it was not long before they became differentiated into a distinct caste, and the inviolability of their persons, formerly due only to respect for the pedigree, was now extended to the whole tribe, even though a large proportion of it performed none of the duties of genealogists. Similar to the Bhāts in many respects, notably in that of sacredness of person, were the Chāraus, numerous in Kāthiāvāḍa, where they had founded villages and lived as ordinary

cultivators. This tribe also claimed divine origin like the race whose annals they had the privilege of recording. It is said that Rāja Todar Mal, the celebrated minister of the Dehli empire, was the first to introduce the practice of taking these Bhāts as securities for the Rajputs. The assertion is possibly true, but rests merely on tradition, and after ages usually find some great man as a sponsor for all such innovations. It is clear, however that for many years before 1807 no dealings of Kolis or Rajputs with the state or with each other took place without the security of a Bhāt being taken. This practice seems to have been as prevalent on the mainland as in the peninsula, the Kolis having doubtless borrowed it from their Rajput neighbours after the Bhāts had become a separate caste.

Under this system the Bhāts acquired considerable wealth, as they usually demanded a percentage on the amount for which they became security. There are instances in which they presumed upon the strength of their engagements and sacred character to bully or dictate to their employer. Such was the case of the Rāval of Bhāvnagar in 1808, which is also interesting in another way, as showing how the spirit of industry and commerce tends to sup the old observances which have their roots in superstition. This chief engaged in trade, fostered merchants, and increased his revenue. When his security, a Bhāt, got troublesome and interfering, he applied to the power to whom he paid tribute to have the old security bond cancelled and a fresh one taken on his own personal responsibility. In doing this he seems to have been prompted by nothing but his appreciation of the modern code of commercial honour.

To return to the *mulakgiri*. The tribute for which preliminary security had been taken seems to have fluctuated from year to year, but always with reference to a fixed standard. It was one of the Marāthā rules never to recede from a former demand lest they should be thereby setting up a precedent for future years. They preferred to secure a year or two's arrears at the full rate to the payment of all the arrears due at a reduced rate.

In spite of this fiction of a settled *jama* or tribute, the Marāthās, when they had a sufficient force at their back, invariably demanded a larger sum, the excess being called *khara-jāt* or extra distinct from the actual tribute. This ingenious plan of increasing the collections originated, it is said, with Shivrām Gārdi, and was carried out scrupulously by both Bābāji and Vithalrāv in their tours. In fact during the last few years of the old system Vithalrāv had so good a force with him that the extra demand formed a large proportion of the whole tribute collected and had been paid only under strong protest. The British had not long been established in Rānpur, Gogha, and Dhandhuka before a few petty chiefs of Gohilvād and Sorath applied to the Resident at Baroda for protection against the *mulakgiri* of the Nawāb of Jūnāgadh and the Rāval of Bhāvnagar, offering to cede the sovereignty of their states to the British on condition that certain rights and privileges were preserved to the chiefs and their families. The conditions they named were not such as were likely to meet with the approval of the British Government, and do

THE
MARATHAS.
A.D. 1760-1819.

Bhāts and
Chāmans,
1807.

British
Intervention.

THE
MARATHAS,
A.D. 1760-1819.

British
Intervention.

not seem to have received much consideration. The proposals had, however, the effect of drawing the attention of the Bombay Government towards the state of Kāthiāvāḍa, and permission to aid the mulakgiri of the Gāikwār by detaching a few companies of British troops was accorded by the Supreme Government. The outbreak of hostilities with Sindia led to the whole question as to the best means of collecting the tribute being for a time deferred. The internal disputes of some of the more turbulent states, a few years afterwards, gave the Resident an opportunity of sending an envoy to one or two courts to see how matters stood, and to open a way for a settlement in conjunction with the Gāikwār. Affairs at Baroda, as mentioned above (page 416), detained the Resident there till 1807, in which year he joined Vithalrāv's army with a British contingent, at a place in the Morvi state.

Settlement
of 1807.

Before treating directly with the chiefs a circular was sent round to all of them both by the Gāikwār's agent and by Colonel Walker the Resident, containing the basis of the proposals with regard to the tribute about to be submitted to them. The position of the British Government throughout this negotiation is not clearly defined. Vithalrāv in his circular mentions indeed that a British force was with his own, but urges the chiefs to come to a settlement entirely with the government he represented. Colonel Walker's note was longer, more explicit, and conciliatory, but at the same time assumes a tone of protection and superiority. The replies of the chiefs were various, and, as a rule, seem to show that they regarded the British Government as the chief mover in these negotiations. They were probably aware of the position in which the engagements of the Gāikwār had placed him with reference to the British, and for some years had had the latter as their neighbours in the east of the peninsula. They were therefore not able at once to take in the whole scope of the action of the British Government in the tribute question.

Many seemed to take the note as a preliminary to a mulakgiri on the part of the East India Company. The Rāja of Mālia, who had just been causing disturbances in the dominions of all his neighbours, had repulsed Bābāji and permitted the self-immolation of a Bhāt rather than fulfil an engagement, openly proposed a joint expedition across the Ran to plunder Kachh, and Sindh. From the inquiries made by the Resident and from information gathered from the Gāikwār's accounts, it was anticipated that separate engagements need only be entered into with the twenty-nine chiefs to whom the circular invitation had been issued, provided that the rights and interests of subordinate members of the Bhāyād were clearly defined in the agreement. When, however, these rights came to be investigated in the light of the peculiar rules of Rajput inheritance, it was found that no less than one hundred and fifty-three persons had a claim to settle independently of each other for their tribute. This greatly prolonged the settlement, but at last the agreements were all framed on one principle. The amount settled was determined by a close scrutiny of the collections of past years, and Colonel Walker found it advisable to make great

reductions in the item of extras or *kharājāt*, for which the later Gāikwār collectors had such predilection. The engagements were of the following nature.

First, the chief bound himself his heirs and successors to pay at Baroda each year the tribute fixed in perpetuity in 1807. He also procured a counter security for this payment who engaged himself in this capacity for ten years. The Honourable Company's government had then to become security on the part of the Gāikwār for the fixity of the tribute demanded. This participation of the British in the engagement was insisted upon by the chiefs, and in all probability Colonel Walker was not averse from admitting it. Having thus arranged for the payment of the tribute and guaranteed the amount to be demanded, it was proposed to take measures to prevent internal quarrels between the chiefs themselves. The object of a fixed settlement was simply to remove the necessity for overrunning the country from time to time with an irregular army and to protect the chiefs against extortion. It was found that if the army of the paramount power were removed, all means of keeping order in the province would be lost, and the internecine feuds of the chiefs would soon destroy the good effects of the permanent settlement by materially altering the then existing position of the weaker feudatories and rendering them unable to pay the tribute. It was also the wish of the British Government to bring about such a state of things in Kāthiāvāda that the presence of an army to control the chiefs would be wholly uncalled-for and that the chiefs themselves would co-operate to keep order and maintain the permanent settlement.

A second agreement therefore was called for from each signatory state of the nature of a security for good and peaceful conduct. The counter security to this was usually that of another chief. This bond was perpetual. On the execution of both these engagements the chief received a *paredna* or guarantee that the Gāikwār government would not take from him more than the tribute agreed upon, and to this deed the countersignature of the Resident on behalf of the British Government was affixed. This guarantee, like the promise of the chief himself, was apparently given in perpetuity. It will be noted that the amount of tribute was fixed permanently, but that it was considered advisable to renew the security every ten years. It is also remarkable that, except in the *faizdāmin* or bond for good behaviour, the name of the Peshwa's government, the rights of which over the tribute had only been temporarily alienated, does not appear. The total amount of the tribute thus settled was Rs. 9,79,882.

By means of these engagements the relations of the tributaries to their paramount power were made a matter of contract, instead of as heretofore a series of uncertain and arbitrary exactions dependent upon the respective means of coercion and resistance.

Seven years of the lease granted to the Gāikwār in 1804 by the Peshwa still remained unexpired and during at least six of these

THE
MARATHAS.
A.D. 1760-1818.

Settlement
of 1807.
Financial.

Political.

Peshwa's Share
in Kāthiāvāda.

THE
MAHĀTHĀ,
A.D. 1760-1819.

Peshwa's Share
in Kāthiāvāda.

the arrangements that had been made about the Kāthiāvāda tribute do not seem to have been officially communicated to the Peshwa's government. It was not until 1815, when the Resident at Poona was trying to procure the renewal of the lease for the Gaikwār, that an account of the settlement was drawn up in a draft agreement which the Resident submitted to Bajirāv. In this draft the curious mistake was made of mentioning the settlement instead of only the security bond as decennial. The Peshwa, whose policy was to protract negotiations, submitted in his turn a second draft which he said he was willing to sign. In this he seized at once on the supposition that the tribute was fixed only for ten years and stipulated for an increase at the expiration of that period. He also demanded that certain extra collections should be refunded by the Gaikwār, and assumed the British Government to have become security for the tribute owed by the chiefs to his own government.

It was evident that no accord would be reached on the lines of either of these draft agreements as they stood. Before others were prepared, Gangādhār Shāstri had been murdered and the treaty of June 1817 was a completed act, leaving further negotiations unnecessary.

Later
Arrangements.

Meanwhile the tribute since the expiry of the farm of 1804 had been collected by a joint British and Gaikwār expedition, for it was found that partly from their own disputes and partly owing to the instigation of the agents of Bajirāv, the chiefs were little disposed to act up to the engagements of 1807, either with respect to tribute or good conduct. The Peshwa, whose interference in the affairs of the peninsula had been constantly discouraged, declined to trouble himself to collect the tribute, the responsibility of which he asserted rested entirely upon the British and Gaikwār governments. He subsequently ceded the tribute to the British Government on account of military expenses. After his fall in 1819 his territories, including the rights in Gujarāt, fell to the British Government, and in 1820 the Gaikwār arranged that the whole of the Kāthiāvāda tribute, except that due from the districts directly subordinate to Baroda, should be collected by the agency of the British.

The
Mahi Kānthā.

Turning to the events on the mainland, we find that soon after Colonel Walker's return from the Kāthiāvāda expedition, he introduced the Kāthiāvāda tribute system into the Mahi Kānthā, in spite of the opposition of Sitārām Rāvji and the anti-English party in the Darbār.

Supplementary
Treaty,
1808.

The territory ceded for the payment of the British contingent in 1805 was found to yield less revenue than had been anticipated, so in 1808 a treaty supplementary to the consolidating one of 1805 was drawn up, allotting additional assignments amounting to about 1,76,168 rupees to the British. This revenue was derived partly from alienated villages in Nadiād, Mahudha, Dholka, Matar, and near the Ranjar Ghāt. The *ghāsdāna* or tribute of Bhāvnagar was also made over by this agreement. With regard to this latter

acquisition, it is to be noticed that the agreement is drawn up in the name of the Honourable Company alone, and not in that of the British Government on account of Anandráv Gaikwár. It also differs from other engagements of a similar nature in containing a provision against the contingency of future irregular demands being made by the Peshwa's army. The reason for this distinction is evidently that the Bhávnagar contribution was not part of the Káthiaváda revenue farmed to the Gaikwár by Bájiráv, and was thus not divisible on the expiration of the lease. The right to this tribute rested with the British by virtue of the previous cession of Gogha, of which sub-division the fifty nine villages of the Bhávnagar Bháyád formed part.

Next year the Okhámandal chiefs, who had not come under the settlement of 1807, were driven to engage not to continue their piratical depredations along the coast, and to admit one Sundarji Shivji as Resident on behalf of the British Government. The Gaikwár government then, too, seems to have become their counter security, an arrangement which led to misunderstandings a short while afterwards.

THE
MARATHAS,
A.D. 1760-1819.

Okhámandal,
1809.

In 1811, some disturbances in Navánagar and Junágadh and symptoms of discontent in Okhámandal took the Resident from Baroda into the peninsula with part of the British contingent.

Disturbances in
Káthiaváda,
1811.

The Jám of Navánagar had got involved in pecuniary transactions with the Ráv of Kachh, and the British Government had mediated with a view of arranging for the repayment by gradual instalments. The Jám, however, repudiated all the engagements of 1807 both as regards the debt and the tribute, ejected the Gaikwár's agent from his dominions, and prepared for war. He also began to incite the neighbouring chiefs to join in sweeping out the paramount power from the whole of Káthiaváda. It was not till after a considerable show of force that he laid down his arms and came to terms. Captain Carnac, the Resident, got him to submit the Kachh claims to the arbitration of the English Government, and after fixing them at Re. 4,33,890, Captain Carnac made an arrangement similar to that originally intended.

There remained the question of a disputed succession in Junágadh. Bahádúr Khán, son of a slave girl, was put forward in opposition to a younger aspirant, Salábat Khán, reputed to be the son of a lady of the Rádhhanpur house. The Baroda government with the concurrence of the Resident had admitted the claims of the latter. On a report, however, by the Assistant Resident in Káthiaváda, Captain Carnac was induced to alter his opinion and to support Bahádúr Khán, on the grounds that Salábat Khán was a spurious child, and that Bahádúr was ready to make concessions of value to the Gaikwár government. The Bombay Council, however, disavowed all countenance of the claims of Bahádúr Khán, and the matter was let drop.

In the year 1812 the Gaikwár had paid off the pecuniary loan borrowed in 1803 from the British Government, but there still

1812.

THE
MABÁTHÁS,
A.D. 1760-1819.

1813-14.

remained the debts for which that government had become *bhandári* or security in place of the ejected *jamáldárs* of the Arab force. These claims could not be paid off for at least two years longer, so that for that period the Resident was ordered to maintain the same close supervision of Baroda affairs as heretofore.

The next two years were spent chiefly in discussions with the Poona government about the old claims by the Peshwa on the Gaikwár's estate. There is no doubt that at the time of his death, Dámáji had not paid up nearly all that he had bound himself in 1753 to pay. On the other hand there had been at least six intermediate compacts between the Peshwa and various members of the Gaikwár family. Amongst others was that of 1768 fixing the arrears of the previous three years, that of 1778 and of 1781, by the tenth clause of which Fatehsingh was excused payment of arrears for the time during which he was engaged in hostilities against Rághobá. Then came the agreement with Govindráv in 1797, to which a sort of debit and credit account is appended.

Peshwa Intrigue
in Baroda,
1814.

The Peshwa had been content, for reasons that have been shown above, to let these claims lie dormant during the currency of the ten years' farm. But, as the question of the renewal of this agreement became imminent, he gradually opened more frequent communications with the Baroda council, using these claims as a pretext for sounding the disposition of the chief officials and ascertaining their feelings especially towards the British Government. When the negotiations for the settlement of these claims were fairly set on foot, he used every possible means to protract them till he had finally decided what he should do in 1814, when the Ahmedábád farm expired.

It was easy for Bájiráv to discover who were the malcontents at the Baroda Court. Sitáram, the adopted son of Rávji Appáji, having been found both incompetent and untrustworthy in the management of affairs, had been practically removed from any post of influence in the council, and was moreover chafing at the refusal of the British Government to recognize him in the same way as they had done his father. He had also been superseded as Suba of Káthiávada by Vithalráv Deváji. Under these circumstances, and finding that he had the support of a large number of the older court party against the authority of the Resident and of his native agent, he either himself opened communications with Bájiráv or readily listened to the counsels sent to him direct from Poona. Before long, agents were sent to the Peshwa's Court by Takhtbái, wife of Anandráv, with instructions, it is supposed, to thwart all the proposals and designs of Gangádhár Shástri, who had been recently sent as envoy by the Gaikwár council of administration. The chief obstacle to the settlement of the Peshwa's claims was the counter-demand made by the Baroda government on account of Broach, which had been disposed of without the Gaikwár's consent, and also on account of the damage caused by the inroads of Aba Shelukar, when accredited agent of Bájiráv in Gujarát.

There is no need to detail here the events that took place in Poona during these negotiations. On the expiration of the farm in 1814,

Bājirāv appointed Trimbakji Dengle Sarsuba of Ahmedābād. The latter, however, did not leave Poona, where his presence was indispensable to his master, but sent agents with instructions rather of a political than of a fiscal nature. He himself undertook the task of disposing of Gangādhar Shāstri, whom he caused to be assassinated at Pandharpur in July 1815.

Meanwhile the Jām of Navānagar had died leaving a disputed succession. The chief's Khavās or family slaves, instigated probably by agents from Ahmedābād, began to usurp the government, and the whole question was submitted by the Darbār to the Peshwa as being lord paramount. The Ahmedābād commander sent a body of two hundred cavalry to Navānagar, but before they could arrive, the Khavās' revolt had been quelled by a British force detached from the contingent. They therefore dispersed through the province inciting discontent and revolt amongst the Jāts and Kāthiās. In Kaira they instigated a tribe of Kolis to attack the British lines by night. Sitārām Rāvji's adherents also collected a force at Dhār, a state well-known for lending itself for such purposes, and kept the frontier in confusion. Severe measures at Poona and Baroda soon put an end to this state of things, and at last Trimbakji Dengle was surrendered to the British Government to answer for his share in the murder of Gangādhar Shāstri. The discussion of the Gāikwār's debts, however, was carried on all through the year at Poona, whilst Bājirāv was maturing his then vacillating plans for extirpating the British from the west of India.

In 1816 the chiefs of Okhāmāndal again betook themselves to piracy. Their territory was occupied by a British force. It will be remembered that in 1809 the Gāikwār's government had become counter security for these chiefs, but owing to the distance of the district from a military post, the Baroda authorities found themselves unable to spare troops enough to put a check on the misconduct of their tributaries. In A.D. 1816, at the time of occupation, the Bombay Government informed the Baroda administration that they had no wish to permanently establish themselves at so distant a spot, which contained, moreover, a much frequented shrine of Hindu worship, and that they were willing to put the Gāikwār in possession if he would engage to keep up a sufficient force in the district to protect the neighbouring ports and shores from the pirates and wreckers that infested the island of Dwārkā and the adjoining mainland. The Bombay Government made a point of asserting on this occasion, in opposition apparently to some proposal by the Baroda Darbār, that they could not admit that the mere fact of having become security or counter-security gave any preferential right to the possession of the country. Finally, the Gāikwār government agreed to the condition proposed, and the district was made over to them.

In the same year (A.D. 1816) British aid was invoked by the Nawāb of Junāgadh who was oppressed by a too powerful minister, backed by the Arab mercenaries. After a settlement of this dispute had been satisfactorily brought about, the Nawāb, in gratitude, waived his rights to tribute over the territories recently ceded to

THE
MARATHAS.
A.D. 1700-1819.
Peshwa Intrigue
in Baroda,
1814.

Okhāmāndal
ceded to the
Gāikwār.

British Aid at
Junāgadh.

THE
MARATHAS,
A.D. 1760-1819.

the British in the peninsula, where his family had formerly great influence and considerable property. The escape of Trimbakji Dengle from Thana, and the subsequent attempts of the Peshwa to prevent the re-capture of his favourite and to re-unite the Maratha confederacy, led to the execution of a fresh treaty on June 13th, 1817, in accordance with the orders of the Supreme Government.

Treaty of
Poona,
1817.

It was intended to bind the Peshwa in such a way that he could never again enjoy the ascendancy amongst the Maratha chiefs to which he aspired. The Resident at Poona took this opportunity of also putting an end to the discussions about the mutual claims on each other by the Poona and Baroda governments. The Peshwa agreed to abandon all claims on any territory in possession of the Gaikwar and to accept an annual payment of four lakhs of rupees in satisfaction of all previous debts. The farm of Gujarat was made perpetual to the Gaikwar on the payment of four and a half lakhs annually, but the Kathiawada tribute was made over to the British Government in liquidation of military expenses. The latter Government, by this treaty, also entered into possession of the Peshwa's revenue in Gujarat, except that of Ulkad, which had been assigned to a favourite officer. All the Peshwa's rights north of the Narbada were also ceded.

Treaty with
the Gaikwar,
1817-18.

These conditions necessitated a readjustment of the agreements with the Gaikwar. On November 1817, a definitive treaty, afterwards supplemented by one of November 1818, was executed between the Baroda and British Governments. The force furnished by the former state was found inefficient and the employment of a larger body of British troops was therefore necessary. To pay for these the Gaikwar ceded his share in the fort of Ahmedabad and the districts immediately surrounding that city.¹ He also made over some districts near Surat, and the town of Umreth in Kaira with the whole of the rights acquired by the perpetual farm of Ahmedabad. The British remitted the *mughlai* or dues taken by the Nawabs of Surat on the Gaikwar's possessions near that city. Okhamandal having now been pacified, was also given up to the Gaikwar, but revolted four months afterwards and was not again subdued for a considerable time.

1819.

At the final settlement of the dominions of the late Peshwa in 1819, the whole of his rights in Gujarat passed in sovereignty to the British, who remitted the four lakhs due from the Gaikwar in composition of arrears claimed by Bajirav. The next year a special inquiry was made into the respective shares of the Peshwa and Baroda governments in the Kathiawada tribute and in the extra allowance levied by the Gaikwar called *ghas-dana* allowance. In the course of this inquiry so many abuses of power and instances of extortion on the part of the Gaikwar's officers were brought to light, that the Bombay Government on these grounds, and on account also of the general deterioration in the province since the

1820.

¹ Known as Daakroi.

Gaikwār's troops were stationed there, prevailed upon Sayājirāv, who had now succeeded to the throne, to let the duty of collection be undertaken and superintended by a British officer stationed in Kāthiāvāda, who should, however, employ the Gaikwār's troops on occasions of necessity. A similar arrangement was made with regard to the Mahi Kāntha, where the effects of the settlement of 1811 had been much weakened by the disorderly conduct of the Gaikwār's troops stationed there. The administration of nearly the whole of the province passed into the hands of the British and the period of Marātha ascendancy came to an end.

It remains to review generally the nature and characteristics of the Marātha connection with Gujarāt, the chief events in which have been chronicled above. The most prominent feature has already been indicated at the beginning of this section and is apparent throughout the whole narrative. It is, in fact, the small space in history occupied during this period by the people, compared with the share appropriated to the actions of the government and its delegates. The reasons for this are as easily seen as the fact itself. From first to last the Marātha interests in Gujarāt were, except at one or two special junctures, simply pecuniary ones. In comparison with other countries within reach of Marātha arms, Gujarāt has always had a very large proportion of inhabitants engaged in commerce and manufacturing industries. It was the object of Śivāji to get as much booty as he could and carry it away then and there; hence the commercial classes and manufacturers presented the most favourable opportunities for pillage, and the agriculturists were at first only molested in forage and provisions. Rapidity of action was another of Śivāji's aims, so not only were his visits short and their effects transitory, but all his booty consisted of property that could be carried away by his horsemen. No women or followers accompanied his expeditions, no prisoners were made excepting the few who could afford to pay a heavy ransom. Torture was resorted to only when the captive was suspected of having concealed his treasure. Cows women and cultivators were, according to Śivāji's system, exempted from capture. Assignments on revenue were seldom made by him for fear of weakening his own authority. Subsequently the Marātha demands became more regular and assumed the form of a certain proportion of the revenue. The *sar-deshmukhī* and *chauth* were supposed to be calculated on the standard assessment so as to avoid subsequent claims as tribute or over-collection. In reality, however, they consisted of a fixed share in actual collections together with whatever extras the officer in charge could manage to extort, and which were, of course, kept undefined in any agreement. The expeditions, too, moved more leisurely and in greater force. The passes and roads in their rear were protected by their own comrades, so that the booty could be brought to the Dakhān in carts, and more bulky property therefore was removed than in former times. The times, too, when the demands were likely to be made were known to the headmen of the district and village, so that the cultivators could be pressed beforehand to furnish their share of the

THE
MARATHAS,
A.D. 1760-1819.
Close of Marātha
Supremacy,
1819.

General
Review.

THE
MARÁTHAS;
A.D. 1760-1819.

General
Review.

contributions. The extortion by this means passed from the commercial classes down to the agriculturists, the latter having also the burden of supporting a larger and more cumbrous army for a longer period.

When the power of the Dábháde and his deputy the Gáikwár was fairly established, a regular system of administration was introduced. It will be remembered that by the treaty of 1729 as few Marátha officers were to be employed as possible beyond those necessary to collect the Dábháde's share of the revenue. In consequence, however, of the internal struggles of the Muhammadan chiefs, this minimum quota grew to be a large establishment, with the usual accompaniment of alienations and assignments for the support of the officers and their religious institutions which the weakness of the central power had allowed to become customary. The Dábháde himself was non-resident and his deputy usually being too valuable an assistant to be spared from the arena of Dakhan politics, the collection was left to sub-deputies and their subordinates, who in turn delegated a great part of their duties to village officers and even to strangers. The Dábhádes, who were throughout more interested in the Dakhan than in Gujarát, had, no doubt, an idea of raising up a power in the latter province in opposition to the administration of the Peshwa, which was conducted purely by Bráhman agency. It was soon evident, however, that all that could be done politically with Gujarát was to make it a treasury for the support of schemes that had to be carried out in the Dakhan.

The fertility of the soil and the facilities the country afforded for commerce and manufactures both tended to make it unlikely to become a field for recruiting. The inhabitants of the towns had fixed and lucrative occupations; the cultivators were mostly of a class which on account of the fertility of their land neither Muhammadan nor Marátha had been able to impoverish. The Maráthas had still to seek for soldiers in the rugged and barren country on the Gháts and in the Konkan, where the people could only look for a hand-to-mouth existence if they remained at home. The warlike tribes of Gujarát were, as has been already seen, too proud by birth and position to engage themselves to fight for any but their own race and interest. The aboriginal races were not likely to prove effective allies even if they had been willing to move from their own woods and fortresses. None of the Marátha governors of Gujarát seem to have consistently attempted to weld the various interests subordinate to them into a cohesion and unity that they might have made politically useful against the Poona influence. All that they endeavoured to do was to draw from their charge as much revenue as possible and to keep out interlopers. To the taxpayer the result was the same, whether his district was invaded by Kantáji or Piláji. If one anticipated the other in carrying off the harvest, the ryot still had to pay the latter for ejecting the intruder. The only resistance to be feared by the Maráthas was that, not of the cultivators, but of their own race or of the Rajput Girásís. These latter were treated in all districts as mere robbers, probably because the class which bears that name near Rájpipla

where the Maráthás first came in contact with it subsists usually on blackmail. In the north, however, the Girásis were land-owners of great influence and fixed residence, not likely to be conciliated by the knowledge that the invaders of their country classed them along with Bhils and Kolis as *mehdás* or outlaws.

In order to relieve the chief officials of direct responsibility for the revenue, the Gaikwár towards the last quarter of the eighteenth century if not before, introduced the system of letting out each revenue sub-division in farm for from one to five years at a fixed annual rate. The farmer was as often as not an absentee, but the supervision and administration were never entrusted to any one but a Marátha Bráhmaṇ. The revenue for the year was settled by an inspection of the accounts of previous years and the crops of each village. The amount was taken in kind, but the actual distribution of the whole on individual cultivators was left to the headman, who was in most cases made responsible for the assessment imposed on his village.

The frequent passages of hostile armies and other causes had left much culturable land a desert. In order to restore the population and induce colonists to settle and cultivate in such spots, leases on favourable terms were granted to *desáis*, who administered the land as they pleased, and were directly responsible to the head revenue authority of the sub-division for the annual rent. The *patels* and other village officials also made use of their position with reference to the foreign supervisors in appropriating large tracts of waste land to their own uses. The *kamavisdár* or farmer for the time being was interested only in recouping himself for the amount he had agreed to pay the Marátha government, together with a margin for bribes paid to underlings at head-quarters for good offices with regard to the farm. He was ready, therefore, to make use of any agency in collecting his revenue that he found effective, and which saved the cost of a personal establishment. In many parts of the country there were hereditary village headmen accustomed to the duty of extorting money from unwilling *ryots*. In other places, such for instance as Dholka, it had been customary for certain Muhammadans called *Kasbátis*, to become responsible for the revenue of certain villages in return for a discount on the *jama* or amount collected (*manoli*). These *manolidárs* were found so useful by the Marátha officials that they gradually acquired an hereditary position and claimed proprietary rights in the villages for which they had been formerly mere agents for collection. They also acted as *desáis* or colonists, and succeeded in getting their leases of certain tracts renewed long after they had ceased to actively improve the land, which had in fact been all brought under regular cultivation.

Such was the agency employed in administering the revenue. The *kamavisdár* was also the dispenser of justice both civil and criminal. As his object was to make money and not to improve the condition of his charge, his punishments consisted chiefly in fines, and most offences could be paid for. No record of trials was

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A.D. 1760-1818.

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kept except a memorandum of the amount passed at each decision to the credit of the farmer. In civil suits sometimes one-fourth of the amount in dispute was assigned as costs and appropriated by the court. The *Girásíás* in their own territory exercised somewhat similar jurisdiction, but grave crimes with violence were apparently left to the party injured or his relations to decide after the manner of the offence. Arbitration, too, was a frequent mode of deciding differences of both civil and criminal nature, but the *kamávédár* or *girásíá* usually managed that the State should not be a loser by such a method of settlement.

The whole system indicates clearly enough the slight hold the Maráthás had on the province and their desire to make the most out of it for the furtherance of court intrigues or political ends above the Gháts. There is nothing to show that they contemplated a permanent colonization of the country until the British Government undertook the task of dividing the Maráthá nation by the establishment of a powerful and independent court at Baroda.

The home of the Maráthás was always the Dakhan, and for many years after they had effected a lodgment in Gujarát, their army regularly returned for the rainy season to the country from whence they originally came. Their leaders were encouraged to be as much as possible near the court by the Dábháde, or the regent on the one side and by the Peshwa on the other: the former on account of their weight with the army and the Maráthá chiefs, the latter in order that their influence in a distant dependency might not grow beyond what prudence recommended or might be counteracted if its tendency to increase became manifest. For similar reasons no force was allowed to be maintained in Gujarát sufficient to consolidate the Maráthá acquisitions there into a manageable whole. Dámáji Gaikwár, had he lived, would undoubtedly have done much towards this end by means of his personal influence; but, as it happened, the thin crust of Maráthá domination rapidly disappeared before it either was assimilated into the system of the province or hardened over it. A military occupation of a large and civilised district at a distance from the mother-country, and prevented by the jealousy of the central authority and the short-sightedness of those in charge of its exploitation, from either conforming itself to the elements it found already established, or absorbing the vital forces of the government it dispossessed, a system without the breath of life, without elasticity, without the capacity of self-direction, imposed bodily upon a foreign people, without even the care of preparing a foundation, such seems to have been the Maráthá government, containing within itself all that was necessary to ensure a precarious, but while it lasted, an oppressive existence.

GUJARÁT DISTURBANCES,
1857-1859.

BY

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[CONTRIBUTED MAY 1880.]

GUJARÁT DISTURBANCES.

1857-1859.

VERY soon after the outbreak of the mutinies in the North-West of India in May 1857, an uneasy feeling began to prevail in the Bombay Presidency, especially in Gujarát. The story of the greased cartridges had been industriously repeated and found credulous listeners in every village. A similar incident occurred in Gujarát. A consignment of salt from the Ran of Kachh having been carried in bags which had previously held red ochre (*siudar*) had become discoloured. This was observed at Sádra in the Mahi Kántha as the salt was in transit to Rajputána, and a report was at once spread that the salt had been defiled with cow's blood. It was believed in Ahmedábád and throughout Gujarát that this was a device of the British Government to destroy the caste of the people as a preliminary to their forcible conversion to Christianity.

About the time that the cakes or *chapátis* were being circulated throughout the North-West of India, a common pariah dog was passed from village to village in the Panch Maháls and eastern Gujarát. It was never ascertained who first set the dog in motion, but it came from the Central India frontier with a basket of food which was given to the village dogs, and a similar supply with the dog was forwarded to the next village. When pestilence or other calamity threatens an Indian village, it is the custom to take a goat or a buffalo to the boundary and drive it into the lands of the adjoining village, in the hope that it will avert evil from the community. A similar belief prevailed among the Jews. There is no reason to suppose that this movement of the dog in Gujarát was a signal of revolt or had any deeper political significance than a vague feeling that troublous times were approaching. Still it was by many regarded as an evil omen and created considerable alarm.¹

GUJARÁT
DISTURBANCES,
1857-1859.

The Red Salt
Scare,
1857.

The Passing of
the Pariah Dog.

¹ The rite of passing cakes from village to village or of passing a dog from village to village is in such complete accord with magical and religious rites practised all over India that it seems hardly possible to accept either as meaningless or as accidental. The passing of cakes and of a dog from one part of the country to another on the brink of the Mutinies. Knowing how suitable such a rite is to the state of feeling as well as to the phase of belief prevalent among the plotters of rebellion in Northern India it seems difficult to suppose that the passing of the cakes and the passing of the dog were not both sacramental; that is designed to spread over the country a spirit which had by religious or magical rites been housed in the dog and in the cakes. The cake-spirit, like the sugar-spirit of the Thags, was doubtless Kál, the fierce longing for unbridled cruelty, which worked on the partaker of the Thag sugar with such power that he entered with zest and without remorse on any scheme however cowardly and cruel. Like the Thags those who ate the Mutiny cakes would by partaking become of one spirit, the spirit of the indwelling Kál, and, in that spirit would be ready to support and to take part in any scheme of blood which the leaders of Mutiny might devise and start. Similarly by religious rites the Central India dog, possibly the dog of Báiza Bai of Gwalior (See Text page 437), had been made the home of some fierce war-spirit, apparently of the dog-formed Khamdaba the Maráthá Seed God and Dog of War. The inspired dog and the inspired dogs-meat were passed through the land in the confidence that through them the spirit of unrest would pervade every village of Gujarát. Since the Mutinies, by the

GUJARAT
DISTURBANCES,
1857-1859.

Gold Hoarding.

Seditious
Native Press.

Manvi
Sarāj-ud-dīn.

Although Gujarāt was apparently tranquil in the hot season of 1857, those who were most familiar with native opinion were aware of the existence of very serious discontent, and indications of the storm which lowered on the horizon were not wanting. When disturbances are impending natives invariably convert their savings into gold, because gold is more portable and more easily concealed than silver. A sudden and unusual demand for gold in the markets, especially by the native troops, had been observed. This fall of the political barometer should never be disregarded. It indicates the approach of a storm with great certainty.

The native press, which had been merely disloyal, now assumed an attitude of decided hostility. Every paper contained the most exaggerated accounts of the massacre of Europeans in the North-West Provinces, and absurd rumours were circulated of the approach of a combined Russian and Persian army, which, it was said, had reached Attock and would shortly invade Hindustān. It is much to be regretted that the measures which were found necessary in 1880 for the suppression of seditious publications were not enforced in 1857. Had this been done much evil would have been averted. The native mind would not have become familiar with the spectacle of the British Government held up to the execration and contempt of its subjects and the vilest motives attributed to every public measure.

The native press was not the only source of sedition. The fall of the British Government was openly predicted in every masjid, and in Ahmedābād a Manvi named Sarāj-ud-dīn became especially prominent by preaching a *jehād* in the Jāma Masjid to audiences of native officers and *savārs* of the Gujarāt Horse and troops from the

magic of letters, Kālī has passed from the wafer into the buffet, and the paid political propagandist has taken the place of Rāndoloh's perial dog.

The correctness of the view suggested above is supported if not established by certain passages in Kaye's *Peepoy War*, I. 632-642. Chinnī says: 'The circulating of cakes was supposed to foretell disturbances and to imply an invitation to the people to unite for some secret purpose.' According to the king of Delhi's physician (page 636) some charms attached to the cakes. The people thought they were made by some adept in the secret arts to keep unpolluted the religion of the country. Another authority (page 637) says: 'The first circulation of the cakes was on the authority of a pandit who said the people would rise in rebellion if cakes were sent round and that the person in whose name the cakes were sent would rule India.' The secret comes out in Sitarām Bāwā's evidence (pages 646-648): 'The cakes in question were a charm or *jadu* which originated with Dāsa Bāwā the guru or teacher of Nāna Sāhib. Dāsa told Nāna Sāhib he would make a charm and as far as the magic cakes should be carried so far should the people be on his side. He then took lettuce-dough called *malwa* and made an idol of it. He reduced the idol to very small pills and having made an immense number of cakes he put a pill in each and said that as far as the cakes were carried so far would the people determine to throw off the Company's yoke.' With this making of a cake as a sacramental home of Durgā or Kālī compare the Buddhist of Tibet offering in a human skull to the Mahārājī or Queen, that is to Durgā or Kālī, a sacramental cake made of black-goat's fat, wine, dough, and butter. (Waddell's *Buddhism in Tibet*, 303.) As to the effect of sharing in Durgā's mutiny cakes compare the statement of the Thag Fariingia (Sleeman's *Ramaseema*, page 210): 'The sugar sacrament, *gur-tapā-pāni*, changes our nature. Let a man once taste the sacramental sugar and he will remain a Thag however skillful a craftsman, however well-to-do. The Urdu proverb says *Tapauni-ki-dhāunika gur jians khāyā wāh maīd āut* Who eats the sugar of the sacramental Vase as he is so he remains. The Thags are tools in the hand of the god they have eaten. (Compare *Ramaseema*, 76.)—J. M. C.

Ahmedábád cantonment. The Maulvi was expelled from Ahmedábád and found his way to Baroda, where he was afterwards arrested; but the impunity he so long enjoyed brought great discredit upon Government, for it was very naturally supposed that a government which tamely submitted to be publicly reviled was too weak to resent the indignity. Oriental races are so accustomed to violent measures that they seldom appreciate moderation or forbearance. The generation that had known and suffered from the anarchy of the Peshwa had passed away. The seditious language of the native press and the masjid was addressed to a population too ignorant to understand the latent power of the British Government.

In 1857 the immense continent of Hindustán was governed by what appeared to the people to be a few Englishmen unsupported by troops, for they knew that the native army was not to be depended on, and the European troops were so few that they were only seen in the larger military cantonments. It must have seemed an easy task to dispose of such a handful of men, and it probably never occurred to those who took part in the insurrection that the overthrow of the British Government would involve more serious operations than the capture or murder of the Europeans who governed the country so easily. They could not perceive that England would never submit to a defeat, and that the handful of men who ruled India were supported by the whole power of the nation. The plotters had no very definite ideas for the future. The Musalmáns regarded the subversion of a government of Káfirs as a triumph of Islám, and both Muslims and Hindus looked forward to a period of anarchy during which they might indulge that appetite for plunder which had been restrained for so many years. The descendants of the feudal aristocracy of the Peshwa are an ignorant and improvident race deeply involved in debt. They could not fail to see that under the operation of our laws their estates were rapidly passing into the possession of the more intelligent mercantile classes, and they hoped to recover their position in the revolution that was about to ensue.

A great change had taken place in the character of the administration. The civilians of the school of Duncan, Malcolm, and Mountstuart Elphinstone, though not deeply learned in the law, were accomplished earnest men, sufficiently acquainted with the unalterable principles of right and wrong to administer substantial justice to a simple people who had not yet learnt the art of lying. The people asked for justice rather than law. They were satisfied with the justice they obtained from the able and upright men who ruled this country during the first half of this century. The writings and official reports of the officers of that period indicate a knowledge of native customs and feelings and a sympathy with the people that is unknown in the present day, for knowledge and sympathy cannot be acquired except by a long and familiar residence amongst the people which is now becoming every year more impossible. When the overland route rendered communication with England more easy and frequent, a reaction set in against patriarchal administration. Concubinage with native women, which had been common, was now declared vulgar, if not immoral; and the

GUJARÁT
DISTURBANCES,
1857-1859.

Apparent
Weakness of
British Rule.

Administrative
Defects.

GUJARAT
DISTURBANCES,
1857-1859.

The Courts
Dissolved.

relations between Europeans and Natives soon became less cordial than they had been during the early period of British rule. About this time a considerable immigration of lawyers appeared in India. These briefless gentlemen, envious of the official monopoly of the Civil Service, raised an outcry that justice was being administered by men who had not acquired that knowledge of law which the formality of eating a certain number of dinners at the Temple was supposed to guarantee. They worked the press so industriously to this cry, that in the course of a few years they had succeeded in impressing their views on the Court of Directors in London and on the less intelligent members of the Civil Service in India.

Unfortunately the Sadar Court was then presided over by a succession of feeble old gentlemen who had not sufficient force of character to resist this selfish agitation, and by way of refuting the charge of ignorance of law devoted themselves to the study of those petty technicalities which have so often brought the administration of justice into contempt, and which the progress of law reform has not even now removed from the law of England. In 1827, Mountstuart Elphinstone had enacted a Civil and Criminal Code which was still the substantive law of the land. It was simple and admirably suited to the people, but justice was administered according to the spirit rather than the letter of the law. A district officer would have incurred severe censure if his decisions were found to be inequitable, however they might have been supported by the letter of the law. The national character for even-handed justice had made the English name respected throughout India and far across the steppes of Central Asia. But the demoralizing example of the Sadar Adalat soon extended to the lower grades of the service. The Civil Service was afflicted with the foolishness which, we are told, precedes ruin. Its members diligently searched their law-books for precedents and cases, and rejoiced exceedingly if they could show their knowledge of law by reversing the decision of a lower Court on some long-forgotten ruling of the Courts of Westminster. The first effect of this evil was to fill the courts with corrupt and unprincipled *vakil*s who perverted the course of justice by perjury, forgery, and fraud of every description. Litigation increased enormously, no cause was too rotten, no claim too fraudulent to deprive it of the chance of success. The grossest injustice was committed in the name of the law, and though the Civil Service was above all suspicion of corruption, the evil could hardly have been greater if the Judges had been corrupt. This state of affairs gave rise to great discontent, for the administration of justice fell almost entirely into the hands of the *vakil*s. When men quarrelled they no longer said, "I'll beat or I'll kill you," but "I'll pay a *vakil* Rs. 50 to ruin you," and too often this was no mere idle threat.

The Inam
Commission.

The operations of the Inam Commission and of the Survey Department were also a fruitful cause of alarm and discontent. Many of the estates of the more influential Jāghīrdārs had been acquired by fraud or violence during the period of anarchy which preceded the fall of the Peshwa. The Patels and Deshmukhs had also appropriated large areas of lands and had made grants of villages to temples and assignments of revenue to Brāhmins, religious mendicants, and dancing

girls. The Peshwa had never recognized these alienations as any limitation of his rights, for he farmed his revenues, and so long as a large sum was paid into his treasury by the farmers it was immaterial to him how much land was alienated. But when the Survey Department revealed the fact that nearly a fourth part of the fertile province of Gujurāt was unauthorizedly enjoyed by these parasites; and that in other districts the proportion of alienations was nearly equally large, a due regard for the public interests demanded that there should be an investigation into the title on which the lands were held rent-free. It became the duty of the Inām Commission to make this inquiry, and though a very small portion of land was resumed or rather assessed to the land revenue and the rules for the continuation of cash allowances were extremely liberal, they could hardly be expected to give satisfaction to those who had so long enjoyed immunity from any share of the public burdens. The Brāhmins and the priesthood of every sect deeply resented the scrutiny of the Inām Commission and excited an intensely fanatical spirit by representing the inquiry as a sacrilegious attack on their religious endowments and a departure from the principle of neutrality and toleration which had been the policy of Government from a very early period.

Notwithstanding all these elements of danger there would probably have been no revolt if the army had remained loyal. Fortunately the Bombay army was composed of a great variety of races, Musalmāns of the Shia and Sunni sects, Marāṭhās of the Dakhan and Konkan, Parvāris, Pardeshis, and a few Jews and Christians. Little community of sentiment could exist in so heterogeneous a force, and to this circumstance we may trace the failure of each mutinous outbreak in the regiments of the Bombay army. Many of its regiments had, however, recruited extensively in the North-West Provinces which were then the centre of the political cyclone, and it was soon discovered that seditious overtures were being made to them not only by their brethren in the regiments which had already mutinied, but by discontented persons of higher rank. The most important of these was a clever woman known as the Bāiza Bāi. She was the daughter of a Dakhan Sardār named Sirji Rāo Ghātke, and had been married in early life to His Highness Dowlat Rāo Sindia the Mahārāja of Gwālior. On his death she had been allowed to adopt Jankoji Rāo as heir to the *gādi*, and during his minority she had been appointed by the British Government Regent of the Gwālior state. In this position the Bāi had accumulated great wealth. She had deposited £370,000 (37 lakhs of rupees) for safe custody in the treasury at Benares, and it was known that she had other resources at Gwālior. Her avarice and ambition were insatiable. She sent emissaries to all the Marāṭha chiefs and Thākors in Western India calling on them to take up arms and restore the empire of Shivāji. She appealed to the troops, urging them to emulate the deeds of their comrades in the Bengal army who had already nearly exterminated the Europeans in the North-West, and warned them that if they did not now strike in defence of their religion they would shortly be converted to Christianity and made to drink the blood of the sacred cow.

In May and June 1857 our troops were fighting before Delhi, only just holding their own, and making little impression on the walls

GUJARAT
DISTURBANCES,
1857-1859.

The Inām
Commission.

The Army
Loyal.

Bāiza Bāi of
Gwālior.

Pārsi Plot in
Benach,
June 1857.

GUJARAT
DISTURBANCES,
1857-1859.

Parsi Riot in
Broach,
June 1857.

Mutiny at
Mhow,
July 1857.

Mutiny at
Ahmedabad,
July 1857.

of the city which were strongly held by the mutinous regiments. Gujarát was still tranquil. It is true there had been a riot in Broach originating in a long-standing feud between the Pársis and Musalmáns of that town, but it had no political significance and had been promptly suppressed. The ringleaders were arrested, tried, and sentenced to be hanged for the murder of a Pársi, but there is no reason to suppose that this disturbance had any immediate connection with the outbreak in the North-West. It was probably only a coincidence, but the violence of the rioters was no doubt encouraged by the weakness of our position in Gujarát, and the exaggerated rumours which reached them of the massacre of our countrymen.

On July 1st, 1857, the 23rd Bengal Native Infantry and the 1st Bengal Cavalry stationed at Mhow mutinied and murdered Colonel Platt, Captain Fagan, Captain Harris, and a number of European subordinates of the Telegraph Department. The troops of His Highness Holkar fraternized with the mutineers, attacked the Residency, and after a desultory fight drove out Colonel Durand the Resident, who took refuge in Bhopál with the surviving Europeans of Indor. Information of the mutiny at Mhow soon reached Ahmedábad, and treasonable negotiations were at once opened for a simultaneous rising of the Gujarát Horse and of the troops in the cantonment; but they could not agree to combined operations. The Maráthás hoped for the restoration of the dynasty of the Peshwa, while the Pardeshis looked towards Dehli where their brethren were already in arms, without any very definite comprehension of what they were fighting for, but with some vague idea that they would establish a Musalmán *Ráj* on the throne of the Great Mughal.

On July 9th, 1857, seven *savárs* of the Gujarát Horse raised a green flag in their regimental lines in Ahmedábad and attempted to seize the quarter guard in which the ammunition was stored; but the guard made some slight show of resistance, and finding the regiment did not join them the mutineers left the lines in the direction of Sarkhej. They were followed by the Adjutant, Lieutenant Pym, with twelve *savárs*, and Captain Taylor, the commandant, joined them soon after with three men of the Koli Corps, whom he had met on the Dholka road. The *savárs* were overtaken near the village of Tájpur, and having taken up a strong position between three survey boundary-marks opened fire on their officers and the Kolis, the *savárs* standing aloof. After many shots had been exchanged without result, Captain Taylor advanced to parley, and while endeavouring to reason with his men was shot through the body. The Kolis now re-opened fire and having shot two of the *savárs* the rest laid down their arms. They were tried under Act XIV. of 1857 and hanged. The *savárs* who followed Lieutenant Pym passively declined to act against their comrades, and if the Kolis had not been present the mutineers would have escaped. Captain Taylor's wound was severe; the bullet passed through his body, but he eventually recovered. The execution of the *savárs* had a good effect on the troops, but it became evident that a serious struggle was impending, and Lord Elphinstone, who was then at the head of the Bombay Government, took all the precautions that were possible under the circumstances.

Mr. Ashburner, Assistant Magistrate of Kaira, was ordered to raise a force of 200 Foot and 30 Horse for the protection of his districts, and Husain Khán Battangi, a Musalmán gentleman of Ahmedabad, was authorized to enlist 2000 of the dangerous classes. It was not expected that this Ahmedabad force would add to our fighting strength, but the employment of the rabble of Ahmedabad on good pay kept them out of mischief till the crisis was passed. Mr. Ashburner's small force was composed of Rajputs, Makránis, and Kolis. They were a very useful body of men and were afterwards drafted into the Kaira Police of which they formed the nucleus. It was this force that suppressed the rising of the Thákors on the Mahi, which will be described below.

General Roberts, a very able soldier, commanded the Northern Division at this time. He fully realized the critical position of affairs in Gujarát. He was aware that the troops were on the verge of mutiny, that the Thákors were sharpening their swords and enlisting men, and that no relief could be expected till after the rains. But he was not the man to despond or to shirk the responsibility now thrown upon him. He proved equal to the occasion and met each emergency as it arose with the calm determination of a brave man.

When the troops at Mhow mutinied, the Rája of Amjera took up arms and attacked Captain Hutchinson the Political Agent of Bhopáwar. He fled and was sheltered by the Rája of Jábwa. At the same time (July 1857) the Musalmán Kanungus or accountants and Zamindárs of the Panch Maháls revolted, laid siege to the fort of Dohad, and threatened the Kaira district. Captain Buckle, the Political Agent, Rewa Kántha, marched from Baroda with two guns under Captain Sheppee, R. A., and two companies of the 8th Regiment Native Infantry, to relieve Dohad, while Major Andrews, with a wing of the 7th Regiment, two guns under Captain Sanlez, R. A., and 100 Sabres of the Gujarát Horse, marched on Thásra to support Mr. Ashburner and act generally under his orders. On the approach of Captain Buckle's force the insurgents abandoned the siege, and Captain Hutchinson soon after re-established his authority in Bhopáwar by the aid of the Málwa Bhil Corps which remained loyal. He arrested the Rája of Amjera and hanged him.

On the 5th August the Jodhpur Legion stationed at Abu mutinied. They made a feeble attack on the barracks of H. M. 33rd Regiment and Captain Hall's bungalow, into which they fired a volley of musketry, but were repulsed, leaving one of their men on the ground badly wounded. The fog was so dense that it was impossible to use firearms effectively. Mr. Lawrence of the Civil Service was the only person wounded. A party of the 17th Bombay Native Infantry who were on duty at Abu, were suspected of complicity with the Jodhpur Legion and were disarmed. The head-quarters of the Legion mutinied at Erinpur on the same day as the attack at Abu; they made the Adjutant, Lieutenant Conolly, prisoner and plundered the treasury.

GUJARÁT
DISTURBANCES,
1857-1859.

Mr. Ashburner's
Force.

Genl. Roberts.

Rising at Amjera

And in the
Panch Maháls,
July 1857.

Mutinies at
Abu and
Erinpur,
1857.

GUJARAT
DISTURBANCES,
1857-1859.

Disturbance at
Ahmedabad,
14th Sept. 1857.

An incident occurred early in September which had an important influence on events. The two Native regiments quartered at Ahmedabad were the 2nd Regiment of Grenadiers and the 7th Native Infantry. The Grenadiers were chiefly Pardeshis from Oudh, while the majority of the 7th Regiment were Marathas. As is often the case, an enmity sprang up between the two regiments. One night Captain Muter of the 2nd Grenadiers was visiting the guards as officer of the day. On approaching the quarter guard of the 7th Regiment, the sentry demanded the password which Captain Muter could not give. The sentry very properly refused to let him pass. Captain Muter returned to his lines, called out a party of Grenadiers, and made the sentry a prisoner. Next morning General Roberts put Captain Muter under arrest and released the sentry. This incident intensified the ill-feeling between the two regiments, and prevented their combination when the Grenadiers mutinied a few days later. It had been arranged that the two Native Regiments and the Golanauz artillery should mutiny at the same time, but there was mutual distrust between them, and the Native officers of the artillery had stipulated that they should make a show of resistance in order to let it appear that they had been overpowered by a superior force. About midnight on the 14th September 1857 the Grenadiers turned out and fell in on their parade ground armed and loaded. The guns were also brought out and loaded on their own parade ground. A Native officer of the Grenadiers was sent with a party to take possession of the guns in accordance with the preconcerted agreement, but the Subhedar of the Artillery threatened to fire on them, and the Native officer expecting that the guns would be given up without resistance, thought he had been betrayed, and retreated with his party, who threw away their arms as they ran across the parade ground. The Grenadiers were under arms on the parade waiting for the guns, when seeing the disorder in which the party was retreating from the Artillery lines, they also were seized with a panic and broke up in confusion. Then for the first time the Native officers reported to Colonel Grimes that there had been a slight disturbance in the lines. The mere accident that the Native officer detached to take the guns had not been informed of the show of resistance he was to expect from the Artillery, probably averted the massacre of every European in Gujarat. Twenty-one loaded muskets were found on the parade ground, and though the whole regiment was guilty it was decided to try the owners of those muskets by court martial. They were sentenced to death. As it was doubtful if the Native troops would permit the execution it was considered prudent to await the arrival of the 89th Regiment under Colonel Ferryman and Captain Hatch's battery of Artillery. They had been landed at Gogha during the monsoon with great difficulty, and were compelled to make a wide detour to the north owing to the flooded state of the country. On their arrival the executions were carried out; five of the mutineers were blown from guns, three were shot with musketry, and the rest were hanged in the presence of the whole of the troops. They

met their death with a gentlemanly calmness which won the respect of all who were present.

The example thus made, together with the presence of the European troops in Gujarát, restored our prestige and gave us time to attend to affairs on our frontier. The whole country was in a very disturbed state. On the fall of Delhi on September 28th, 1857, a treasonable correspondence was found between the Nawáb of Rádhanpur in Gujarát and the Emperor of Delhi, which deeply implicated the Nawáb. He and his ministers had forwarded *nádráds* of gold *mohars* to Delhi and asked for orders from the Emperor, offering to attack the British cantonments at Disa and Ahmedábad. The Nawáb had been on the most friendly terms with Captain Black the Political Agent, and had been considered perfectly loyal. Preparations were made to depose him for this treacherous conduct. We were then so strong in Gujarát that his estate could have been seized without the least difficulty, but he was considered too contemptible an enemy and his treason was pardoned.

Lieutenant Alban, with a party of Gujarát Horse, was now sent to settle affairs in Sauth, a petty state in the Rewa Kántha. Mustapha Khán, at the head of a turbulent body of Arabs, had made the Rája a prisoner in his own palace with a view to extort arrears of pay and other claims. Lieutenant Alban's orders were to disarm the Arabs. After some negotiations Mustapha Khán waited on Lieutenant Alban. He was attended by the whole of his armed followers with the matches of their matchlocks alight, thinking no doubt to intimidate Lieutenant Alban. On entering the tent Lieutenant Alban disarmed him, but imprudently placed his sword on the table. While they were conversing Mustapha Khán seized his sword and Lieutenant Alban immediately shot him with a revolver. The Arabs who crowded round the tent now opened fire on Alban and his men, but they were soon overpowered. Mustapha Khán, four Arabs, and one *savár* of the Gujarát Horse were killed.

Lieutenant Alban, with a party of the 7th Native Infantry under Lieutenant Cunningham then proceeded to Páli. A few months before one Surajmal, a claimant of the Lúnáváda *yádi*, had attacked the Rája of Lúnáváda, but was repulsed with severe loss and had since been harboured in the village of Páli. On the approach of Alban's force, it was attacked by Surajmal's Rájputs and the village was accordingly burnt. Order was then restored in the Panch Maháls, and it was not again disturbed till Tátiá Topi entered the Maháls.

In October 1857 a conspiracy was discovered between the Thákor of Sanda near Disa and some Native officers of the 2nd Cavalry and 12th Regiment Native Infantry to attack and plunder the camp at Disa and to murder the officers; but the evidence was not very clear, and before the trial could take place the amnesty had been published under which the suspected men were released. The peace of Northern Gujarát was much disturbed at this time by the Thákor of Rova, who plundered the Pálanpur and Sirohi

GUJARÁT
DISTURBANCES,
1857-1859.

Rádhanpur
Disloyal.

Arab Outbreak
at Sauth.

Disturbance
in Lúnáváda.

Conspiracy
at Disa.

GUJARAT
DISTURBANCES,
1857-1859.

Conspiracy
at Baroda.

Want of
Combination.

Maratha
Conspiracy.

villages at the head of 500 men, and the Thákór of Mandeta was also in arms but was held in check by a detachment of the 89th Regiment and a squadron of cavalry at Ahmednagar near Idar.¹ The two Thákors were acting in concert with some influential conspirators at Baroda of whom Malhár Rao Gáikwár *alias* Dáda Sáheb was the chief. It was this man who afterwards became Gáikwár of Baroda and was deposed for the attempt to murder Colonel Phayre by poison.

It is very remarkable that the sepoy war did not produce one man who showed any capacity for command. Every native regiment was in a state of mutiny and a large proportion of the civil population was ripe for revolt. If only one honest man had been found who could have secured the confidence and support of his fellow-countrymen, the fertile province of Gujarát would have been at his mercy; but amongst natives conflicting interests and mutual distrust make combination most difficult. In India a conspirator's first impulse is to betray his associates lest they should anticipate him. The failure of every mutinous outbreak in Gujarát was due to this moral defect. This trait may be traced throughout the history of the war and should be studied by those who advocate the independence of India, and the capacity of the native for self-government. It is an apt illustration of native inability to organize combined operations that the most formidable conspiracy for the subversion of our power should have been delayed till October 1857. By this time the arrival of Her Majesty's 89th Regiment and a battery of European artillery at Ahmedábád had rendered a successful revolt impossible. The mutinies of the Gujarát Horse and Grenadiers had been promptly suppressed and severely punished. The termination of the monsoon had opened the ports and reinforcements were daily expected. Had the outbreak occurred simultaneously with the mutiny of the Gujarát Horse, the Artillery, and the Second Grenadiers, Gujarát must have been lost for a time and every European would have been murdered.

For many years Govindráo *alias* Bápu Gáikwár, a half brother of His Highness the Gáikwár, had resided near the Sháhábág at Ahmedábád. He had been deported from Baroda for intriguing against his brother and had been treated as a political refugee. This man with Malháráo, another brother of His Highness the Gáikwár, Bháu Sáheb Pawár, and a Sardár who called himself the Bhonsla Rája, also related to His Highness by marriage, conceived the design to murder the Europeans in Baroda Ahmedábád and Kaira and establish a government in the name of the Rája of Sátára. To Bápu Gáikwár was entrusted the task of tampering with the troops in Ahmedábád, and frequent meetings of the Native officers were held at his house every night. The Bhonsla Rája, with a man named Jhaveri Náchand, was deputed to the Kaira district to secure the aid of the Thákors of Umeta, Bhádarva, Kera, and Dájima, and of the Patels of Anand and Partábpur.

¹ Bara in the south-east corner of Sirohi; Mandeta in Idar in the Mahi Kantha. P. FitzGerald Esq. Political Agent Mahi Kantha.

These landholders assured Bápu of their support and the Thákors of Umeta mounted some iron guns and put his fort in a state of defence. An agent named Maganlál was sent into the Gáikwár's Kadi Pargana, where he enlisted a body of 2000 foot and 150 horse, which he encamped near the village of Lodra. The followers of the Kaira Thákors assembled in the strong country on the banks of the Mahi near the village of Partábpur with a detachment and advanced to the Chauk Taláv within five miles of Baroda. The massacre at Baroda was fixed for the night of October 16th. The native troops in Baroda had been tampered with and had promised in the event of their being called out that they would fire blank ammunition only.

The Thákors had been encamped at Partábpur for several days, but owing partly to the sympathy of the people and partly to the terror which they inspired, no report was made to any British officers till the 15th October, when Mr. Ashburner, who was encamped at Thásra, marched to attack them with his new levies and a party of the Kaira police. There was, as usual, disunion in the ranks of the insurgents; they had no leaders they could depend upon, and they dispersed on hearing of the approach of Ashburner's force without firing a shot. Ninety-nine men who had taken refuge in the ravines of the Mahi were captured and a commission under Act XIV. of 1857 was issued to Mr. Ashburner and Captain Buckle, the Political Agent in the Rewa Kántha, to try them. Ten of the ringleaders were found guilty of treason and blown from guns at Kanvári, nine were transported for life, and the remainder were pardoned. The turbulent villages of Partábpur and Angar in Kaira were destroyed and the inhabitants removed to more accessible ground in the open country. Their strong position in the ravines of the Mahi river had on several occasions enabled the people of Partábpur and Angar to set Government at defiance, and this was considered a favourable opportunity of making an example of them and breaking up their stronghold.

In the meantime information of the gathering at Lodra had reached Major Agar, the Superintendent of Police, Ahmedábád. He marched to attack them with the Koli Corps and a squadron of the Gujarát Horse. Maganlál fled to the north after a slight skirmish in which two men were killed and four wounded, and was captured a few days afterwards by the Tháundár of Sammu with eleven followers. They were tried by General Roberts and Mr. Hadow, the Collector of Ahmedábád, under Act XIV. of 1857. Three of them were blown from guns at Waizápur, three were hanged, and the rest were transported for life.

It is much to be regretted that Malhárráo Gáikwár and the Bhonsla Rája were allowed to escape punishment. There was very clear evidence of the guilt of the Bhonsla Rája, but His Highness the Gáikwár interceded for him, and Sir Richmond Shakespeare, the Resident, weakly consented that his life should be spared on condition that he should be imprisoned for life at Baroda, a sentence which, it is hardly necessary to say, was never carried out.

GUJARÁT
DISTURBANCES,
1857-1859.

Marátha
Conspiracy.

Gathering at
Partábpur.

And at Lodra.

GUJARAT
DISTURBANCES,
1857-1859.

Partial
Disarming.

Náikda
Revolt,
Oct. 1858.

Tátia Topi,
1858.

On the suppression of this abortive insurrection it was determined to disarm Gujarat, and in January 1858 strong detachments of the 72nd Highlanders and of Her Majesty's 88th Regiment with the 8th Regiment Native Infantry, two guns under Captain Conybere, and a squadron of Gujarat Horse were placed at the disposal of Mr. Ashburner to carry out this measure. His Highness the Gaikwár had consented to a simultaneous disarmament of his country, but he evaded the performance of his promise. In the Kaira district and in the Jambusar taluka of Broach the disarmament was very strictly enforced; every male adult of the fighting classes was required to produce an arm of some kind. The town of Ahmedábád was relieved of 20,000 arms in the first two days, but the Highlanders and 86th Regiment were required for operations in Rajputána, and after their departure from Gujarat it was deemed prudent to postpone this very unpopular measure.

After these events Gujarat remained tranquil for nearly a year till, in October 1858, the Náikda Bhils of Narakot revolted under Rupa and Keval Náiks, and a few months later Tátia Topi's scattered force being hard-pressed by Colonel Park's column, plundered several villages of the Panch Maháls during its rapid march through that district.

In 1858, after his defeat at Gwálior, at the close of the mutinies in Northern India, Tátia Topi moved rapidly towards the Dakhan. The chiefs of Jamkhandi and Nargund had been in treasonable correspondence with the rebel chiefs in the North-West and had invoked their aid. It is more than probable that if Tátia Topi had entered the Dakhan in force, there would have been a general insurrection of the Marátha population. Tátia's march to the Dakhan soon assumed the character of a flight. He was closely pressed by two columns under Generals Somerset and Mitchell, and a very compact and enterprising little field force commanded by Colonel Park. Colonel Park's own regiment, the 72nd Highlanders, many of the men mounted on camels, formed the main fighting power of this force. His indefatigable energy in the pursuit of the enemy allowed them no rest, and eventually brought them to bay at Chhota Udepur. Fearing to face the open country of Berár with such an uncompromising enemy in pursuit, Tátia recrossed the Nerbada at Chikalda and marched towards Baroda. He had, by means of an agent named Ganpatráo, for some time been in communication with the Bháu Sáheb Pavár, a brother-in-law of His Highness the Gaikwár, and had been led to expect aid from the Baroda Sardárs and the Thákors of the Kaira and Rewa Kántha districts. Immediately it became known that Tátia had crossed the Nerbada, troops were put in motion from Kaira, Ahmedábád, and Disa for the protection of the eastern frontier of Gujarat. Captain Thatcher, who had succeeded to the command of the irregular levies raised by Mr. Ashburner in Kaira, was ordered to hold Sankheda with the irregulars and two of the Gaikwár's guns. He was afterwards reinforced by Captain Collier's detachment of the 7th Regiment N. I., which fell back from Chhota Udepur on the approach of the enemy.

Tátia Topi at this time commanded a formidable force composed of fragments of many mutinous Bengal regiments. He had also been joined by a mixed rabble of Villáyatis, Rohillás, and Rájputs, who followed his fortune in hopes of plunder. Ferozsha Nawáb of Káimóna and a Marátha Sardar who was known as the Ráo Sáheb, held subordinate commands. Each fighting man was followed by one or more ponies laden with plunder which greatly impeded their movements. It was chiefly owing to this that Colonel Park was enabled to overtake the rebels and to force them into action. On reaching Chhota Udepur the troops of the Rája fraternised with the enemy, and Captain Collier having evacuated the town, Tátia Topi was allowed to occupy it without opposition. He had intended to halt at Chhota Udepur to recruit his men and to develop his intrigues with the Baroda Sardárs, but Park gave him no respite. On the 1st December 1858, he fell upon Tátia's rebel force and defeated it with great slaughter, his own loss being trifling. After this defeat there was great confusion in the ranks of the insurgents. Tátia Topi abandoned his army and did not rejoin it till it had reached the forest lands of Párona. Discipline which had always been lax, was now entirely thrown aside. The muster roll of one of Tátia's cavalry regiments was picked up and showed that out of a strength of 300 sabres only sixteen were present for duty. The rebel force separated into two bodies, one doubled back and plundered Park's baggage which had fallen far to the rear, the other under Ferozsha entered the Panch Maháls and looted Báriya, Jhalod, Limdi, and other villages; Godhra being covered by Muter's force was not attacked. Park's force was so disabled by the plunder of its baggage and by long continued forced marches, that it was compelled to halt at Chhota Udepur, but General Somerset took up the pursuit and rapidly drove Tátia from the Panch Maháls. He fled in the direction of Salumba. The Thákor of that place was in arms, and Tátia no doubt expected support from him, but the Thákor was too cautious to join what was then evidently a hopeless cause. On reaching Nargad on the 20th February 1859, Ferozsha made overtures of surrender, and a week later 300 cavalry and a mixed force of 1500 men under Zahur Ali and the Maulvi Vazir Khán laid down their arms to General Mitchell. They were admitted to the benefit of the amnesty. The remnant of Tátia's force fled to the north-east.

In October 1858, instigated by the intrigues of the Bhán Sáheb Pavár, the Sankheda Náikdás, a very wild forest tribe, took up arms under Rupa and Koval Náiks, and after having plundered the outpost, *thána*, at Nárukot, attacked a detachment of the 8th Regiment N. I. under Captain Bates at Jámbughoda. They were repulsed with considerable loss after a desultory fight during the greater part of two days. On the arrest of Ganpatráo, the Bhán Sáheb's agent, this troublesome insurrection would probably have collapsed, but the Náikdás were joined by a number of Villáyatis, matchlock-men, the fragments of Tátia's broken force, who encouraged them to hold out. They occupied the very strong country between Chámpáner and Nárukot, and kept up a harassing warfare, plundering the villages as far north as Godhra.

GUJARÁT
DISURRANCES,
1857-1859.

TATIA Topi's
Defeat at
Chhota Udepur,
Dec. 1858.

Náikda
Disturbance,
1858.

GUJARAT
DISTURBANCES,
1857-1859.

Naikda
Disturbance,
1858.

Wagher
Outbreak,
1859.

Expedition
against Bet,
1859.

A field force commanded by the Political Agent of the Rewa Kántha, Colonel Wallace, was employed against the Naikdás during the cold weather of 1858, and in one of the frequent skirmishes with the insurgents Captain Hayward of the 17th Regiment N. I. was severely wounded by a matchlock bullet on the 28th January 1859. The only success obtained by the Naikdás was the surprise of Hassan Ali's company of Hussein Khán's levy. The Subhedár had been ordered to protect the labourers who were employed in opening the pass near the village of Sivrájpur, but the duty was very distasteful to him, and his son deserted with twenty-four men on the march to Sivrájpur. They were suddenly attacked by a mixed force of Makránis and Naikdás. Seven men including the Subhedár were killed and eleven wounded without any loss to the enemy. The Subhedár neglected to protect his camp by the most ordinary precautions and his men appear to have behaved badly. They fled without firing a shot directly they were attacked. But little progress had been made in pacifying the Naikdás till Captain Richard Bonner was employed to raise and organize a corps composed chiefly of Bhils with their head-quarters at Dohad in the Panch Mahila. Captain Bonner's untiring energy and moral influence soon reduced the Naikdás to submission. Rupa Naik laid down his arms and accepted the amnesty of the 10th March 1859, and Keval Naik followed his example soon after.

In July 1859 the Waghers of Okhámandal, a mahál in Káthiáváda belonging to His Highness the Gaikwár, suddenly seized and plundered Dwárka, Barvála, and Bet. They were led by a Wágher chief named Toda Manik, who alleged that he had been compelled to take up arms by the oppression of the Gaikwár's *hámáras*; but it is probable that he was encouraged to throw off allegiance by the weakness of the Baroda administration and the belief that he would have to deal with the troops of the Darbár only. He soon found he was in error. Major Christie with 200 sabres of the Gujarát Horse and a wing of the 17th Regiment Native Infantry from Rájkot marched to Maudána on the Ran to cut off the communication between Okhámandal and the Káthiáváda peninsula. The cantonment of Rájkot was reinforced from Ahmedábád by six guns of Aytoun's battery, a wing of the 33rd Regiment and a detachment of the 14th Regiment Native Infantry under Captain Hall, and a naval and military force was at the same time prepared in Bombay for the recovery of Bet and Dwárka as soon as the close of the monsoon should render naval operations on the western coast possible.

On the 29th September 1859, the following force embarked in the transports *South Ramities* and *Empress of India*, towed by Her Majesty's steam-ships *Zenobia* and *Victoria*, and followed by the frigate *Firos*, the gunboat *Clyde*, and the schooner *Constance*:

Her Majesty's 26th Regiment ...	...	...	500 Men.
Her Majesty's 6th Regiment Native Infantry ...	...	...	600 "
Marine Battalion ...	...	...	200 "
Royal Artillery ...	...	...	60 "
Sappers and Miners ...	...	...	90 "

The expedition was under the command of Colonel Donovan

of Her Majesty's 28th Regiment, but it was intended that on arrival at Bet, Colonel Scobie should command the combined naval and military force. Colonel Scobie marched from Rajkot early in October with the wings of Her Majesty's 33rd Regiment and 17th Native Infantry, the 13th Light Field Battery and detachments of the 14th Native Infantry and Gujarát Horse. Had Colonel Donovan waited for this force he might have effectually invested the fort of Bet, which is situated on an island, and exterminated the rebels; but he was too anxious to distinguish himself before he could be relieved of command. He arrived off Bet on the 4th October 1859, and at sunrise that morning the steam-ships *Fires*, *Zenobia*, *Clyde*, and *Constance* took up their positions off the fort of Bet and opened fire with shot and shell at 950 yards. The fort replied feebly with a few small guns. Shells effectually scorched the fort and temples occupied by the enemy, but the shot made little impression on the wall which was here thirty feet thick. The bombardment continued throughout the day and at intervals during the night. Next morning Dewa Chabasni, the Wágher chief in command of the fort, opened negotiations for surrender, but he would not consent to the unconditional surrender which was demanded, and after an interval of half an hour the artillery fire was resumed and preparations were made to disembark the troops. They landed under a heavy musketry fire from the fort and adjacent buildings, and an attempt was made to escalate. The ladders were pinned against the wall but the storming party of Her Majesty's 28th Regiment and 6th Regiment Native Infantry were repulsed with heavy loss. Captain McCormack of Her Majesty's 28th Regiment, Ensign Willaume of the 6th Regiment, and ten European soldiers were killed; and Captain Glasspoole, Lieutenant Grant of the 6th Native Infantry, and thirty-seven men of the 28th Regiment were wounded, many of them severely. One sepoy of the Marine Battalion was killed and five wounded.

During the night which succeeded this disastrous attack the Waghers evacuated the fort. They reached the mainland, taking with them their women the children and the plunder of the temple, but Dewa Chabasni, the Wágher chief, had been killed the previous day. Considering the large and well-equipped force at Colonel Donovan's disposal and the facilities which the insular position of Bet afforded to a blockading force, the escape of the Waghers almost with impunity, encumbered with women and plunder, did not enhance Colonel Donovan's military reputation. Captain D. Naamyth, R. E., Field Engineer of the Okhámándal Force, was directed to destroy the fort of Bet and carried out his instructions most effectually. Some of the Hindu temples nearest the walls were severely shaken by the explosion of the mines, and a great outcry was raised of the desecration of the temples; but if Hindus will convert their temples into fortified enclosures, they must take the consequence when they are occupied by the enemies of the British Government.

Lieutenant Charles Goodfellow, R. E., greatly distinguished himself on this occasion. He earned the Victoria Cross by carrying

GUJARÁT
DISTURBANCES.
1857-1859.

Expedition
against Bet,
1859.

Bet Fort
Taken.

GUJARAT
DISTURBANCES,
1857-1859.

Dwarka Fort
Taken.

off a wounded man of Her Majesty's 28th Regiment under a very heavy fire. Treasure valued at $3\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs of rupees was taken on board the *Firoz* for safe custody. It was eventually restored to the Pujaris of the temples, but most of the temples had been carefully plundered by the Waghers before the entry of the British force.

Many of the fugitives from Bet took refuge in Dwarka, and Colonel Donovan's force having re-embarked proceeded to Dwarka to await the arrival of Colonel Scobie's small brigade. Scobie's force did not reach Dwarka till October 20th. The Naval Brigade under Lieutenant Sedley with sixteen officers and 110 men had already landed under very heavy matchlock fire, and thrown up a slight breastwork of loose stone within 150 yards of the walls. A field piece from the *Zenobia* and afterwards a thirty-two pounder were placed in position in this work. The successful result of the siege was mainly due to the determined bravery of this small naval force. They repulsed repeated sorties from the fort and inflicted severe losses on the enemy. As soon as the stores and ammunition could be landed, Colonel Donovan took up a position to the north-east of the fort, Colonel Scobie to the south-east, and Captain Hall occupied an intermediate position with detachments of Her Majesty's 33rd Regiment, the 14th Native Infantry, and Gujarati Horse under Lieutenant Pym. The garrison made several determined attempts to break through Captain Hall's position, but they were on each occasion driven back with loss.

The first battery opened fire on the northern face of the fort on October 28th, while the *Zenobia* and the *Firoz* poured a well-directed fire of shells on the houses and temples which sheltered the enemy towards the sea. The shells did immense execution and relieved the attack on the Naval Brigade which continued to hold its position with the greatest gallantry though several times surrounded by the enemy. On the night of the 31st October the garrison evacuated the fort and cut its way through a picket of Her Majesty's 28th Regiment, wounding Ensign Hunter and four men. A detachment under Colonel Christie followed the fugitives next morning and overtook them near Vasatri. A skirmish ensued, but they escaped without much loss and took refuge in the Barda hill. They continued to disturb the peace of Kathiavada for several years. In one of the desultory skirmishes which followed, Lieutenants LaTouche and Hebbert were killed.

Rising in
Nagar Parkar.

While these events were in progress, Karranji Hati the Rana of Nagar Parkar on the Sindh frontier of Gujarat, took up arms at the head of a band of Sodhas, plundered the treasury and telegraph office at Nagar Parkar, and released the prisoners in the jail. Colonel Evans commanded the field force which was employed against him for many months without any very definite results. The country is a desert and the Sodhas avoided a collision with the troops. The Rana eventually submitted and peace was restored.

APPENDIX III.

BHINMAL.

BHINMAL,¹ North Latitude 24° 42' East Longitude 72° 4', the historical Shrinál, the capital of the Gurjars from about the sixth to the ninth century, lies about fifty miles west of Abu hill. The site of the city is in a wide plain about fifteen miles west of the last outlier of the Abu range. To the east, between the hills and Bhinmal, except a few widely-separated village sites, the plain is chiefly a grazing ground with brakes of thorn and cassia bushes overtopped by standards of the camel-loved *pila* *Salvadora persica*. To the south, the west, and the north the plain is smooth and bare passing westwards into sand. From the level of the plain stand out a few isolated blocks of hill, 500 to 800 feet high, of which one peak, about a mile west of the city, is crowned by the shrine of Chámunda the Sri or Luck of Bhinmal. From a distance the present Bhinmal shows few traces of being the site of an ancient capital. Its 1500 houses cover the gentle slope of an artificial mound, the level of their roofs broken by the spires of four Jain temples and by the ruined state office at the south end of the mound. Closer at hand the number and size of the old stone-stripped tank and fortification mounds and the large areas honeycombed by diggers for bricks show that the site of the present Bhinmal was once the centre of a great and widespread city. Of its fortifications, which, as late as A.D. 1611, the English merchant Nicholas Uffet, in a journey from Jhalor to Ahmedabad, describes as enclosing a circuit of thirty-six miles (24 *kos*) containing many fine tanks going to ruin, almost no trace remains.² The names of some of the old gates are remembered, Surya in the north-east, Sri Lakshmi in the south-east, Sanchar in the west, and Jhalor in the north. Sites are pointed out

Appendix III.

BHINMAL.

Description.

¹ The translations of the inscriptions and the bulk of the history are the work of Mr. A. M. T. Jackson of the Indian Civil Service.

² Finch in Kerr's *Voyages*, VIII, 301. Thirty years later the traveller Tavernier (Ball's Edition, II, 87) has: Baramit (Wangan in Jodhpur?) to Bimal 15 *kos*; Bimal to Modra 15 *kos*. Of Jhalor Uffet has left the following description. Jhalor is a castle on the top of a steep mountain three *kos* in ascent by a fair stone causeway broad enough for two men. At the end of the first *kos* is a gate and a place of guard where the causeway is enclosed on both sides with walls. At the end of the second *kos* is a double gate strongly fortified; and at the third *kos* is the castle which is entered by three successive gates. The first is very strongly plated with iron, the second hot so strong with plates above for throwing down melted lead or boiling oil, and the third is thickly beset with iron spikes. Between each of these gates are spacious places of arms and at the inner gate is a strong portcullis. A bowshot within the castle is a splendid pagoda, built by the founders of the castle and ancestors of Ghazni (Gidney) Khan who were Gentiles. He turned Muhammadan and deprived his elder brother of this castle by the following stratagem. Having invited him and his women to a banquet which his brother required by a similar entertainment he substituted chosen soldiers well armed instead of women, sending them two and two in a *dandi* or litter who, getting in by this device gained possession of the gates and held the place for the Great Moghal to whom it now (A.D. 1611) appertains being one of the strongest situated forts in the world. About half a *kos* within the gate is a goodly square tank cut out of the solid rock said to be fifty fathoms deep and full of excellent water. Quoted by Finch in Kerr's *Voyages*, VIII, 300-301.

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BHINMAL.
Description.

as old gateways five to six miles to the east and south-east of the present town, and though their distance and isolation make it hard to believe that these ruined mounds were more than outworks, Ulfet's testimony seems to establish the correctness of the local memory.¹ Besides these outlying gateways traces remain round the foot of the present Bhinmal mound of a smaller and later wall. To the east and south the line of fortification has been so cleared of masonry and is so confused with the lines of tank banks, which perhaps were worked into the scheme of defence, that all accurate local knowledge of their position has passed. The Gujarati gate in the south of the town though ruined is well marked. From the Gujarati gateway a line of mounds may be traced south and then west to the ruins of Pipalduara perhaps the western gateway. The wall seems then to have turned east crossing the watercourse and passing inside that is along the east bank of the watercourse north to the south-west corner of the Jaikop or Yaksha lake. From this corner it ran east along the south bank of Jaikop to the Jhalor or north gate which still remains in fair preservation its pointed arch showing it to be of Muslim or late (17th-18th century) Rastor construction. From the Jhalor gate the foundations of the wall may be traced east to the Kanakaen or Karada tank. The area to the east of the town from the Karada tank to the Gujarati gate has been so quarried for brick to build the present Bhinmal that no sign remains of a line of fortifications running from the Karada tank in the east to the Gujarati gate in the south.

The site of the present town the probable centre of the old city, is a mound stretching for about three-quarters of a mile north and south and swelling twenty to thirty feet out of the plain. On almost all sides its outskirts are protected by well made thorn fences enclosing either garden land or the pens and folds of Rabaris and Bhils. The streets are narrow and winding. The dwellings are of three classes: the flat mud-roofed houses of the Mahajans or traders and of the better-to-do Brahmins and craftsmen with canopied doors and fronts plastered with white clay; Second the tiled sloping-roofed sheds of the bulk of the craftsmen and gardeners and of the better-off Rabaris and Bhils; and Third the thatched bee-hive huts of the bulk of the Rabaris and Bhils and of some of the poorer craftsmen and husbandmen. Especially to the north-west and west the houses are skirted by a broad belt of garden land. In other parts patches of watered crops are separated by the bare banks of old tanks or by stretches of plain covered with thorn and cassia bushes or roughened by the heaps of old buildings honey-combed by shafts sunk by searchers for bricks. Besides the four spired temples to Parasnath the only outstanding building is the old *kacheri* or state office a mass of ruins which tops the steep south end of the city mound.

People.

Of the 1400 inhabited houses of Bhinmal the details are: Mahajans 475, chiefly Oswal Vanis of many subdivisions; Shrimali Brahmins, 200; Sheraks 35, Maga Brahmins worshippers of the ~~sun~~ and priests to Oswals; Sonars, 30; Bandharas or Calico-printers, 35; Kasars or Brass-smiths 4, Ghanchis or Oilpressers, 30; Malis or Gardeners, 25; Kathias or Woodworkers, 12; Bhats 120 including 80 Ganas or Grain-carriers,

¹ The names of these gateways are Surajmal about six miles (4 $\frac{1}{2}$ mi) east of Bhinmal near Khitpur at the site of a temple of Mahadev; Savidar about six miles (4 $\frac{1}{2}$ mi) to the south near a temple of Hanuman; Dharanidhar near Vadar about six miles (4 $\frac{1}{2}$ mi) west of Bhinmal at the site of a large well; Kishoribhai about six miles (4 $\frac{1}{2}$ mi) to the north near Nartan at the site of a large well and stones. Rastan Lal Pandit.

and 40 Rajbhats or Brāhm Bhāts, Genealogists¹; Kumbhars or Potters, 12; Musalmān Potters, 4; Rehbaris or Herdsmen, 70²; Shādkis Beggars, 10; Shāmia Alikis Beggars, 10; Kotwal and Panjāra Musalmāns, 15; Lohārs or Blacksmiths, 3; Darjis or Tailors, 12; Nais or Barbera, 7; Bhumias that is Solāṅki Jagirdārs, 15³; Kavās Bhumias servants, 12; Jāts Cultivators, 2; Deshāutrias or Saturday Oilbeggars, 1; Achāryas or Funeral Brāhmans, 1; Dhola Drumbeaters, 12; Patrias or Professionals that is Dancing Girls, 30⁴; Turki Vohorās that is Memons, 2; Vishayati Musalmān Patlock-makers, 1; Rangrez or Dyers, 2; Mochis or Shoemakers, 50; Kurias or Salāvats that is Masons, 6; Churigars Musalmān Ivory bangle-makers, 2; Jatiyas⁵ or Tanners, 17; Khātiks or Butchers working as tanners, 1; Sargars, Bhil messengers, 1; Bhils, 120; Tirgars or Arrow-makers, 5; Gorādas priests to Bombias leather-workers, 2; Bombias literally Weavers now Leather-workers, 40; Wāghria Castrator, 1; Mirāsia Musalmān Drummers, 8; Mehtars or Sweepers, 1.

Inside of the town the objects of interest are few. The four temples of Pārnāuth are either modern or altered by modern repairs. A rest-house to the south of a temple of Barāgi or Varaha the Boar in the east of the town has white marble pillars with inscriptions of the eleventh and thirteenth centuries which show that the pillars have been brought from the ruined temple of the sun or Jag Svāmi Lord of the World on the mound about eighty yards east of the south or modern Gujarāt gate. In the west of the town, close to the wall of the enclosure of the old Mahālakshmi temple, is a portion of a white marble pillar with an

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BHINMAL
People.Objects.
In the Town

¹ The Shrimālī Brāhm-Bhāts are of the following subdivisions: Dhondaleshvar, Hār, Hara, Leh, Peshelha, Pitalia, and Varing. They say Shrimāl is their original home.

² The local explanation of Reh-bāri is liver out of the way. Their subdivisions are: Al, Barod, Bongaro, Dāgalla, Gansor, Gengala, Kalotra, Karamtha, Nango, Paana, Premāra, Roj. All are strong dark full-bearded men.

³ The importance of Bhinmal as a centre of population is shown not only by the Shrimālī Brāhmans and Vaisis who are spread all over Gujarāt, but by the Pārnās a class of Vaisis now unrepresented in their native town who are said to take their name from a suburb of Bhinmal. Oswald, almost all of whom are Śrāvaks or followers of the Jain religion, have practically spread from Bhinmal. The origin of the name Oswald is (Trans. Roy. As. Soc. III, 337) from Osi the Mother or Luck of Gnanagar an ancient town and still a place of pilgrimage about eighteen miles north of Jodhpur. The Oswalds were originally Rajputs of several classes including Pārnās but mainly Solāṅkis and so apparently (Tod's Western India, 209) of Gurjara origin. Equally of Gurjara origin are the Shrimālī Vaisis who hold a specially high place among Western Indian Jains. The care taken by the Jains to secure foreign conquerors within their fold is notable. The Tirthankar is a Rajpū who by piety and other virtues attained moksha or absorption. The fifty-four worshipful *pitras* *parvats*, the twenty-four *tirthankars*, the twelve *chakravartis*, the nine *baladevis*, and the nine *ekadashis* are Rājās, most of them great conquerors (Trans. Royal Asiatic Society, III, 338-341). The local story is that the Solāṅkis were called to help the people of Shrimāl to resist the Songara Rajputs of Jhalor who took Bhinmal about a.d. 1290. Before that the Shrimālīs and Solāṅkis were enemies. This tradition of hostility is interesting as it may go back to a.d. 740 when Mōlārāja Solāṅki transferred the seat of power from Bhinmal to Anahilavāda Patan. (See Below page 402.) A class who trace to Bhinmal are the Pitala or Kalbis of Marwar (Marwar Castes, 41). They claim descent from Rajput men and Brāhman women. In support of the tradition the women still keep separate neither eating with nor using the same vessels as their husbands.

⁴ These dancing girls hold land. They are said to have been brought by the Songara Rajputs, who according to the local account retreating from Ala-ud-din Khilji (a.d. 1290) took Bhinmal from the Shrimālī Brāhmans.

⁵ The Jatiyas all Hindus of the three subdivisions Baletta, Senkaria, and Talvaria came from Mandu near Dhar in Central India. The name is locally derived from *jatukarta* a skin.

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Objects.

inscription dated S. 1342 (A.D. 1286) which apparently has been brought from the same ruined sun temple. In the *kacheri* ruins at the south end of the mound the only object of interest is a small shrine to Mātā with two snakes supporting her seat and above in modern characters the words *Nāgāne the kuldevī* or tribe guardian of the Rāhitors.

Surroundings.

The chief object of interest at Bhinmal is the ruined temple of the Sun on a mound close to the south of the town. Of this temple and its inscriptions details are given below. About fifty yards west of the Sun temple are the remains of a gateway known as the Gujarāt gateway. This modern name and the presence near it of blocks of the white quartz-marble of the Sun temple make it probable that the gateway is not older than Musalmān or eighteenth century Rāhitor times. Close to the west of the gate is Khari Bāva the Salt Well an old step and water-bag well with many old stones mixed with brick work. About a hundred yards south of the Gujarāt gate, in a brick-walled enclosure about sixteen yards by eight and nine feet high topped by a shield parapet, is the shrine of Mahādeva Naulāksheshwar. An inscription dated S. 1690 (A.D. 1744) states that the enclosure marks the site of an old temple to Naulāksheshwar. About fifty yards east of the Naulāksheshwar shrine is a large brick enclosure about seventy-five yards square with walls about twelve feet high and a pointed-arched gateway in the Moslim wave-edged style. On entering to the left is a plinth with a large Hanumān and further to the left in domed shrines are a Gaupati and a Mātā. A few paces south is Brahma's Pool or Brahmakhand with steep steps on the west and north, a rough stone and brick wall to the east, and a circular well to the south. The pool walls and steps have been repaired by stones taken from Hindu temples or from former decorations of the pool on some of which are old figures of Mātās in good repair. The story is that Som, according to one account the builder of the Sun temple according to another account a restorer of Shrināl, wandering in search of a cure for leprosy, came to the south gate of Shrināl. Som's dog which was suffering from mange disappeared and soon after appeared sound and clean. The king traced the dog's footmarks to the Brahmakhand, bathed in it, and was cured. As a thank-offering he surrounded the pool with masonry walls. To the south of the pool, to the right, are an underground *ling* sacred to Patāleshwar the lord of the Under World and south of the *ling* a small domed shrine of Chandi Devi. To the left, at the east side of a small brick enclosure, is a snake-canopied *ling* known as Chandeshwar hung about with strings of *radrikā* *Elaeocarpus ganitrus* beads.¹ In front of Chandeshwar's shrine is a small inscribed stone with at its top a cow and calf recording a land grant to Shrinālī Brahmins. About forty yards north-east of the Brahmakhand a large straggling heap of brick and earth, now known as Lakshmithala or Lakshmi's settlement, is said to be the site of a temple to Lakshmi built, according to the local

¹ According to a local story there was a hermitage of Jangama near the temple of Jagandera, the Sun-God and a hermitage of Bharati near Chandeshwar's shrine. In a fight between the rival ascetics many were slain and the knowledge where their treasure was stored passed away. When repairs were made in A.D. 1814 (S. 1870) the Bharati hermitage was cleared. Two large earthen pots were found one of which still stands at the door of Chandeshwar's temple. These pots contained the treasure of the Bharatis. In A.D. 1814 nothing but white dust was found. Most of the dust was thrown away till a Jain ascetic came and examined the white dust. The ascetic called for an iron rod, heated the rod, sprinkled it with the white dust, and the iron became gold.

legend, by a Brahman to whom in return for his devotedness Lakshmi had given great wealth. The hollow to the south-east is known as the Khandālia pool. About fifty yards south-east at the end of a small enclosure is a shrine and cistern of Jareshwar, said to be called after a certain Jag who in return for the gift of a son built the temple. Several old carved and dressed stones are built into the walls of this temple. About seventy-five yards further south-east a large area rough with heaps of brick is said to be the site of an old Vidhiya-Sala or Sanskrit College. This college is mentioned in the local Mahātmya as a famous place of learning the resort of scholars from distant lands.¹ The local account states that as the Bhils grow too powerful the Brāhmins were unable to live in the college and retired to Dhulka in north Gujarat.

The slope and skirts of the town beyond the thorn-fenced enclosures of Bhils and Rabaris lie in heaps honeycombed with holes hollowed by searchers for bricks. Beyond this fringe of fenced enclosures from a half to a whole mile from the city are the bare white banks of pools and tanks some for size worthy to be called lakes. Of these, working from the south northwards, the three chief are the Nimbālī or Narmukhasarovar, the Goni or Gayakund, and the Talhi or Trimbakesarovar. The Nimbālī tank, about 300 yards south-east of the college site, is a large area opening eastwards whence it draws its supply of water and enclosed with high bare banks scattered with bricks along the south-west and north. The lake is said to be named Nimbālī after a Vani to whom Mahādeva granted a son and for whom Mahādeva formed the hollow of the lake by ploughing it with his thunderbolt. About half a mile north-east of Nimbālī a horseshoe bank fifteen to thirty feet high, except to the open east is the remains of the Goni lake. Lanes of stone along the foot of the north-west and north-east banks shew that portions at least of these sides were once lined with masonry. A trace of steps remains at a place known as the Gau Ghat or Cowgate. The lake is said to have been named Goni after a Brahman whose parents being eaten by a Rakshas went to hell. For their benefit Goni devoted his life to the worship of Vishnu and built a temple and lake. In reward Vishnu gave to the water of the lake the merit or cleansing virtue of the water of Gāva. In the foreground a row of small *chhatras* or pavilions marks the burying ground of the Mahajan or high Hindu community of Bhinmāl. Behind the pavilions are the bare banks of the Talhi lake. At the west end is the Bombāro well and near the south-west is the shrine of Trimbakeshvar Mahādev. This lake is said to have been made in connection with a great sacrifice or *yag*, that is *yajna*, held by Brāhmins to induce or to compel the god Trimbakeshwar to slay the demon Tripurāsūr. Beginning close to the south of Talhi lake and stretching north-west towards the city is the Karādā Sarovar or Karādā lake said to have been built by Kanaksen or Kanishka the great founder of the Skythian era (A.D. 78). On the western bank of the lake stands an open air *ling* of Karāiteshwar.² At the south end of the Karādā

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Objects.

Surroundings.

¹ According to Alberuni (A.D. 1030) the Brahmasiddhānta was composed by Brahmagupta the son of Jishnu from the town of Bhilamāla between Multan and Auhlūwara. Sachau's Translation, I. 153. Another light of the college was the Sanskrit poet Magha, the son of Srimal parents, who is said to have lived in the time of Bhoj Raja of Ujjain (A.D. 1010-1040). *Māwār Caste*, 68.

² The local account explains the origin of the name Kanak which also means gold by the story of a Bhil who was drowned on the waxing fifth of Bhādarwa. The Bhil's wife who was with him failing to drown herself prepared a funeral pyre. Mahādeva pleased with the woman's devotion restored her husband to life and made his body shine like gold. As a thankoffering the Bhil enlarged the tank and built a shrine to Kirāt Mahādeva.

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lake, which stretches close to the fenced enclosures round the city, are the remains of a modern bastion and of a wall which runs north-west to the Jhalor gate. Beyond the site of the bastion is an enclosure and shrine of Maheshwar Mahadev. To the north and north-west of the Karnit sea lie four large tanks. Of these the most eastern, about 300 yards north-west of Karadā, is Brahmasarovar a large area fed from the north and with high broken banks. Next, about 500 yards north-west, lies the far-stretching Vānkund or Forest Pool open to the north-east. About 800 yards west is Gautam's tank which holds water throughout the year. The banks of brick and *kankar* form nearly a complete circle except at the feeding channels in the east and south. In the centre of the lake is an islet on which are the white-stone foundations (18' x 12') of Gautam's hermitage. On the bank above the east feeding-channel is an image of Hanumān and on the east side of the southern channel at the foot of the bank is a white inscribed stone with letters so worn that nothing but the date S. 1106 (A.D. 1049) has been made out. Of the balls of *kankar* or nodular limestones which are piled into the bank of the tank those which are pierced with holes are lucky and are kept to guard wooden partitions against the attacks of insects. The last and westmost of the north row of tanks is the Jaikop properly Jakshkop that is the Yaksha's Pool about 600 yards south-west of the Gautam tank and close to the north-west of the town.¹ This tank holds water throughout the year and supplies most of the town's demand. Along the south bank of the Jaikop, where are tombs a shrine to Bhairav and a ruined mosque, the line of the later city walls used to run. At the south-east corner of the tank are three square masonry pilthas each with a headstone carved with the figure of a man or woman. One of the pilthas which is adorned with a pillared canopy has a stone carved with a man on horseback and a standing woman in memory of a Tehsildar of Bhinmal of recent date (S. 1869; A.D. 1812) whose wife became *Sati*. About 200 yards south-east is a row of white *pāliā* or memorial slabs of which the third from the south end of the row is dated S. 1245 (A.D. 1186). On the south-east bank is the shrine of Nīnghoria Bhairav at which Shīrāvaka as well as other Hindu worship. In the centre of the shrine is a leaning pillar about five feet high with four fronts, Hanumān on the east, a standing Snake on the south, a Sakti on the west, and Bhairav on the north. To the south of the pillar, about a foot out of the ground rises a five-faced *lāg* or pillar-home of the god one facing each quarter of the heaven and one uncarved facing the sky. Close to a well within the circuit of the lake near the south-east corner is a stone inscribed with letters which are too worn to be read. At the east end of the north bank under a *pālā* *Salvadora persica* tree is a massive seated figure still worshipped and still dignified though the features have been broken off, and the left lower arm and leg and both feet have disappeared. This is believed to be the image of the Yaksha king who made the tank. Details are given Below pages 456-458. To the west of the seated statue are the marks of the foundations of a temple, shrine hall and outer hall, which is believed to have originally been the shrine of Yaksh. About a hundred yards west, under a pillared canopy of white quartz, are two Musalmān

¹ The local explanation of the name Yaksha's Pool is that Ravana went to Akaka the city of the great Yaksha Kavera god of wealth and stole Pushpak Kavera's *missa* or carrier. Kavera in sorrow asked his father what he should do to recover his carrier. The father said Worship in Shrināl. Kavera came to Shrināl and worshipped Bahma who appeared to him and said: When Rāmchandra destroys Ravana he will bring back Pushpak.

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graves in honour of Ghazni Khān and Hamāl Khān who were killed about 400 years ago at Jhālor fighting for Shrināl. In obedience to their dying request their Bhāts brought the champions' bodies to Yaksh's tank. The white quartz, the shape of the pillars, and an inscription on one of them dated S. 1333 (A.D. 1276), go to show that the stones have been brought from the Sun temple to the south of the town. To the north of the canopy is a large step-well the Dadeli Well separated into an outer and an inner section by a row of Hindu pillars supporting flat architraves. Some of the stones have figures of goddesses and in a niche is an old goddess' image. The upper part of the well and the parapet are of recent brick work. On a low mound about 150 yards to the north is the shrine of Nilkanth Māhādev, with, about a hundred paces to the south-east, a fine old step-well. The lake was fed from the south-west corner where is a silt trap built of stones in many cases taken from old temples and carved with the *chaitya* or horse-shoe ornament. Some of the stones have apparently been brought from the great white quartz Sun temple. Several of them have a few letters of the fourteenth century character apparently the names of masons or carvers. Some of the blocks are of a rich red sandstone which is said to be found only in the Rape quarries eight miles south of Bhinmal.

On the right, about half a mile south of the south-west corner of the Jaikop lake, is a ruined heap hid among trees called the Pīpal Dvāra or Gateway perhaps the remains of the western Gateway which may have formed part of the later line of fortifications which can be traced running south along the inner bank of the Jaikop feeding channel. About a mile south of the Pīpal Dvāra are the bare banks of the large lake Bansarovar the Desert Sea. To the north-west north and north-east its great earthen banks remain stripped of their masonry gradually sloping to the west and south the direction of its supply of water. The island in the centre is Lakshāra. This lake was made by Gauri or Pārvati when she came from Sunda hill to slay the female demon Uttamīār. When Pārvati killed the demon she piled over her body Shri's hill which she had brought with her to form a burial mound. At the same time Pārvati scooped the tank, and crowned Shri's hill with a tower-like temple. This hill, where lives the Śri or Luck of Shrināl, rises 500 feet out of the plain about a mile west of the town. It is approached from the south by a flight of unhewn stones roughly laid as steps. The hill-top is smoothed into a level pavement of brick and cement. The pavement is supported on the east side by a lofty bastion-like wall. It is surrounded by a parapet about two feet high. On the platform two shrines face eastwards. To the left or south is the main temple of Lakshmi and to the right or north the smaller shrine of Sunda Māta. The main shrine has a porch with pillars and shield frieze of white quartz limestone apparently spoils of the great Sun Temple. Three or four bells hang from the roof of the porch and some loose white stones apparently also from the Sun temple are scattered about. In the west wall of the main shrine facing east is the image of the Guardian of Bhinmal covered with red paint and gold leaf. The only trace of ornament on the outside of Lakshmi's shrine is in the north-facing portion of a belt of the horse-shoe or *chaitya* pattern and a disc perhaps the disc of the Sun. The smaller shrine of Sunda Māta to the right or north is square and flat-roofed. The ceiling is partly made of carved stones apparently prepared for, perhaps formerly the centre slabs of domes. The door posts and lintels are of white quartz marble. On the right door post are two short inscriptions of A.D. 1612 and 1664 (S. 1669 and 1691). A second pillar bears the date A.D. 1543

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(S. 1600). The roof is supported by four square central pillars which with eight wall pilasters form four shallow domes with lotus carved roof-stones from some other or some older temple. In a recess in the west wall, surmounted with a stone carved in the *chaitya* or horse-shoe pattern, is the Trident or *Trisula* of Śaṅḍa Mātā the only object of worship.

From the hill-top the mound of Bhinmal hardly seems to stand out of the general level. The mound seems hidden in trees. Only in the south gleam the white pillars of the Sun Temple and to the north rise the high mound of the old offices, and still further north the spires of the four temples of Paraśanāth. Beyond the town to the south and west spread green gardens fenced with dry thorn hedges. Outside of the garden enclosures to the south-east south and south-west run the lofty bare banks of dry lakes confused in places with the lines of old fortifications. To the north-west and north shine the waters of the Jaikop and Gaṇṭam tanks. Westwards the plain, dark with thorn brake and green with acacias, stretches to the horizon. On other sides the sea-like level of the plain is broken by groups of hills the Borta range along the north and north-east and to the east the handsomer Ratanaḡar, Thar, and Ram Sen rising southwards to the lofty clear-cut ranges of Dodaḡa and Sunda.

Only two objects of interest in Bhinmal require special description, the massive broken statue of the Yaksha or Yaksha on the north bank of the Jaikop lake, and the temple to Jagsvāmī the Sun at the south-east entrance to the city.

Jaikop.

On the north bank of the Jaikop, or Yaksha Lake,¹ leaning against the stem of a *pila* or *jāl* *Salvidora persica* tree, is a massive stone about 4' high by 2' 6" broad and 1' thick. The block is carved with considerable skill into the seated figure of a king. The figure is greatly damaged by the blows of a mace. The nose and mouth are broken off, half of the right hand and the whole of the left hand and leg are gone and the feet and almost the whole of the seat or throne have disappeared. The figure is seated on a narrow lion-supported throne or *śaḡḡana* the right hand resting on the right knee and holding a round ball of stone about six inches in diameter. The left foot was drawn back like the right foot and the left hand apparently lay on the left knee, but, as no trace remains except the fracture on the side of the stone the position of the left hand and of the left leg is uncertain. The head is massive. The hair falls about

¹ No local tradition throws light on the reason why this figure is called a Yaksha. The holding a bead in his hand suggests that he may have been a guardian Bhuday in some Buddhist temple and so remembered as a guardian or Yaksha. Or he may have been supposed to be a statue of the builder of the temple and so have been called a Yaksha since that word was used for a race of skilful architects and craftsmen. Troyer's *Rajatarāṅgī*, I. 369. In the Vriji temples in Tirhut which Buddhist accounts make older than Buddhism the objects of worship were ancestral spirits who were called Yakshas. If the Buddhist legends of Śaka settlements in Tirhut during Gaṇṭama's lifetime (A.D. 540) have any historical value these Vrijis were Sakas. As (J. As. Ser. VI. Tom. II. page 310) Yaka is a Mongol form of Śaka the ancestral guardians would be Sakas. Compare in Eastern Siberia the Turki tribe called Yakots by the Russians and Sakhas by themselves. *Emy. Brit.* XXIV. 723. This would explain why the mythic Yaksha was a guardian, a builder, and a white horseman. It would explain why the name Yaksha was given to the Baktrian Greeks who built stupas and conquered India for Aśoka (J. As. Ser. VII. Vol. VI. page 170; Hecley in *Indian Antiquary*, IV. 101). It further explains how the name came to be applied to the Yuechi or Kushans who like the Yavanas were guardians white horsemen and builders. In Sindh and Kachh the word Yaksha seems to belong to the white Syrian horsemen who formed the strength of Muḡammad Kaḡim's army, A.D. 712. (Tod's *Western India*, 197; Reinand's *Fragmenta*, 191; Briggs' *Farishta*, IV. 404, 409).

two feet from the crown of the head in four long lines of curls on to the shoulders, and, over the curls, or what seems more likely the curled wig, is a diadem or *mukut* with a central spike and two upright side ornaments connected by two round bands. The face is broken flat. It seems to have been clean shaved or at least beardless. A heavy ring hangs from each ear. A stiff collar-like band encircles the neck and strings of beads or plates hang on the chest too worn to be distinguished. On both arms are upper armlets, a centre lion-face still showing clear on the left armlet. On the right hand is a bracelet composed of two outer bands and a central row of beads. A light belt encircles the waist. Lower down are the *kandora* or hip girdle and the *kopet* or *ghotar* knot.¹ In spite of its featureless face and its broken hands and feet the figure has considerable dignity. The head is well set and the curls and diadem are an effective ornament. The chest and the full rounded belly are carved with skill. The main fault in proportion, the overshortened lower arm and leg and the narrowness of the throne, are due to the want of depth in the stone. The chief details of interest are the figure's head-dress and the ball of stone in its right hand. The head-dress seems to be a wig with a row of crisp round curls across the brow and four lines of long curls hanging down to the shoulders and crisp curls on the top of the head. The *mukut* or diadem has three upright faces, a front face over the nose and side faces over the ears joined together by two rounded bands. At first sight the stone ball in the right hand seems a coconut which the king might hold in dedicating the lake. Examination shows on the left side of the ball an outstanding semicircle very like a human ear. Also that above the ear are three rolls as if turban folds. And that the right ear may be hid either by the end of the turban drawn under the chin or by the fingers of the half-closed hand. That the front of the ball has been wilfully smashed further supports the view that it was its human features that drew upon it the Muslim mace. The local Brahmans contend that the ball is either a round sweetmeat, or a handful of mud held in the right hand of the king during the dedication service. But Tappa a Brahmin-Bhat, a man of curiously correct information, was urgent that the stone ball is a human head. Tappa gives the following tale to explain why the king should hold a human head in his hand. An evil spirit called Satka had been wasting the Brahmans by carrying off the head of each bridegroom so soon as a wedding ceremony was completed. The king vowed that by the help of his goddess Chamunda he would put a stop to this evil. The marriage of a hundred Brahman couples was arranged for one night. The king sat by. So long as the king remained awake the demon dared not appear. When the hundredth marriage was being performed the king gave way to sleep. Satka dashed in and carried off the last bridegroom's head. The girl-bride awoke the king and said I will curse you. You watched for the others, for me you did not watch. The king said to his Luck Chamunda. What shall I do. Chamunda said Ride after Satka. The king rode after Satka. He overtook her fourteen miles out of Shrimad and killed her. But before her

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¹ The measurements are: Height 4'; head round the brow to behind the ear the back of the head not being cut free, 2' 6"; height of head-dress, 8"; length of face, 10"; length of ringlets or wig curls from the crown of the head, 2'; breadth of face, 9"; across the shoulders, 2' 8"; throat to waistband, 1'; waistband to loose hip belt or *kandora*, 1' 3"; right shoulder to elbow, 1'; elbow to wrist, 9"; head in the right hand 6" high 7" across top; hip to broken knee, 1'; knee to ankle, 1' 5"; foot broken off. Left shoulder to broken upper arm, 8"; left leg broken off leaving a fracture which shows it was drawn back like the right leg.

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Sikop.

death. Satka had eaten the bridegroom's head. What is to be done the king asked Chamunda. Trust me said his guardian. The king rode back to Shimal. As he was entering the city the goddess pointed out to him a gardener or Mali and said Off with his head. The king obeyed. The goddess caught the falling head, stuck it to the bridegroom's neck, and the bridegroom came to life. Thus, ends the tale, the local Brahmans are known as Shrimalis that is men with gardeners' heads. This meaning-making pun and the likeness of the stone-hall to a human head may be the origin of this story. On the other hand the story may be older than the image and may be the reason why the king is shown holding a human head in his hand. On the whole it seems likely that the story was made to explain the image and that the image is a Bhairav holding the head of a human sacrifice and acting as gatekeeper or guardian of some Buddhist or Sun-worshipping temple.¹ The appearance of the figure, its massive well-proportioned and dignified pose, and the long wiglike curls, like the bag wig on the figure of Chand on the south-west or marriage compartment of the great Elephanta Cave, make it probable that this statue is the oldest relic of Shimal, belonging like the Elephanta winged figures to the sixth or early seventh century the probable date of the founding or re-founding of the city by the Gurjara.² According to the local story the image stands about twenty paces east of the temple where it was originally enshrined and worshipped. The life of the ground and traces of foundations seem to show about fifty paces west of the present image the sites of an entrance porch, a central hall or *mandap*, and a western shrine. The surface of what seemed the site of the shrine was dug about two feet deep on the chance that the base of the throne might still be in situ. Nothing was found but loose brickwork. Mutilated as he is the Yaksha is still worshipped. His high day is the *A'shad* (July-August) fullmoon when as rain-mediator between them and Indra the villagers lay in front of him *guyri* that is wheat boiled in water and milk, butter, flour, molasses, and sugar.

¹ The Jains call the guardian figures at Sanchi Bhairava. Massey's *Sanchi*, pages 7 and 25. Bhairava is revered as a guardian by the Buddhists of Nepal and Tibet. Compare Burgess' *Buddha Rock Temples*, page 96. A connection between Bhairav and the Sun is shown by the practice among Ajmir Gajar women of wearing round the neck a medal of Bhairava before marriage and of the Sun after marriage.

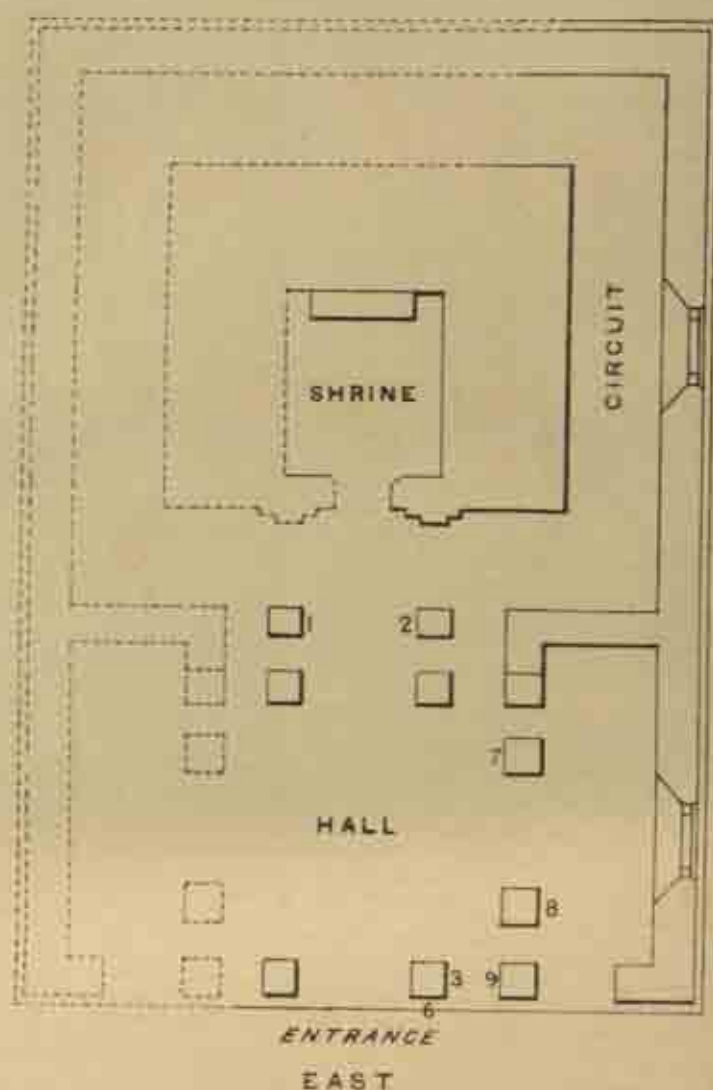
² The Egyptians, Romans and Parthians are the three chief wig-wearers. Some of the Parthian kings (A.D. 250 - A.D. 240) had elaborate hair like perukes and frizzled beards. In Trajan's time (A.D. 138), fashions changed so quickly that Roman statues were hairless and provided with wigs. Goldmann *Histoire Des Peres*, II, 530. Compare Wagner's *Manners*, 69. The number of wigs in the Elephanta sculptures, probably of the sixth or early seventh century, is notable. In the panel of Siva and Parvati in Kailasa are several figures with curly wigs. Burgess' *Elephanta*, page 33; in the marriage panel one figure has his hair curled like a barrister's wig. Ditto 31; in the Ardhanarishvara compartment Garuda and two other figures have wigs. Ditto 22; the dwarf demon on which one of the guardians of the Trimurti leans has a wig. Ditto 14-15; finally in the west wing winged figures uphold the throne. Ditto 47. Gandharvas in the Brahmanic Ravan cave at Elura probably of the seventh century have curly wigs. Fergusson and Burgess, 456. Winged images also occur in some of the Elura Buddhist caves of the sixth or seventh centuries. Ditto, 370-371. In Ajanta caves I, II, and XXXIV, of the sixth and seventh centuries are chorule and grotesques with large wigs. Among the Bich carvings and paintings of the sixth or seventh century are a king with baggy hair if not a wig and small human heads with full wigs. MS. Notes. Finally at the Chandl Sewa temple in Java of about the seventh century the Jambur and other figures have large full-bottomed wigs curled all over. *Indian Art*, for Aug. 1876, 240-241. On the other hand except the curly haired or Astrakan-capped music boys in Sanchi no trace of wigs seems to occur in the Bhilasa Sanchi or Bharut sculptures between the third century after and the third century before the Christian era. Compare Cunningham's *Bharut* and *Bhilasa*. Massey's *Sanchi*; Fergusson's *Tree and Serpent Worship*.

BHINMAL (SRIMAL)

WEST

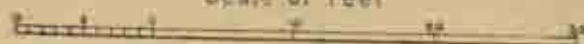
SOUTH

NORTH



TEMPLE OF JAG SVAMI THE SUN (Ruined)

Scale of Feet



The second and main object of interest is the ruined Sun temple in the south of the town on a brick mound about eighty yards east of the remains of the Gajarat gateway. The brick mound which is crowned by the white marble pillars and the massive laterite ruins of the temple of Jagadvani Lord of the World has been so dug into that its true form and size cannot be determined. The size of many of the bricks $1' 6" \times 1' \times 3'$ suggests that the mound is older even than the massive laterite masonry of the shrine. And that here as at Multán about the sixth century during the supremacy of the sun-worshipping White Hópas a temple of the Sun was raised on the ruins of a Buddhist temple or relic mound. Still except the doubtful evidence of the size of the bricks nothing has been found to support the theory that the Sun temple stands on an earlier Buddhist ruin. The apparent present dimensions of the mound are 42' broad 60' long and 20' high. Of the temple the north side and north-west corner are fairly complete. The east entrance to the hall, the south pillars of the hall, and with them the hall dome and the outer wall of the temple round the south and west of the shrine have disappeared. A confused heap of bricks on the top of the shrine and of the entrance from the hall to the shrine is all that is left of the spire and upper buildings. The materials used are of three kinds. The pillars of the hall are of a white quartzlike marble; the masonry of the shrine walls and of the passage round the north of the shrine is of a reddish yellow laterite, and the interior of the spire and apparently some other roof buildings are of brick. Beginning from the original east entrance the ground has been cut away so close to the temple and so many of the pillars have fallen that almost no trace of the entrance is left. The first masonry, entering from the east, are the two eastern pillars of the hall dome and to the north, of this central pair the pillar that supported the north-eastern corner of the dome. Except the lowest rim, on the east side, all trace of the dome and of the roof over the dome are gone. The centre of the hall is open to the sky. The south side is even more ruined than the east side. The whole outer wall has fallen and been removed. The south-east corner the two south pillars of the dome and the south-west corner pillars are gone. The north side is better preserved. The masonry that rounds off the corners from which the dome sprung remains and along the rim of the north face runs a belt of finely carved female figures. The north-east corner pillar, the two north pillars of the dome, and the north-west corner pillar all remain. Outside of the pillars runs a passage about four feet broad and eleven feet high, and, beyond the passage, stands the north wall of the temple with an outstanding deep-eaved window balcony with white marble seats and backs and massive pillars whose six feet shafts are in three sections square eight-sided and round and on whose double-disc capitals rest brackets which support a shallow cross-cornered dome. At its west end the north passage is ornamented with a rich *gokila* or recess $3\frac{1}{2}$ broad with side pillars $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet high. On the west side of the dome the central pair of dome pillars and as has been noticed the north corner pillar remain. About three feet west of the west pair of dome pillars a second pair support the domed entrance to the shrine. The richly carved side pillars, a godless with fly-flap base, and the lintel of the shrine door remain but the bare square chamber of the shrine is open to the sky. To the south of the shrine the entire basis of the south side of the spire, the outer circling or *pralaksana* passage and the outer wall of the temple have disappeared. The north side is much less ruinous. There remain

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Sun Temple.

the massive blocks of yellow and red trap which formed the basis of the spire built in horizontal bands of deep-cut cushions and in the centre of the north wall a niche with outstanding pillared frame, the circling passage with walls of plain trap and roof of single slabs laid across and the outer wall of the temple with bracket capiteled pillars and a central deep-eaved and pillared hanging window of white marble. The circling passage and the outer wall of the temple end at the north-west corner. Of the western outer wall all trace is gone. The pillars of the temple are massive and handsome with pleasantly broken outline, a pedestal, a square, an eight-sided band, a sixteensided band, a round belt, a narrow band of horned faces, the capital a pair of discs, and above the discs outstanding brackets each ending in a crouching four-armed male or female human figure upholding the roof. The six central dome pillars resemble the rest except that instead of the sixteensided band the inner face is carved into an urn from whose mouth overhang rich leafy festoons and which stand on a roll of cloth or a ring of cane such as women set between the head and the waterpot.¹ On the roof piles of bricks show that besides the spire some building rose over the central dome and eastern entrance but of its structure nothing can now be traced.

History.

According to a local legend this temple of the Sun was built by Yayati the son of king Nahush² of the Chandravansi or Moon stock. Yayati came to Shrimāl accompanied by his two queens Sharmistha and Devyani, and began to perform severe austerities at one of the places sacred to Surya the Sun. Surya was so pleased by the fervour of Yayati's devotion that he appeared before him and asked Yayati to name a boon. Yayati said May I with god-like vision see thee in thy true form. The Sun granted this wish and told Yayati to name a second boon. Yayati said I am weary of ruling and of the pleasures of life. My one wish is that for the good of Shrimālpar you may be present here in your true form. The Sun agreed. An image was set up in the Sun's true form (apparently meaning in a human form) and a Hariya Brāhman was set over it.³ The God said Call me Jagat-Svāmi the Lord of the World for I am its only protector. According to a local Brāhman account the original image of the Sun was of wood and is still preserved in Lakshmi's temple at Pātan in North Gujarat.⁴ Another account makes the builder of the temple Shripunj or Jagsom. According to one legend Jagsom's true name was Kanak who came from Kashmir. According to the Brāhman Bhāt Tappa Jagsom was a king of Kashmir of the Jamāwal tribe who established himself in Bhinmāl about 500 years before Kumārāpāla. As Kumārāpāla's date is A.D. 1186, Jagsom's date would be A.D. 680.

¹ The ten feet of the pillars are thus divided: pedestal 2', square block 2', eight-sided belt 18', sixteensided belt 15', round band 2', horned face belt 6', double disc capital 6'.

² This according to another account is Nāsik town.

³ Hariya Brāhman is said to mean a descendant of Hariyaji, a well known Brāhman of Shrimāl, so rich that he gave every member of his caste a present of brass vessels.

⁴ This tradition seems correct. In the temple of Lakshmi near the Tripolia or Triple gateway in Pātan are two standing images of *chāmpa* Michella *chāmpa* wood one a man the other a woman black and dressed. The male image which is about three feet high and thirteen inches across the shoulders is of the Sun Jagat Svām that is Jagat Svāmi the World Lord: the female image about 2' 6" high and 9" across the shoulders is Banadevi or Rāndel the Sun's wife. Neither image has any writing. They are believed to be about 1000 years old and to have been secretly brought from Bhinmāl by Shrimāl Brāhmans about A.D. 1400. Rāo Bahādur Himatlāl Dhārājāl. Compare (Rajputana Gazetteer, II. 282) in the temple of Bālārikh at Bālnar about a hundred miles south-west of Jodhpur a wooden image of the sun.

According to the common local story Jagsom was tormented by the presence of a live snake in his belly. When Jagsom halted at the south gate of Bhinmāl in the course of a pilgrimage from Kashmir to Dwarka, he fell asleep and the snake came out at his mouth. At the same time a snake issued from a hole close to the city gate and said to the king's belly snake 'You should depart and cease to afflict the king.' 'There is a fine treasure in your hole' said the belly snake. 'How would you like to leave it?' 'Why then ask me to leave my home?' The gate snake said 'If any servant of the king is near let him hearken. If some leaves of the *bir* Capparis aphylla tree are plucked and mixed with the flowers of a creeper that grows under it and boiled and given to the king the snake inside him will be killed.' 'If any servant of the king is near' retorted the king's snake 'let him hearken. If boiling oil is poured down the hole of the gate-snake the snake will perish and great treasure will be found.' A clever Kayasth of the king's retinue was near and took notes. He found the *bir* tree and the creeper growing under it; he prepared the medicine and gave it to the king. The writhing of the snake caused the king so much agony that he ordered the Kayasth to be killed. Presently the king became wick and the dead snake was thrown up through the king's mouth. The king mourned for the dead Kayasth. So clever a man, he said, must have made other good notes. They examined the Kayasth's note book, poured the boiling oil down the hole, killed the gate-snake, and found the treasure. To appease the Kayasths and the two snakes lakhs were spent in feeding Brahmins. With the rest a magnificent temple was built to the Sun and an image duly enshrined. Nine upper stories were afterwards added by Vishvakarma.

The legends of Bhinmāl are collected in the Shrināl Mahātmya of the Skanda Purāṇa a work supposed to be about 400 years old. According to the Mahātmya the city has been known by a different name in each of the chief cycles or Yuga. In the Satyayug it was Shrināl, in the Tretayug Ratanmāl, in the Dwāparayug Pushpamāl, and in the Kāliyug Bhinmāl. In the Satyayug Shrināl or Shrinagar had 84 Chandis; 336 Kāhetrapāls; 27 Varāhas; 101 Suryās; 51 Mātās; 21 Bṛhispatis; 300 to 11,000 Lingas; 88,000 Rushis; 399 Wells and Tanks; and 3½ krosa of *Arthas* or holy places. At first the plain of Bhinmāl was sea and Bhṛagurishi called on Surya and the sun dried the water and made it land. Then Braghu started a hermitage and the saints Kashyap, Atri, Baradwaj, Gautam, Jāmdagni, Vishvamitra, and Vashista came from Aśva to interview Braghu. Gautam was pleased with the land to the north of Braghu's hermitage and prayed Trimbakeshwar that the place might combine the holiness of all holy places and that he and his wife Ahilya might live there in happiness. The God granted the sage's prayer. A lake was formed and in the centre an island was raised on which Gautam built his hermitage the foundations of which may still be seen. The channel which feeds Gautam's lake from the north-east was cut by an ascetic Brāhman named Yajnasaila and in the channel a stone is set with writing none of which but the date S. 1117 (A.D. 1060) is legible. Some years after Gautam had settled at Shrināl a daughter named Lakshmi was born in the house of the sage Braghu. When the girl came of age Braghu consulted Naradji about a husband. When Naradji saw Lakshmi, he said; This girl can be the wife of no one but of Vishnu. Naradji went to Vishnu and said that in consequence of the curse of Durvasasrishi Lakshmi could not be born anywhere except in Braghu's house and that Vishnu ought to marry her. Vishnu agreed. After the

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marriage the bride and bridegroom bathed together in the holy Trimlak pond about half a mile east of Gautam's island. The holy water cleared the veil of forgetfulness and Lakshmi remembered her former life. The *devtas* or guardians came to worship her. They asked her what she would wish. Lakshmi replied; May the country be decked with the houses of Brāhmins as the sky is decked with their carriers the stars. Bhagwan that is Vishnu, pleased with this wish, sent messengers to fetch Brāhmins and called Vishvakarma the divine architect to build a town. Vishvakarma built the town. He received golden bangles and a garland of gold lotus flowers and the promise that his work would meet with the praise of man and that his descendants would rule the art of building. This town said the Gods has been decked as it were with the garlands or *sūks* of Sri or Lakshmi. So it shall be called Shrimālā. When the houses were ready Brāhmins began to gather from all parts.¹ When the Brāhmins were gathered Lakshmi asked Vishnu to which among the Brāhmins worship was first due. The Brāhmins agreed that Gautam's claim was the highest. The Brāhmins from Sindh objected and withdrew in anger. Then Vishnu and Lakshmi made presents of clothes money and jewels to the Brāhmins and they, because they had settled in the town of Shrimāl, came to be known as Shrimālī Brāhmins.

The angry Sindh Brāhmins in their own country worshipped the Sea. And at their request Samudra sent the demon Sarika to ruin Shrimāl. Sarika carried off the marriageable Brāhmin girls. And the Brāhmins finding no one to protect them withdrew to Abu. Shrimāl became waste and the dwellings rains.² When Shrimāl had long lain waste a king named Shripunj, according to one account suffering from worms according to another account stricken with leprosy, came to the Brahmakund to the south of the city and was cleansed.³ Thankful at heart Shripunj collected Brāhmins and restored Shrimālā and at the Brahmakund built a temple of Chandish Mahadev. When they heard that the Shrimāl Brāhmins had returned to their old city and were prospering the

¹ The details are: From Kausika 500, from the Ganges 10,000, from Gaya 500, from Kalinjar 700, from Mahendra 500, from Kundal 1000, from Vani 500, from Surprak 800, from Oskari 1000, from Godivari 100, from Prabhas 122, from the hill Ujjayan or Girnar 115, from the Narbada 110, from Gomati 70, and from Nandivanthan 1000.

² According to one account (Mārwār Castes, 61) these Sindh Brāhmins are represented by the present Pushkar Brāhmins. In proof the Pushkars are said to worship carika as Ustaderi riding on a camel. This must be a mistake. The Pushkars are almost certainly Gujars.

³ Details are given above under Objects. The local legends confuse Shripunj and Jagson. It seems probable that Jagson was not the name of a king but is a contraction of Jagadevali the title of the Son. This Shripunj, or at least the restorer or founder of Shrimāl, is also called Kanak, who according to some accounts came from the east and according to others came from Kashmir. Kanak is said also to have founded a town Kashvati near the site of the present village of Chikla about eleven miles (7 kos) east of Bhinmal. This recollection of Kanak or Kanakshi is perhaps a trace of the possession of Malwar and north Gujarat by the generals or successors of the great Kushan or Saka emperor Kanak or Kanishka the founder of the Saka era of A.D. 78. According to the local Bhats this Kanak was of the Janghmal caste and the Pradiya branch. This caste is said still to hold 300 villages in Kashmir. According to local accounts the Shrimālī Brāhmins, and the Dewala and Derra Rajputs all came from Kashmir with Kanak. Tod (Western India, 213) notices that the Annals of Mewar all trace to Kanakshi of the Son race whose invasion is put at A.D. 100. As the Shrimālī and most of the present Rajput chiefs are of the Gujar stock which entered India about A.D. 450 this tracing to Kanishka is a case of the Hindu law that the conqueror assimilates the traditions of the conquered that with the tradition he may bind to his own family the Sri or Luck of his predecessors.

Brāhmins of Sindh once more sent Sarika to carry away their marriageable daughters. One girl as she was being lured away called on her house-goddess and Sarika was spell-bound to the spot. King Shripunj came up and was about to slay Sarika with an arrow when Sarika said Do not kill me. Make some provision for my food and I will henceforth guard your Brāhmins. The king asked her what she required. Sarika said Let your Brāhmins at their weddings give a dinner in my honour and let them also marry their daughters in unwashed clothes. If they follow these two rules I will protect them. The king agreed and gave Sarika leave to go. Sarika could not move. While the king wondered the house-goddess of the maiden appeared and told the king she had stopped the fiend. Truly said the king you are the rightful guardian. But Sarika is not ill disposed let her go. On this Sarika fled to Sindh. And in her honour the people both of Shrimāl and of Jodhpur still marry their daughters in unwashed clothes.¹ The Brāhmin girls whom Sarika had carried off had been placed in charge of the snake Kankal lord of the under world. The Brāhmins found this out and Kankal agreed to restore the girls if the Brāhmins would worship snakes or *nāgs* at the beginning of their *shrādh* or after-death ceremonies. Since that time the Shrimālīs set up the image of a Nāg when they perform death rites. Other legends relating to the building of the Jagsvāmī or Sun temple, to the temple of Chandish Mahadev near the Brāhmakund,² and to the making of the Jalkop lake are given above. The dates preserved by local tradition are S. 222 (A.D. 166) the building of the first temple of the Sun; S. 265 (A.D. 209) a destructive attack on the city; S. 494 (A.D. 438) a second sack by a Rākshasa; S. 700 (A.D. 644) a re-building; S. 900 (A.D. 844) a third destruction; S. 955 (A.D. 899) a new restoration followed by a period of prosperity which lasted till the beginning of the fourteenth century.

That Shrimāl was once the capital of the Gurjjaras seems to explain the local saying that Jagatsen the son of the builder of the Sun temple gave Shrimāl to Gujarat Brāhmins where Gujarat is a natural alteration of the forgotten Gurjjaras or Gurjara Brāhmins. That Shrimāl was once a centre of population is shown by the Shrimālī subdivisions of the Brāhman and Vāni castes who are widely scattered over north Gujarat and Kathiāvāda. Most Shrimālī Vānis are Shrāvaks. It seems probable that their history closely resembles the history of the Osvāl Shrāvaks or Jains who take their name from the ancient city of Ośā about fifteen miles south of Jodhpur to which they still go to pay vows. The bulk of these Osvāl Vānis, who are Jains by religion, were Solānki Rajputs before their change of faith which according to Jain records took place about A.D. 743 (S. 800).³ The present Bhinmāl

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¹ According to a local tradition the people in despair at the ravages of Sarika turned for help to Devi. The goddess said: Kill buffaloes, eat their flesh, and wear their hides and Sarika will not touch you. The people obeyed and were saved. Since then a dough buffalo has taken the place of the flesh buffalo and unwashed cloth of the bleeding hide. Another version sounds like a reminiscence of the Tartar origin of Epishna. The goddess Khamangiri persuaded the Lord Epishna to celebrate his marriage clad in the raw hide of a cow. In the present era unwashed cloth has taken the place of leather. M.S. Note from Mr. Ratan Lal Pandit.

² The tradition recorded by Tol (Western India, 1909) that the Gurjjaras are descended from the Solānki of Anahilavāda, taken with the evidence noted in the section on History that the Chāvādas or Chāpas and the Parihāras are also Gurjjaras makes it probable that the Chohāns are of the same origin and therefore that the whole of the Agnikūlas were northern conquerors who adopting Hinduism were given a place among Rajputs or Kshatriyās.

³ Epigraphia Indica, II. 40-41.

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bards claim the Oswals as originally people of Shrimāl. Lakshmi they say when she was being married to Vishnu at Shrimāl looked into her bosom and the Jariya goldsmiths came forth: she looked north and the Oswals appeared, east and from her look were born the Porwals.¹ From her lucky necklace of flowers sprang the Shrimālī Brāhmins. According to other accounts the Shrimālī Brāhmins and Vānis were of Kashmir origin of the Jamawālā caste and were brought to south Mārwār by Jag Som by which name apparently Kanaksen that is the Kushān or Kshātrapa (A.D. 78-250) dynasty is meant. They say that in S. 759 (A.D. 703) Bugra an Arab laid the country waste and that from fear of him the Shrimālī Brāhmins and Vānis fled south. Another account giving the date A.D. 744 (S. 800) says the assailants were Songara Rajputs. The Shrimālīs were brought back to Bhinmāl by Abhai Singh Rāhtor when viceroy of Gujarāt in A.D. 1694 (S. 1750).

The memory of the Gurjjaras, who they say are descended from Garab Rishi, lingers among the Bhāts or bards of Shrimāl. They say the Gurjjaras moved from Shrimāl to Pushkar about ten miles north-west of Ajmīr and there dug the great lake. They are aware that Gurjjaras have a very sacred burning ground at Pushkar or Pokarn and also that the Savitri or wife of Brahma at Pokarn was a Gurjjara maiden.

But as the leading Gurjjaras have dropped their tribe name in becoming Kshatriyas or Rajputs the bards naturally do not know of the Gurjjaras as a ruling race. The ordinary Gurjjara they say is the same as the Rehbari; the Bad or High Gurjjars to whom Krishna belonged are Rajputs. The bards further say that the Sompuras who live near Pushkar (Pokarn north of Ajmīr) and are the best builders who alone know the names of all ornamental patterns are of Gurjjara descent and of Shrimāl origin. They do not admit that the Chāvāḷās were Gurjjaras. In their opinion Chāvāḷās are the same as Bhārōds and came north into Mārwār from Danta in Jhālāvāda in north-east Kāthiāvāda. The Chohāns they say came from Sāmbhar to Ajmīr, from Ajmīr to Delhi, from Delhi to Nāgor north of Jodhpur, from Nāgor to Jodhpur, from Jodhpur to Bhadgaon thirty miles south of Bhinmāl, and from Bhadgaon to Sirohi. According to a local Jaghirdār of the Devra caste the Chohāns' original seat was at Jhālōr forty miles north of Shrimāl. They say that in the eighteenth century the Solāṅkis came north from Pātan in north Gujarāt to Hiya in Pātanpar where they have still a settlement, and that from Hiya they went to Bhinmāl.

In connection with the Sun temple and the traces of sun worship among the Jains, whose gurus or religious guides have a sun face which they say was given them by the Rāna of Chitor, the existence in Bhinmāl of so many (thirty-five) houses of Shevaks is interesting. These Shevaks are the religious dependents of the Oswāl Shrāvaks. They are strange high-nosed hatchet-faced men with long lank hair and long beards and whiskers. They were originally Magha Brāhmins and still are Vaishnavas worshipping the sun. They know that their story is told in the Nāmāgranth of the Surya Purāṇa. The Bhinmāl Shevaks know of sixteen

¹ According to Katta, a Brāhma/Bhāt of remarkable intelligence, the Oswals include Rajputs of a large number of tribes. Asdas, Bhattis, Borānas, Buruds, Chovāns, Gehlots, Gohils, Jalavs, Makvāns, Mohils, Parmars, Rāhtors, Shālas, Tilars. They are said to have been converted to the Jain religion in Osianagara in Sāhvai Bha Varah 22 that is in A.D. 165.

branches or *sektas* but remember the names of ten only: Aboti, Bhinmala, Devira, Hingota, Kuwara, Lalár, Mahtariya, Mundiara, Sagarwala, and Shanda. The story of these Maghás in the Surya and Bhavishya Parans, how they were brought by Garuda from the land of the Śakas and were five and sun worshippers, gives these Shevaks a special interest. The Devalás are believed to have come from Kashmir with Jog Svámi who is said to have been a Yaksh of the Rákshas division of Parihár Rajputa. The other division of Parihárs were *girdas* of Aba who in virtue of the fire baptism of the Agnikund became Kalmtriya. The Devalás are supposed to get their name because they built Jog Som's temple at Bhinmal. The Devra Rajputs whose head is the Sirolhi chief and who according to the bards are of Chohan descent came at the same time and marry with the Devalás. With this origin from Kanakau it is natural to associate the Devras and Devalás with the Devaputras of the Samudragupta (A.D. 370-395) inscription. Of Húna or of Javla, the tribe name of the great Húna conquerors Toramana and Mihirakula (A.D. 450-530), few signs have been traced. The Jughirdár of Devala knows the name Húna. They are a Rákshasa people he says. He mentions Honota or Sonota who may be a trace of Húna, and Húala in Káthiávada and a Huni subdivision among the Kunbis of Mārwar. Jávla he does not know as a caste name.

The historical interest of Shrinál centres in the fact that it was long the capital of the main branch of the great northern race of Gurjjaras. It is well known that many mentions of the Gurjjaras and their country in inscriptions and historical works refer to the Chaulukya or Solanki kingdom of Anahilaváda (A.D. 961-1242) or to its successor the Vághelá principality (A.D. 1219-1304). But the name Gurjara occurs also in many documents older than the tenth century and has been most variously and inconsistently explained. Some take the name to denote the Chárváka of Anahilaváda (A.D. 746-942), some the Gurjjaras of Broach (A.D. 580-808) and some, among them Dr. Bhagvátalál Indráji, even the Valabhis (A.D. 509-766), but not one of these identifications can be made to apply to all cases. As regards the Valabhis even if they were of Gurjara origin they are not known to have at any time called themselves Gurjjaras or to have been known by that name to their neighbours. The identification with the Gurjjaras of Broach is at first sight more plausible, as they admitted their Gurjara origin as late as the middle of the seventh century, but there are strong reasons against the identification of the Broach branch as the leading family of Gurjjaras. Pulakéti II. in his Aiholá inscription of A.D. 634 (S. 556)¹ claims to have subdued by his prowess the Látas Málavas and Gurjjaras, which shows that the land of the Gurjjaras was distinct from Látá, the province in which Broach stood. Similarly Hsien Tsang (c. 640 A.D.) speaks of the kingdom of Broach by the name of the city and not as Gurjara or the Gurjara country. In the following century the historians of the Arab raids² notice Barna (Broach) separately from Jurá or Gurjara, and the Chálukya grant of 490 that is of A.D. 738-739 mentions the Gurjjaras after the Chávatakas (Chárváka) and the Mauryas (of Chitor) as the last of the kingdoms attacked by the Arab army. Later instances occur of a distinction between Látá and Gurjara, but it seems unnecessary to quote them as the Gurjara kingdom of Broach probably did not survive the Rashtrakúta conquest of south Gujarát (A.D. 750-760).

The evidence that the name Gurjara was not confined to the Chárváka

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¹ Indian Antiquary, VIII, 337.² Elliot, I, 432.

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is not less abundant. It will not be disputed that references of earlier date than the foundation of Anahilavāda (A.D. 746) cannot apply to the Chāvādā-kingdom, and further we find the Chālukya grant of A.D. 738-739 expressly distinguishing between the Chāvādās and the Gurjaras and calling the former by their tribal name Chārotaka. It might be supposed that as the power of the Chāvādās increased, they became known as the rulers of the Gurjara country; and it must be admitted that some of the references to Gurjaras in the Rashtrakūta grants are vague enough to apply to the Chāvādās. Still, if it can be shown that others of these references cannot possibly apply to the Chāvādās, and if we assume, as we must, that the name of Gurjara was used with the slightest consistency, it will follow that the ninth and tenth century references to the Gurjaras do not apply to the Chāvādā kingdom of Anahilavāda.

The Van-Dindori and Rādhanpur plates of the great Rashtrakūta Govinda III.¹ state that Govinda's father Dhruva (c. 780-800 A.D.) "quickly caused Vatsarāja, intoxicated with the goddness of the sovereignty of Gauda that he had acquired with ease, to enter upon the path of misfortune in the centre of Maru" and took away from him the two umbrellas of Gauda. A comparison of this statement with that in the Baroda grant of Karka II.² which is dated A.D. 812-813, to the effect that Karka made his arm "the door-bar of the country of the lord of the Gurjaras, who had become evilly inflamed by conquering the lord of Gauda and the lord of Vanga" makes it highly probable that Vatsarāja was king of the Gurjaras at the end of the eighth century. As no such name occurs in the Chāvādā lists, it follows that the Gurjaras referred to in the inscriptions of about A.D. 800 were not Chāvādās.

It is also possible to show that more than a century later the Chāvādās were distinct from the Gurjaras. The Kānarese poet Pampa, writing in A.D. 941,³ states that the father of his patron Arikesari vanquished Mahipāla king of the Gurjaras, who may be identified with the Mahipāla who is named as overlord in the grant of Dharamivarāha of Wadhwan,⁴ dated A.D. 914. As no Mahipāla occurs in the Chāvādā lists, the Gurjara kingdom must be sought elsewhere than at Anahilavāda. Since the Gurjaras of the eighth and ninth century inscriptions cannot be identified either with the Valabhis, the Broach Gurjaras, or the Anahilavāda Chāvādās, they must represent some other family of rulers. A suitable dynasty seems to be supplied by Hsuen Tsiang's kingdom of Kié-cho-lo or Gurjara, the capital of which he calls Pi-lo-mo-lo.⁵ The French translators took Pi-lo-mo-lo to be Bāliar in Rajputāna. But Dr. Bühler following the late Colonel Watson, identifies it; no doubt rightly, with Bhinmal or Bhilmal.⁶

¹ Indian Antiquary, XI, 156 and VI, 59.² Indian Antiquary, XII, 155.³ Jour. B. A. S. XIV, 197.⁴ Indian Antiquary, XII, 190 and XVIII, 91.⁵ Beal's Buddhist Records, II, 270.⁶ Indian Antiquary, VI, 63. That the name Bhilmal should have come into use while the Gurjaras were still in the height of their power is strange. The explanation may perhaps be that Bhilmal may mean the Gurjara's town the name Bhil or bowman being given to the Gurjaras on account of their skill as archers. So Chapa the original name of the Chāvādās is Sanskritised into Chapatālas the strong bowman. So also, perhaps, the Chapa or Chaura who gave its name to Chāpanir or Chāmpaur was according to the local story a Bhil. Several tribes of Mewar Bhils are well enough made to suggest that in their case Bhil may mean Gurjara. This is specially the case with the Isariyah Bhils of Nerwar, the finest of the race, whose name further suggests an origin in the Gurjara division of Lor. Compare Malcolm's Trans. Bombay As. Soc. I, 71.

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A short sketch of the history of the Gurjaras, so far as it can be pieced together from contemporary sources, may help to show the probability of these identifications. The Gurjaras apparently entered India in the fifth century A.D. The earliest notice of them occurs in the *Sri Harshacharita*, a work of the early seventh century, in which during the early years of the seventh century Prabhākara-vardhana the father of Śrī Harsha of Magadha (A.D. 606-641) is said to have conquered the king of Gaudhara, the Hūna, the king of Sindh, the Gurjara, the Lāta, and the king of Mālava.¹ The date of their settlement at Bhinmal is unknown, but as their king was recognised as a Kshatriya in Hiuen Tsiang's time (c. 640 A.D.) it probably was not later than A.D. 550. Towards the end of the sixth century (c. 585) they seem to have conquered northern Gujarat and Broach and to have forced the Valabhis (A.D. 502-706) to acknowledge their supremacy. (See Above page 465.) They took very kindly to Indian culture, for in A.D. 638 the astronomer Brahmagupta wrote his *Siddhānta* at Bhinmal under king Vyāghramukha, who, he states, belonged to the Śrī Chāpa dynasty.² This valuable statement not only gives the name of the Gurjara royal house but at the same time proves the Gurjara origin of the Chāpottakas or Chāvotakas, that is the Chāvādās of later times. This Vyāghramukha is probably the same as the Gurjara king whom in his inscription of S. 556 (A.D. 634) Pulakesi II. claims to have subdued.³ A few years later (c. 640 A.D.) Hiuen Tsiang describes the king (probably Vyāghramukha's successor) as a devout Buddhist and just twenty years of age. The country was populous and wealthy, but Buddhists were few and unbelievers many. The Gurjaras did not long retain their southern conquests. In Hiuen Tsiang's time both Kaira (Kā-cha) and Vadanagar (Anandapura) belonged to Mālava, while the Broach chiefs probably submitted to the Chālukyas. No further reference to the Bhinmal kingdom has been traced until after the Arab conquest of Sindh when (A.D. 724-750) the Khalifa's governor Junaid sent his plundering bands into all the neighbouring countries and attacked among other places Mārwād (Mārwār), Malha (Mālwa), Baras (Broach), Uzain (Ujjain), Al Bāllamān (Bhilmāl?), and Jarz (Gurjara).⁴ As noticed above the contemporary Chālukya plate of A.D. 732-3 also mentions Gurjara as one of the kingdoms attacked. After these events the Arabs seem to have confined themselves to raiding the coast towns of Kāthiāvād without attacking inland states such as Bhinmal. Immediately after the Arab raids ceased the Gurjaras had to meet a new enemy the Rāshtrakūtas who after supplanting the Chālukyas in the Deccan turned their attention northwards. Dantidurga in his Samangad grant of A.D. 763-4⁵ speaks of ploughing the banks of the Mahi and the Rera (Narbada), and in his Elura inscription⁶ of conquering among other countries Mālava Lāta and Tanka. A few years later (A.D. 757-58) a branch of the main Rāshtrakūta line established its independence in Lāta in the person of Kakka.

¹ The Madhuban Grant : *Epigraphia Indica*, I. 67.

² Reinand, *Mémoire Sur L'Inde*, 337, in quoting this reference through Alberuni (A.D. 1031) writes Pohlmal between Multān and Anhalwara.

³ *Indian Antiquary*, VIII, 237.

⁴ *Indian Antiquary*, XI, 100.

⁵ *Arch. Surv. West India*, X. 91.

⁶ Tanka may be the northern half of the Broach District. Traces of the name seem to remain in the two Tankāria, one Sitpore Tankāria in north Broach and the other in Anand. The name seems also to survive in the better known Tanktri the port of Jamnagar on the Diudhar. This Tanktri is the second port in the district of Broach and was formerly the emporium for the trade with Mālwa. *Bombay Gazetteer*, II, 413-500.

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The next notice of the Gurjjaras occurs in the Rādhanpur and Vāṇḍori grants of Govinda III., who states that his father Dhruva (c. 780-800 A.D.) caused "Vatsaraja intoxicated with the goddess of the sovereignty of Gauda that he had acquired with ease, to enter upon the path of misfortune in the centre of Maru" and took from him the two white umbrellas of Gauda. As already stated, a comparison with the Baroda grant of Karka II.² shows that this Vatsaraja was a Gurjjara king and that he had made extensive conquests in Upper India as far east as Bengal. Now it is notable that the genealogies of two of the most important Agnikula races, the Paramāras and the Chauhānas, go back to this very time (c. 800 A.D.).³ Taking this fact in connection with the prevalence of the surnames Pavār and Chavār among Gujars in such remote provinces as the Panjāb and Khāndesh, it seems obvious that these two tribes and therefore also the two other Agnikula races, the Parihāras and Solānkis are, if not of Gurjjara origin, at all events members of the great horde of northern invaders whom the Gurjjaras led. The agreement between this theory and the Agnikula legends of Abu need only be pointed out to be admitted. The origin of the modern Rājast races has always been one of the puzzles of Indian history. This suggestion seems to offer at least a partial solution.

The Rādhanpur grant (A.D. 807-8) further states that when the Gurjjara saw Govinda III. approaching, he fled in fear to some unknown hiding-place. This probably means no more than that Vatsaraja did not oppose Govinda in his march to the Vindhya. The next reference is in the Baroda grant of Karka II. of Gujarāt who boasts that his father Indra (c. 810 A.D.) alone caused the leader of the Gurjjara lords to flee. Karka adds that he himself, for the purpose of protecting Mālava, "who had been struck down," made his arm the door-bar of the country of Gurjjarāvāra, who "had become evilly inflamed" by the conquest of Gauda and Vanga.⁴ It is difficult to avoid supposing that we have here a reference to the Paramāra conquest of Mālava and that Karka checked the southward march of the victorious army. For some years no further mention has been traced of the Gurjjaras. But in A.D. 851 the Arab merchant Sulaiman states⁵ that the king of Juzr was one of the kings "around" the Bahlhār, that is the Rāshtrakūṭa, and that he was very hostile to the Mūsalmāna, which is not surprising, considering how his kingdom was exposed to the Arab raids from Sindh. Dhruva III. of Broach, in his Bagumrā grant of A.D. 867⁶ speaks of "the host of the powerful Gurjjaras" as one of the dangerous enemies he had to fear. About A.D. 890 a Gurjjara chief named Alakhāna ceded Takkadēsa in the Panjāb to Śankaravarman of Kaśmīr.⁷ But as Alakhāna was a vassal of Ialliya, the Śāhi of Ohind near Swāt, this event did not affect the Bhinmal empire. To about A.D. 900 belongs the notice of the Rāshtrakūṭa Kṛṣṇa II. in the Dooli and Navsārī grants⁸ where he is stated to have frightened the Gurjjaras, destroyed the pride of Lāṭa, and deprived the coast people of sleep. His fights with the Gurjjaras are compared to the storms of the rainy season, implying that while the relations of the two empires continued hostile, neither was able to gain any decisive advantage over the other. To this same period belongs Ibn Khurīdādh's (A.D. 912) statement⁹ that the king of Juzr was the fourth

¹ Indian Antiquary, VI, 59 and XI, 156.² Indian Antiquary, XII, 158.³ See the Udaipur *prastāvi* in Ep. Ind. I. and the Harsha Inscription in ditto.⁴ See the Baroda grant of A.D. 812-13. Indian Antiquary, XII, 156.⁵ Elliot, I, 4.⁶ Indian Antiquary, XII, 179.⁷ Rajastān-gīti, 149.⁸ B. B. R. A. Soc. Journ. XVIII, 239.⁹ Elliot, I, 12.

in rank of the kings of India and that the *Tātariya dirhams* were used in his country. In connection with the latter point it is worth noting that the *pattānālī* of the Upakeśagaccha¹ gives a story which distinctly connects the origin of the Gadhia coinage with Bhinmal.² The grant of Dharaśivarikha, the Chāpa chief of Vadhvān, dated A.D. 914³ gives us the name of his overlord Mahipala, who, as already pointed out, must be identified with the Mahipala who was defeated by the Karnātak king Narasimha.⁴ The fact that Vadhvān was a Chāpa dependency implies that Anahilavāda was one also. We may in fact conclude that throughout the Chāvādā period Anahilavāda was a mere feudatory of Bhinmal, a fact which would account for the obscurities and contradictions of Chāvādā history.

The Deoli grant of the Rāshtrakūta Krishna III. which is dated A.D. 910⁵ describes the king's victories in the south as raising the hope of Kālanjara and Chitrakūta to drop away from the heart of the Gurjara. At this time Kalinjara belonged to the Kalachuris of Central India and Chitrakūta or Chitor to the Gohlots of Mewād and the phrase used by Krishna implies that the Gurjara chief had his eye on these two famous fortresses and had perhaps already besieged them unsuccessfully. In either case this notice is evidence of the great and far-reaching power of the Gurjara. Masudi (A.D. 915) notices that the king of Jaz was frequently at war with the Balhara (Rāshtrakūta) and that he had a large army and many horses and camels.

A Chandel stone inscription from Khajurāho describes Yaśovarman and Lakshavarman as successful in war against Gaudas, Khandas, Kosalas, Kāśmīras, Maithīlas, Mālayas, Chodas, Kurus, and Gurjaras.⁶ And soon after about A.D. 953 during the reign of Bhīmasena a migration of 18,000 Gurjaras from Bhinmal is recorded.⁷ The memory of this movement remains in the traditions of the Gujars of Khāndesh into which they passed with their carts in large numbers by way of Mālwa.⁸ An important result of this abandonment of Bhinmal was the transfer of overlordship from Bhinmal to Anahilavāda whose first Chālukya or Solanki king Mularāja (A.D. 961-996) is, about A.D. 960, described as being accompanied by the chief of Bhinmal as a subordinate ally in his war with Grahastipu (see Above page 451). The Gurjara or Bhinmal empire seems to have broken into several sections of which the three leading portions were the Chauhāns of Sāmbhar, the Paramāras of Mālwa, and the Solankis of Anahilavāda.

The inscriptions which follow throw a certain amount of light on the history of Bhinmal during and after the Solanki period. The two earliest

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¹ Indian Antiquary, XIX, 233.

² According to Cunningham (Ancient Geography, 315) the coins called *Tātariya dirhams* stretch from the fifth and sixth to the eleventh century. They are frequently found in Kābul probably of the sixth century. In the tenth century Ibn Haukal (A.D. 977) found them current in Gandhara and the Panjab where the Bahr coin has since ousted them. They are rare in Central India east of the Aravali range. They are not uncommon in Rajasthan or Gujarat and were once so plentiful in Sindh, that in A.D. 725 the Sindh treasury had eighteen million *Tātariya dirhams*. (See Dowson in Elliot's History, I. 3.) They are the rude silver pieces generally known as Indo-Sassanian because they combine Indian letters with Sassanian types. A worn die temple in the supposed Ass-head which has given rise to the name Gadhia Paisa or Ass money.

³ Indian Antiquary, XII, 190 and XVIII, 91.

⁴ Jour. B. A. S. XIV, 19.

⁵ Nielsen in Epig. Indica, I, 122.

⁶ Details given in Khāndesh Gazetteer, XII, 39.

⁷ B. B. R. A. S. Jour. XVIII, 232.

⁸ Hoernle in Ind. Antiq. XIX, 233.

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in date (Nos. 1 and 2) which are probably of the tenth century, give no historical details. Nos. 3 and 4 show that between A.D. 1057 and 1067 Bhinmal was ruled by the Mahārājādhirāja Kṛishnarāja of the Paramāra race. This is a valuable confirmation of Rājput tradition, according to which the Paramāra Rāja of Abu was followed by the prince of Scindia, when he aided Mularāja against Graharipu (c. 990 A.D.) and the Paramāras remained paramount in this region until the beginning of the thirteenth century.¹ The title of Mahārājādhirāja meant much less at this period than it meant before the Valabhi kings had cheapened it. Still it shows that Kṛishnarāja's rank was considerably higher than that of a mere feudatory chieftain. Inscription No. 3 gives the names of Kṛishnarāja's father Dhatadhuka and of his grandfather Devurāja. The first of these two names occurs in the main line of Abu as the successor of Dhūmarāja the first Paramāra sovereign.² According to Rājput tradition the Paramāras were at one time supreme in Marāṣṭhali and held all the nine castles of the Waste. But in the historical period their chief possessions in Mīrwāḍ lay about Abu and Chandravati, though we have a glimpse of another branch maintaining itself at Keraḷu near Bādmēr.³ The Paramāra chiefs of Abu are constantly referred to in the Solāṅki annāls, and during the golden age of the Solāṅki monarchy (A.D. 1094-1174) they were the vassals of that power, and their Bhinmal branch, if it was ever a distinct chieftain, probably followed the fortunes of the main line, though the Bhinmal inscriptions give us no facts for this long period. The next item of information is given by Inscription 5, which is dated in the Śaivrat year 1239 (A.D. 1183) in the reign of the Mahārāul Śrī Jayasinhadeva. This name is of special interest, as it can hardly be doubted that we have here to do with that "Jaitsi Parmār" of Abu whose daughter's beauty caused the fatal feud between "Bhima Solāṅki" of Anahilavāḍa and Prithvirāj Chohān of Delhi.⁴ The title of Mahārāul is to be noted as indicating the decline of the family from the great days of Kṛishnarāja.

Towards the end of the thirteenth century the old world was falling to pieces, and the Paramāras lost one after another nearly all their ancient possessions to the Chohāns of Nāgol. Bhinmal must have fallen about A.D. 1200 or a few years before, for Inscription No. 6 is dated Śaivrat 1262 (A.D. 1206) in the reign of the Mahārājādhirāja Śrī Udayasinhadeva, who, as we learn from Inscription 12, was the son of the Mahārāul Śrī Samarasinhadeva, of the Chohān race. The sudden rise of the son to greatness is implied in the difference of title and it may be inferred that Udayasinha himself was the conqueror of Bhinmal, though the capture of Abu is ascribed by Forbes to a chief named Lūniga.⁵

Inscriptions Nos. 6 to 8 being dated in the reign of Udayasinha, show that he lived to at least the year A.D. 1249 and therefore reigned at least forty-three years. He is also referred to in the Inscription No. 10, dated A.D. 1274, but in a way that does not necessarily imply that he was still alive, as the record only speaks of an endowment for his spiritual benefit, made by a person who was perhaps an old retainer. His name also occurs in the genealogy in No. 12. His reign was apparently a prosperous one but no historical facts beyond those already noted are known about him.

¹ Rās Mālā, 44.² Rās Mālā, 210ff.³ Rās Mālā, 211.⁴ Śrī Bhūṣaṅgar Prā. 1, No. 30 of the list of Sanskrit Inscriptions dated Satā, 1218.⁵ Śrī Rās Mālā, 161ff.⁶ Rās Mālā, 211.

Inscription No. 12 shows that Udayasinha had a son named Vāhadhasinha, who, as he is given no royal title, probably died before his father. Udayasinha's successor, or at all events the next king in whose reign grants are dated, was Cāciga, who is given the title of Mahārāul in Inscriptions 11 (A.D. 1277) and 12 (A.D. 1278).¹ His relationship to Udayasinha does not clearly appear, but he was probably either an elder brother or an uncle of the Cāmunda for whose benefit the gift recorded in Inscription 12 was made and who seems to be a grandson of Udayasinha. Cāciga appears to be the Mahāmandalsvara Cāciga of Inscription 15 in the Bhānagar State Collection (Bhān. Prā. I. list page 5) which is stated to bear the date Sāvat 1332 (A.D. 1276) and to be engraved on a pillar in the temple of Pārvanātha at Ratapur near Jōdhpur. It is clear that he was tributary to some greater power though it is not easy to say who his overlord was. At this period Mārwar was in a state of chaos under the increasing pressure of the Rāthods. Only five years after Cāciga's last date (A.D. 1278) we meet with the name of a new ruler, the Mahārāul Sri Sāmvasinha. He is mentioned in Inscriptions 13 (A.D. 1283) 14 (A.D. 1286) and 15 (A.D. 1289) and also in 44 of the Bhānagar Collection (A.D. 1256 Bhān. Prā. I. list page 13) from a Jain temple at Junā. He is not stated to have belonged to the same family as the previous rulers, but he bears the family title of Mahārāul, and it may be inferred with probability that he was a son of Cāciga. He reigned for at least thirteen years (A.D. 1283-1296). It must have been about A.D. 1300 or a little later, that the Chāhāns were deprived of Bhinmal by the Rāthods and the line of Udayasinha died out.²

The Jagavāmi temple has the honour of supplying fifteen of eighteen unmodern inscriptions found at Bhinmal. Of the fifteen inscriptions belonging to Jagavāmi's temple nine are in place and six have been removed to other buildings. Of the six which have been moved five are in Bārāj's rest-house in the east and one is in the enclosure of Mahā-lakshmi's temple in the south of the town. Of the three remaining inscriptions of one (No. 3) the date S. 1106 (A.D. 1043) is alone legible. Of the letters on the two others, one is in the bed and the other on the north bank of the Jaikop lake, no portion can be read. Arranged according to date the sixteen inscriptions of which any portion has been read come in the following order:

I.—(S. 950-1050; A.D. 900-1000. No. 1 of Plan.) On the left hand side of the eastern face of the broken architrave of the porch of the shrine of Jagavāmi. The letters show the inscription to be of about the tenth century:

Sri Jagavāmidēvaya vāre
on the day of Sri Jagavāmi.*

* Read Sri Jagavāmi.

II.—(S. 950-1050; A.D. 900-1000. No. 2 of Plan.) On the south face of the eight-sided section of the northern pillar of the shrine porch in the temple of Jagavāmi. Wrongly described in Bhāvanagara prācīna-śodhana-graha I. under No. 46 of the State Collection, as referring to a man called Vasudhara and dated Vi. S. 1330. As the letters show, the inscription is of about the tenth century. It consists of a single

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¹ Inscriptions 9 and 10 are not dated in any king's reign.

² Compare Tod's *Rajasthan*, I.

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- 1-3. Oñ! Reverence to the Sun! Victorious is that sun, the storehouse of brightness, at whose rising and setting the three-eyed (Śiva), even though (his own) lotus feet are touched by the diadems of the gods, folds his hands (in adoration).
- 3-5. On Sunday the 6th of the light half of Māgha, the year 1113, at holy Śrīmālā the Mahārājādhirāja Śrī Kṛishṇarāja son of Śrī Dharmadhuka and grandson of the glorious Devarāja, of the Paramāra race—in his victorious reign.
- 6-7. Kiraṇāditya, Jāla's son, of the Dharkuṭa family, (being office-holder) in his turn for the current year, Dada Hari son of Mādhaba, Dhaṇḍhanaka son of Dharapacapaṇḍa and Dharapāditya son of Sarvadeva of the Tikhāhāta race.
- 8-12. By these four and by the Vāni (?) Dharmadhaka son of Jāla of the Dharkuṭa race, the ornament of his family, strict in obedience to the gods, to his teachers and to Brāhmanas, and full of devotion to the feet of Havi (the Sun), observing the peribhikṣas of this world, and urging kings Khatṛiyas Brāhmanas merchants and townfolk to worship the sun, repairs were done to the temple of the god Śrī Jagatvāmi, the everlasting store of light.
13. The kalāṣa of gold above the temple the very righteous Brāhmanas Jājaka had made at his own charges. In the year 14 . . .
15. on Monday the 8th of the light half of Jyēṣṭha, in the 25th pala of the 3rd ghāṭikā of night—at this moment
16. all the work being finished the kalāṣa and banner were set up (?)
17. and after the ancient manner by the king Śrī Kṛishṇarāja . . . of this complaint . . .
- ✓ 18. a village in the Śet . . . purtya district, yearly 20 drammae. In Śicalliyā village a field
- ✓ 19. . . . But from the king's share (of the crop) a drōṭa . . .
20. . . . yearly 1 dramma . . .
21. . . . by order was caused to be made by Candana II and . . .
22. . . . written . . .
23. . . . kīya.

V.—(S. 1123, A.D. 1066. No. 3 of Plan.) On the north face of the upper square section of the more northerly of the two pillars that support the eastern side of the dome of the temple of Jagatvāmi. Entirely in prose:

1. Oñ. Śaṁvat 1123, Jyēṣṭha Vadi 12 Śantu : adyāha Śrī Śrīmāḥ Mahārājādhirāja Śrī Kṛishṇarāja.
2. Ja-rājyē Dēvaśrīcraṇṭha Mahādēva dharmādhirāja-
rāma Pāṇapāṇḍarya Śrī Jāvalasayē . . . / Saava-
3. -rājika Jaaṇṇā / Śrēṣṭhī Cādulanā Kiraṇādityā Śhār-
varttanāna-varaha-rājika Joga-candra . . .
4. Goga navā . . . 1012 ra śka . . . malibhūtvā . . .
. . . . Śrīmālīya Vā-
5. hmaṇa Vāhaṭha . . . Śrī Candana . . .
. . . . drammā . . .

6-13. Badly damaged: only a few letters legible here and there.

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- 1-2. Ōm! On Saturday the 12th of the dark half of Jyēṣṭha Saurvat 1123—on this day at holy Śrīmāla, in the reign of the Mahārājādhirāja Śrī Kṛishnarāja—of Śrī Jāvala, the mercant of the offices of religion to the god Śrī Caṇḍiśa Mahādēva, the supreme teacher of the Pāṣupatas
3. The goldsmith Jaganāśa, the =th Caṇḍanā, Kṛishṇāditya, Siharā, Jogacandīra the office-holder in turn for the current year
- 4-5. Guṇā and in the world . . . being of one mind
. by Vāhaṇa the Śrīmālī Brāhmaṇa Śrī Caṇḍiśa drums

✓ VI.—(S. 1239; A.D. 1183. No. 4 of Plan.) On the upper face of the eight-sided section of the fallen pillar on the south side of the dome of the temple of Jagurāmi. Entirely in prose:

1. Saṁ. 1239 Āvina Vadi 10 Vadhē
2. Adyēṣa Śrī Śrīmāla Mahārāja-
3. -putra Śrī Jayastha-dēva-rājyē
4. Guhilo Pramahidānta-tra* arava-
5. sāka Vahiyana Vālāka-dēva
6. drava dra. 1 tathā bhāryā Māhapaṇḍ-
7. ḍi kṛita dra. 1 yē kōṣṭi pa ati bhava
8. śrī teskāṇe pradhā* vi 1 labhyā yabhō(s)
9. pi catra-pāḍi bhavati tena varahā(n-)
10. -varahā(n) dīnē dēvaṇa dātavyatā .

Translation.

1. In the year 1239 (1183 A.D.) on Wednesday the tenth of the dark half of Āvina
- 2-3. On this day here in holy Śrīmāla in the reign of his majesty Śrī Jayastha the Mahārāj.
- 4-5. Aravaśka Vahiyana the Guhila, the Tra*, son of Prama-
hila (gave) to Vālāka-dēva one drum in cash.
- 6-7. And (his) wife Māhapaṇḍi (dēvi) (gave) me drums.
Whoever are . . . by them for each drum one
ci is to be received. Whoever
9. is the ruler by him every
10. year on the . . . day it is to be given to the god.

* Evidently the name of his office, but the abbreviation is not intelligible.

VII.—(S. 1262; A.D. 1206. No. 5 of Plan.) On the upper face of the lower square section of the fallen pillar which is one of the pair of three dome pillars. Prose:

1. * Ōm. Namaḥ Suryāya | Yasyodayastamanayā sura-
makṣa-niṣṭi.
2. śhite-carana-kamalagpi kurntē śhijali(ṇ) trinēṣa(h) sajayati
dhātmanā niddhi(h) sūryaḥ]
3. Saurvat 1262 varahā adyēṣa Śrī Śrīmāla Mahārājādhirāja Śrī
Uda-
4. -yastha-dēva-kalyāṇa-vijaya-rājyē maha* Ārapati-prabh-
ṛiti-paṭha-kula-
5. pratipāti | Kāyastha-jātya-Vālamyākurayē maha* Yalō-
pālātrēyō Śrīkashivē (ca 7).
6. -taka-Vīrāhāna Śrī Jayarāmi-dēvya-bhāṣṇāgārē kaḥ/pita
dra. 40 catvari(ṇ).

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7. Set Āsvina māśe yātrā(śāśvā?) Āsvina śudi 13
1 Āgni cāyā.
8. Mālyā puṣpamā dra. 4 agurn dra.
9. -dra. 4 prasādā kulāya dra. 1 ēvaśi dra. 13 dvādaśa-draṇṇā
Acañdrārkaṁ prativaraṁ dēvāna kārpa
10. atyā s tāhā arāyārtimā Madrakā(?) dēva bhūhāgātā
kaṣipita dra. 13 pañcodaśa draṇṇā Māgha-
11. -vadī 8 diśā balinīkaṁ(?) gōdhāna sē 2 pākā ghṛita pañ
9 naivēdya 32 amga-
12. -bhōgō prativaraṁ Acañdrārkaṁ yāvat dēvāna karaṇyabā..
diśā Āhaśavā-
13. -mi-suhālam/ Bhadravāmi-suhālam/ Acañdrārkaṁ apant-
ya(tā) likhitaṁ pā* Bāndhavāda sa(tā)
14. -na Cāṇḍapasaśkāna hṁśakaramadhikākshurāṁ pramā-
naṁ || .

Translation.

- 1-2. Om, Reverence to the Sun! Victorious is that sun, the store-
house of brightness, at whose rising and setting the three-
eyed (Śiva) folds his hands (in adoration), even though
his lotus feet are touched by the diadems of the gods.
- 3-5. In the Śaṁvat year 1262 (1206 A.D.), on this day here
in holy Śrīmāla, in the prosperous and victorious reign of
his majesty the Mahārājādhirāja Śrī Udayasinha in the
term of office of the pañch (consisting of) Āsvapad &c.
- 6-7. For the (spiritual) benefit of Yaśōpāla in the Vālamya
family of the Kāyastha caste, dra. 40, forty *draṇṇas* were
deposited by Vilhaka the Vajaka (or Cātaka) in the
treasury of the god Śrī Jayasvāmi.
7. At the yātrā festival in the month of Āsvina, on the 13th of
the light half of Āsvina |, at the building of the
fire-altar.
8. for flowers for the garland dra. 4, alowood dra. . . .
9. 4 *draṇṇas*, for the band of singing women one *draṇṇa* :
thus dra. 12, twelve *draṇṇas* (in all) are to be applied
yearly by the god so long as sun and moon endure.
10. So also the dra. 13, fifteen *draṇṇas* deposited in the treasury
of the god by Madrakā(?) for (spiritual) benefit.
- 11-12. On the sixth of the dark half of Māgha in the fixed
ritual of the *hālī*, what one cer. gāi nine *pañis*, the
naivēdya 32, the *raṅgaśāśvā* is to be performed yearly
by the god so long as sun and moon endure.
- 12-13. On the day the *sadda* of Āhaśavāmi and the
sadda of Bhadravāmi is to be given so long as sun and
moon endure.
- 13-14. Written by the pā* Cāṇḍapasaśka son of Bāndhavāda.
* The letter less or the letter more of authority.

* C. a. "Errors excepted."

VIII.—(S. 1274; A.D. 1218. Not in Plan.) In Bārāji's rest-house on
the west face of the third right hand pillar. Prose:

1. Śaṁvat 1274 varṣā Bhādrapada vadi 9 Śukra dyēha Śrī-
Śrīmā-
2. 14 Mahārājādhirāja Śrī Udayasinha-dāra-kalyāṇa-vijaya-
rājyē Sa*
3. Dēpālaprabhṛiti-paṇcakuṣa-pratipattāu

11. What sees 2... gñ śarśas (?) mang pá 2, gñ śarśas 2.

12-15. Illegible.

X.—(S. 1320; A.D. 1264 No. 6 of Plan.) On the east face of the lower square section of the more northerly of the east pair of dome pillars of Jagavāmi's temple. First thirteen lines in verse, the rest in prose. No. 49 of the Bhāṇnagar State Collection (Bhān. Prā. I.)

1. Ōm namo Vighnarājāya namo devāya bhāsvate | namo 3
nanta-va-
2. rūpāya Harayā Cakrapātayā || namah Śivāya Soma-ya namaḥ
para-
3. me-Vrahmanā || Iti pashcamamukhārāḥ sarvāpāpaprati-
śaktāḥ || śara-mah-
4. gā-mahāgalyāḥ sarva-sukhya-pradāyakaḥ || sarvārtha-
śiddhi-sampannāḥ sa-
5. -ta mē hridi sarvadā || Iti janitṛ japaṇ nityaṇ nityaṇ
śārayatē sukhaṇ || ta-
6. -māśā namin japaḥ pūjyā ratir satv sadāiva mē || Iti dhyā-
nāntaśīlātmat-
7. Kāyastho naigamirvayā || Rishir asti purā Sadhamaṇḍano
nandanaḥ satin ||
8. Śrīkṛṣṇa-Kṛṣṇa Govinda-pranidhāna-parāyanah || Pant-
ras tasyājani Śrīmā-
9. -o Sadhūhala Valanāṅgajah || Sadaiva śatis-muktina-
toshitānaka-vāḥjavah ||
10. Ahira-prasaro yaaya pāpily padmālayāyayah || paropakāra-
vratinam vaiśaṇya
11. yadharmasvīnām || yēna janmātumanaścakrē śādhavāda-
vibhūśhitam || tataḥ param-
12. -dharmaśūrtmā śālā viśadamānavaḥ || dēśidatta-varaḥ
Śivan Sūbhato 3 bhūt tadatigabhūt ||
13. Cāgneyas tasya Kōḍāra-pukāḥ Kānhaḥ 3 bhavat || Mahā-
dēvaṇto yaaya bhūtan Bā-
14. -ma. Śālā || Tēna Śrīkōḍāraputraka Kānhaḥ 3 evaśrīyaś
Sam 1320 va-
15. -rshē Māgha Śo di 9 navamidinē prativarshaḥ balin-
mittaḥ Śrī Jayaśvāmī-dē-
16. vtya-bhārdvājārē kahāpita dra. 50 paricōḍian drammāḥ || balin-
mānūdhā godhūna sē 14
17. ghrita ka 6 nairōḍyā mā 3 munga mā 3 ghṛita ka 3
Śhōti dra 1 + 2
18. Vyāsa lē 2 pashpakumhōmāgura-mūlyē dra. 2 patra-pāga-
mā dra || pramadāṅka
19. dra. 1 Śvazh prativarshaḥ dēvakyabhān-āgarāt śhaḥ
drammā vyayē dēvina kārā
20. pyam || Iyāḥ prastitir Maha" Sukhāḥ 3 bhāḥ 3 || Dhruva-
Nāgala-suta-Dēdā-
21. -kēna likhitā || sūtra" Gōgā Suta-Bhīmasādhānōtkrā || ॐ ||
ॐ ||

Translation.

1. " Ōm. Reverence to the lord of obstacles (Gapeṣa), reverence to the brilliant god (the Sun), reverence to him of everlasting nature.
2. To Hari, wielder of the discus. Reverence to Śiva (and) to Sōma, reverence

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- 3-5. to the highest Brahma. May these five reverences which destroy all sin, the most auspicious of all auspicious (sayings), which grant all happiness, attended with the accomplishment of all objects, be ever in my heart."
- 5-6. The creature that constantly murmurs (these words) resorts to everlasting happiness. Therefore may I for ever take pleasure in this holy murmur.
- 6-7. There was formerly in the Saigama family a Kāyastha, Rishi son of Sadhu, the delight of the good, whose mind was solely intent upon (the above) meditation.
- 7-9. (He was) devoted to meditation on (the names) Śrī Kṛishṇa, Kṛishṇa, and Govindā. To him was born a grandson, the glorious Saṅghāhala son of Valara, who constantly satisfied numerous Brāhmaṇas with gifts of sweet food,
10. whose hand was not stretched out to steal, who was the home of Lakshmi for the followers of the Vaiṣṇava religion, who are vowed to doing good to others,
- 11-12. who adorned his life with the discussions of saints. From him there was the glorious Subhata, the very righteous, whose mind was ever clear, and to whom Dēvi granted a boon. Born of his body
- 13-14. was Cāgneya. His (grandson) was Kānhada son of Kādhra or Mahādāva and his (Kānhada's) two brothers were Rāma and Ācala.
- 14-16. By this Kānhada, son of Kādhra for his own benefit, fifty *dramma*, dra. 50, were deposited in the treasury of Śrī Jayasīdhidēva for a yearly *boli*, on the ninth (9) of the light half of Māgha, in the Saurvat year 1370 (1264 A.D.)
- 16-18. In the *Boli* endowment what 1½ *seera*, ghl 6 *karāḥ*, in the *satidya* 1 measure, *maṅg* ½ measure, ghl ½ *karāḥ*, Ābōti (?) ½ *dramma* + 2, Bhata 16 (?) for the price of flowers turmeric and aloe wood one *dramma*, for the price of leaves and betelnut one *dramma*, for the band of singing women one *dramma*.
19. So let six *dramma* be expended every year by the god from his treasury.
- 20-21. This *prāśasti* was spoken (composed) by the Mahā-
(tara?) Subhata. It was written by Dēdāka, son of Nāgvala the Dhruva. It is engraved by the carpenter Bhinnasēna son of Gōgā.

XI.—(S. 1330; A.D. 1264. No. 7 of Plān.) On the south face of the lower square section of the western side of the north pair of dome pillars. First 11½ lines and lines 21 22 and half of 23 in verse, the rest in prose. No. 47 of the Bhāunagar State Collection. (Bhāu. Prā. I. list page 14):

1. Namah Śrī Vighnarājāya namo dēvāya bhāvatē namo . . .
2. Paramānātha dadāyīnē cakrapāyāḥ | Eśāntha-viṣṇa prasaḥ purāṇē.
3. Śrī Sāṅha-nāmā puruṣaḥ purāṇaḥ | Bishī . . .
4. }
5. } Damaged and illegible.
6. }
7. dharmārtha . . . vigāha.
8. -mānō ānandakārah 3 janishṭa ad
9. nuḥ Subhata saubhāgya-sampal-lalitā.

10. -khidhānā | trivarga-sāram tanaya-svarūpaṁ
sajjanāgryaṁ Rājādhi.
11. Rājōdaya-sikha-deva-niḥśreyasē Śrī Subhataṁ tēna | dēvaaya
kōḷā
12. nikahōpitāṁ || Tēnāiva Mahā° Subhataṁ-
sra īrē-
13. -yasē Saṁvat 1330 varshē Āvina śudi 4 caturthidina divasa
bali-
14. -pūjā-prakṣaṇḍyakārtha(m) dēva-Śrī Jayasvāmī-bhāṣā-
gārē dra 50 paṁ-
15. -cālan dramā nikahōpitāḥ || Tathā Śrīkarapā Mahā°
Gajasthaprabhṛti-
16. -paṇcakulaṁ upārādhaṇīta(-yati) | Balānē varshaubha-
dhē kārāpita dra. 4 cato-
17. -ro dramāḥ pratavarshaṁ svaya pastalā bhāva ... paṇ-
cakulēna dātavyāḥ
18. Valī-nivandhē gōdhāna sē 2 ghṛita ka 8 muga mā | cōḥānā
mā ½ ghṛita ka ½ vyā-
19. -sa-nirvāpa I Abōt nirvāpa I Kuṁkumāgura dra. 2 pushpa
dra. 2 patrapūga dra. 2.
20. Prasadākula dra 2 āvam śtat pratavarshaṁ ścaṣṭhrāṅkaṁ
dēvāna kārāpyaṁ ||
21. Śrīsatya-rāma-pura-lāṭa-brahlādhikārt, Śrīmāladēvavāhikā-
dhikṛi |
22. -to dhūrtāḥ | vyāsna cāṇḍaharīnā vidushāṁ varāpa yo 5
dhyāpitāḥ sa vi-
23. -dadhē Subhataḥ prasaṁtiṁ || Dhru° Dēdākāna likhita gītra°
Gōshadhē-
24. -na utkṛā || ॐ |

Translation.

- 1-2. Reverence to the Lord of Obstacles (Gajēsa), Reverence
to the shining god, Reverence ... to (Vishnu) the holder
of the discus who bestows supreme happiness.
2+3. There was formerly an ancient man named Śrī Subhata
born of the Kāyastha race. Rishi.....
4-6. Illegible.
7-9. for righteousness.... entering.... giving
pleasure.... there was born a son Subhata—
9-10. ... (a wife) Lalitā by name, rich in excellence ...
the summing-up of the three objects of human effort
(religious merit, wealth, and pleasure) in the form of a son
.... the chief of the virtuous—
11. By that Śrī Subhata for the spiritual benefit of the king
of kings his majesty Udayanatha in the treasury of the
god deposited.....
12-15. By that same Mahā° Subhata for his own (spiritual)
benefit in the Saṁvat year 1330 (1274 A.D.) on the fourth
day of the bright half of Āvina, for the day's *bali*, worship
and *dāraṇa* dra. 50, fifty *drasmas* were deposited in the
treasury of the god Śrī Jayasvāmī.
16-17. And he serves (propitiates?) the *pasmas* consisting
of Mahā° Gajastha and the rest at Śrī Karapa. On the
bali day the four (4) *drasmas* given for the *bali* endowment
are to paid every year by the *pasmas* from their own

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- 18-20. In the *bell* endowment *what* of 2, *ghā* *ku*(*ra*da) 2, *maṅg*, one measure, *oṣṭha* | measure, *ghā* *ku*(*ra*da) 2, the *Bhat's* *dola* 1, the *Abbot's* *dola* 1, *turmeric* and *aloe-wood* *dola*, 2, *flowers* *dola*, 2, *leaves* and *batsant* *dola*, 2, the *band* of *singing* *women* *dola*, 2: so is this to be given yearly by the *god* so long as *sun* and *moon* *endure*.
- 21-23. *Bhūhata*, the officer of *Sri Satyapura Ratnapura* and *Lāṭa-brada*, the chief set over the *raṭhikas* of the *Śrīmāla* country, who was taught by *Caṇḍa Hapi* the *puṭārik*, best of the learned, composed the *prastāva*.
24. Written by *IMāka* the *Dhruva* and engraved by *Gōṣasṭha* the carpenter.

XII.—(S. 1333; A.D. 1277. Not in Plan.) On the north bank of Jaikop lake on a fallen pillar to the west of Ghasni Khān's tomb. Lines 1-4 and half of line 5 and lines 18-22 (and perhaps 23 and 24) in verse, the rest in prose. No. 52 of the Bhāunagar State Collection (Bhāu. Prā. I. list pages 15-16):

1. Yaḥ purātra mahāsthānā Śrīmālā susaṁdānāḥ | sa deva(b) Śrī
2. Mahāstra bhayatrāṭā (?) prajā.
3. Yaḥ taruṇāḥ gātāḥ | tasya Virājādindrasya prajāsthānā
sthānāḥ tavaḥ | 2 Pā.
4. śrīpādha-mahāgacchī punya-punya-avabhāvinī (?) Śrī
pūṇasādhana-śrī.
5. śrī prasādāḥ likhyatē yaṭhā | svasti Saṁvat 1333 varṣe | Śrī-
6. -ma śu di 14 Soma | adyāha Śrī Śrīmālā Mahārājakula Śrī
Ca(?)
7. -ciga-dēva-kalyāṇa-vijayi-rājya tanniyukta-maha*
Gōṣasṭha.
8. -prahṇā-paṇcakula-pratipattān Śrī Śrīmālā-dēva-vahikā-
dhikṛitān.
9. Nalgaṇḍavaya-kāyastha-mahattama-Sobhastha tathā(ve?)
cōpaka Karmadhā-
10. -ma evaśrīyaś Aśvinamātya-yātrā-mahōtsavā Śrīna Śu di
14 ca.
11. -kurāṭ-dhā Śrī Mahāstradēvāya pratiracham paṇcō-
pacāra-pūjini.
12. -tām Śrīkṛāṇṭyapaṇcakulaḥ śālakathā -dāt -narapāla-
varakti-pūrasambhō.
13. -dhyā-talpa-dhāla-vahatī-pada-ma . . . hata-saṁhāt
14. da 5 saptaviśōpakōpē paṇcadravīmā sāmā śālakathā-
-bhāvyā ātha
15. drā*, ma dra. 8 aśtān dravīmā : | abhayaḥ saptaviśōpa-
kōpēna trayōdaśa dra-
16. -mā śaṁdārākaśa dēvadāyā kārāpitāḥ | vartamāna-
paṇca-kulēna va-
17. -ttamāna-śālakathāna dēvadāyā kṛtām idāṁ evaśrīyaś
pālanīyaḥ |
18. Yaṁnān paṇcakulō sarvō mahāvayam iti sarvāḥ | tasya
tasya tadā śrīya*
19. Yaṁya yaṁya yadā padam | | Śrīsatya-ratna-pura-
Lāṭa-bradādhikarī Śrī.
20. -māla-dāsa-vahikādhikṛito dhurṇāḥ | vyāsana Caṇḍaharṇā
viduṣhāḥ va-
21. -rēna yodhyāpitāḥ sa vidadhā Sobhastha prastāvaḥ | 3 |
Iyaṁ Gōṣamjāta-

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22. (-na) sūtradhāraṇa dītmatā | utkirṣa Bhīmanāthēna śāsanāk-
shara-mālikā |
23. anam īdām maṭhapatimhendragoṣṭhika ācaudra-
pratipattāu | ॐ |
24. vasaṇmaya. (li) khitam bīna dītmatā | yo vācayati
jṇyā-
25. sāta it | ॐ | ma(ṇḍ)gala-saṁśīrṣa | śivasaṁ-
sarp.

Translation.

1. The god Śrī Mahāvīra who formerly came in(to) this great town Śrīmālā in whom the wise protected from fear take refuge—a new ordinance is written as follows for the people's sake through the favour of that Vīra, chief of the Jinas by Śrī Pārṣvacandra Śrī, whose nature is most holy.
- 5-9. Good luck! In the Śakvat year 1333 (1277 A.D.), on Monday the 14th of the light half of Āśvina—on this day here in holy Śrīmālā in the prosperous and victorious reign of his majesty Śrī Caṇiga the Mahārāṭ, in the term of office of the paṇch (consisting of) Mahā Gujastha and others, appointed by him.
- 9-11. By Subhata the leading Kāyastha, of the Naigama family, the officer in authority over the Vahikas of the Śrīmālā country, and by Karmastha the Cōṭaka (servant) (or vāṭaka), for their own (spiritual) benefit, at the great festival of the jātrā of the month of Āśvina on the fourteenth day 14 of the light half of Āśvina, for the worship (consisting of) the five services yearly to the god Śrī Mahāvīra.
- 12-15. [These four lines seem to be made up chiefly of Prākṛit words which I am unable to translate. They specify two sums, one of 5 and the other of 8 drammae.]
- 15-17. Both, with the twenty-seventh *spastopa* (?), the 13 *drummas* have been given in religious endowment. This which has been made as a religious endowment is to be maintained by the paṇch and by the *Śikṣastha* (?) officiating (from time to time) for their own (spiritual) benefit.
- 18-19. Because every person is always to be honoured, the benefit (of maintaining the endowment) belongs to whomsoever at any time (holds) the office.
- 19-22. Subhata, the officer of Śrīsatyapura Ratnapura and Lāṭakruda, the chief set over the vāhikas of the Śrīmālā country, who was taught by Caṇḍaharī the parāṅk, the best of the learned, composed the *pralaṅkī*. The series of letters of this grant was engraved by the wise carpenter Bhīmanātha the son of Gōga.
- 23-25. This grant was written by that wise one . . . at the time in the term of office of the Abbot Mahādudra and the committeeman Arāṇḍra (?) . . . who causes to speak Good luck! Bliss for ever! May it be auspicious Finis.

XIII.—(S. 1334; A.D. 1278. No. 8 in Plan.) On the north face of the lower square section of the eastern of the north pair of dome pillars. All in prose:

1. Om namaḥ Sūryāya || yasyōdayastasmāyāḥ suramukṣa-
nispṛṣṭa-carata-

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2. kamale 3 pi kuratē 3 mjalān trīnētra sajayati dhāmā(m)
nāhā(h) sūryah || [Śaśvat 1334.
3. Varahē Āvina va di 8 adyāha S'ri Śrīmālē Mahārājakula-
Śrī-Cāciga-Kalyāna-rāja.
4. -ya-rājyē kanniyukta-maha* . . . (śiḥa-prabhṛiti-pañcākula-
pratipattiā | śvaṁ kālē pravarttamānē)
5. Cāhumānāvayē Mahārāja(ku)la Śrī Samarasūhātma-
Mahārājādhirāja-Śrī Udaya||
6. Śihadēvāsūga-Śrī Vāha(jha)ha Śrī Cāmūḍa-
rāja-deva-śrīyānē maha*
7. Dēlākēna Śrī Jagadvāmīdētya bhāṇṇāgāre . . .
bali
8. . . . dra, 100 śataś dramā nīkshēpītā Āvina-yātrāyā(m)
Āvina vadi 8 ashtant-dinē divasa-bali ta-
9. -tā aṁgabhoga . . . pūṣkamaika Śrīdēvtya-
bhāṇṇāgārāt kārāpantya | bali-nīkshādhē
10. gōdhōma sē 3 ghṛita ka 1 (maivēdyē) cōśhā(du)
mā 2, muga sē 1, ghṛita ka 1 vyāsanirvāpa 1 Ābōṭl.
11. -nirvāpa 1 kuṁkumāgaru-mūly(ā) dra. 2 tathā pūshpa-
mūlyē dra. 2 (?) tathā patrapāga-mūlyē dra. 2 pramadā-
kulē mūlyē dra. 2 ē-
12. -vaṁ ētat Vyāha-Ābōṭika-śrēṣṭhī-goṣṭhika . . . kula-pramada-
kula prabhṛitīnān vārdanaṁ vārdanaṁ prati ā-
13. camārīrka-yāvat tathā tti kārāpantya śrī-dēvna
kārāpantya | pari kēnāpi na karatī-
14. -yā | likhitān dhru* Nāgula-suta-Dēlākēna mīnā-
ksharam adhikāṁksharāt vā sarvaṁ pramāṭa-
15. -mūl | māṅgalān sūtā śrī || (sātradhārēna ?) Nānā-suta
Dēpāla Sūta 33 varahē Caitra va di 15 saha.
16. Manasibhāta (?) ||

Translation.

- 1-2. Ōm. Reverence to the Sun | Victorious is that sun, the
storehouse of brightness, at whose rising and setting the
three-eyed (Śiva), even though (his own) lotus feet are
touched by the diadem of the gods, folds his hands (in
adoration).
- 3-4. In the *Saśvat* year 1334 (1278 A.D.) on the 8th of the
dark half of Āvina—on this day here in holy Śrīmālā in
the prosperous and victorious reign of his majesty the
Mahārān Śrī Cāciga, in the term of office of the
prince (consisting of) the Maha* Śiḥa and the rest,
appointed by him—at this time
- 5-6. for the (spiritual) benefit of his majesty Śrī Cāmūḍa-
rāja . . . (son of) Śrī-Vāha(jha)ha the son of his
majesty Śrī Udayaḥa the Mahārājādhirāja, (who was)
the son of his majesty the Mahārān Śrī Samarasūha in
the Cāhumāna race
7. By the Maha* Dēlāka in the treasury of the god
Śrī Jagadvāmī bali . . .
8. dra, 100, one hundred *drammas*, were deposited. At the
Āvina yātrā the day's bali on the eighth 8 of the dark
half of Āvina

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16. kpa dra. pramadākūlana
śaśhadrā-hālaṃ yāva.
17. niryāpanyaṃ & kārāpanyaṃ
nāgula-sutēṇa maha* Dā.
18. | Guhīlō Sāha* Rudrapāla-suta-
śōḥa* Hariśālō na (Śrīdō-)
19. rīya-sthītaka dra. 4 Sahajapāla-suta-ś
śhīta-
20. kdra 4.
21-23. Illegible.

Translation.

- 1-2. Oh, Reverence to the Sun ! Victorious is that sun, the store-
house of brightness, at whose rising and setting the three-
eyed (Śiva), even though (his own) lotus feet are touched
by the diadems of the gods, folds his hands (in adoration).
3-5. On Saturday the first of the light half of Āyina in the year
1339 (1283 A.D.) on this day here in holy Śrīmatā, in the
prosperous and victorious reign of his majesty the
Mahārājā Śrī Śānvaśāla, in the term of office of the
* pūṇa (consisting of) the maha* śha and the
rest, appointed by him.
6-8. Dra. 20, twenty drammae, were deposited in the treasury
for the sun-god Śrī Jagavāmi by Sāha* Sahajapāla son
of Rudrapāla the Guhīla, who came here from Śrī
Javālipura, for every part of the *bali*, the worship, and
the *śampadhāga*, for his own (spiritual) benefit and for the
benefit of his father and mother.
9-9. near the Rudrā road 1 cow field was given called
Kathara-pāna.
9-11. To the god on day for worship, the wife of
Sāha* Sahajapāla for her own benefit and for the
benefit of her father and mother deposited
dra. 10, ten drammae
11-12. Drammae in the Āyina *Yātrā* on the first day of the
light half of Āyina are to be expended by the god from
the treasury (for) the day's *bali*, worship
13-17. In the *bali* endowment wheat of 2 *ghāḥa* (śahas) 8;
in the *śāntidya* *śhāḥa* pā 2 *maṇḍa* *ghāḥa* (śahas) 4;
in the *śampadhāga* for every part of the leaves and betel
dra. 1, the Bhat's dole (the Ab) 04½ dole 1,
the band of singing women dra. 2; all this the god's
treasury dra. by the hand of singing
women so long as sun and moon
endure is to be dated out, is to be
expended.
17-20. By the Maha* Dādāka son of Nāgula
By Śōḥa* Hariśāla son of Sāha* Rudrapāla the Guhīla,
four *sthītaka* drammae of the god By
Sā son of Sahajapāla
sthītaka drammae 4
21-23. Illegible.

XV.—(S. 1342; A.D. 1286. Not in Plan.) In the ground close to the
wall on the right in entering the enclosure of old Mahālakṣmī's temple.
Proc. No. 50 of the Bhāunagar State Collection (Bhān. Prā. I. page 15.)

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1. Ōm. Namah Sāryāyah || Tasyōdayāstasamayē sura-ma-
2. -kuta-nispriṣṭa-carana kumalō pi kurutē 3 mājalin trisōtra saja-
3. -yati dhāmmān nāhili sāryah || Saṁvat 1312 (1236 A.D.)
Āvina vadi 10 Ra-
4. -vānāyāha Śrī Śrīmālō Mahārājakula Śrī Śāmvatasṭha dē-
5. -va-kalyāṇa-vijaya-rājyē tanniyukta-maha* Pāndyā-prahārīti-
parica-
6. kula pratipattān | Śāsanāksharāṇi praya(c)chati yathā | Rāthō-
da-
7. -jātya-Ūtisavātha-pāutra Vāgmasanta Sṭia* Alhamaethō-
8. -na ātmā-mātā-pitrō śrēyaśō vasaśrēyaśō Śrī Jagavāmi-dē-
9. -vāya Āvino yātrāyām dāmanilīnē divasa-lālī-pōjā prē-
10. -kahaṭkādi aṅga-bhōga-nimi(t)tanē śālahathābhōvya-
11. -t Śrī kārāpita ācāmrīrākayāvat pradatta dra. 4½.
12. Śādhētya-kōṭṭaṭ.
13. ācāmrīrākam yāh kōpi Śālahathō bhavati tēna varahañ
varahañ prati pā-
14. -laniyān ca | valubhūir vasaṭhā bhukṭā rājubhūi Sagarādibhūi
yasya
15. yasya yadā bhūmī tasya tasya tadā phalañ || 1 Āvina vadi
10 ya-
16. -li-nīkāmādhō gōḍhūma sē ghṛita ka 12 nāvēdyē
cōḍhām pā 4.
17. muggān mā 1 ghṛita ka ½ Vyāsanīrāpa 1 Abōṭṭnīrāpa
1 kushkuma
18. kastūri-pratyāñ(gaṇ) dra. 4 pushpa-pratyāñ(gaṇ) dra. 4
pramāṭākula-pratyāñ(gaṇ) dra. 4 patra-pā-
19. ga-pratyāñ(gaṇ) dra. 4 śtat sarvañ varahañ 2 prati Śrī-
dētya bhāṇāgārāt
20. Vartāpakaī kārāpantyañ || māṇigalāñ sādārtṭh || Ilkhitāñ
Dhruva
21. Nāgula-suta-dhru* Dēdākēna Utkīrṇā sūtra* Bīmaadhēnañ.

Translation.

- 1-3. Ōm. Reverence to the Sun ! Victorious is that sun, the store-
house of brightness, at whose rising and setting the three-
eyed (Śiva), even though (his own) lotus feet are touched
by the dials of the gods, folds his hands (in adoration).
- 3-6. Saṁvat 1312 on Sunday the 10th of the dark half of
Āvina, on this day here in holy Śrīmālā, in the prosperous
and victorious reign of his majesty the Maharāj Śrī Śāmvata-
sṭha-dēva, in the term of office of the *parica* (consisting
of) Maha* Pāndyā and the rest, appointed by him, he sets
forth the writing of the grant as follows.
- 6-11. By Sṭia* Alhamaetha son of Vāgmas and grandson of Ūti-
svātha of the Rāthōḍa race, for the benefit of his own
mother and father and for his own benefit, 4½ *drasmas*
(were) given to the god Śrī Jagavāmi, for the day's *hālī*,
the worship, the *darśana* &c., and the *aṅgabhōga* on the
10th day at the Āvina yātrā so long as sun and
moon (endure)
- 12-14. The god's treasure house whosoever is Śālahatha,
by him every year it is to be maintained also,

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- 14-15. The earth has been enjoyed by many kings, beginning with Sagar. Whosoever the earth is at any time, his is also the fruit thereof.
- 15-16. In the endowment of the *śaśi* for the 10th of the dark half of Śāvina wheat of . . . ghi *ka*(*raha*) 12 : in the *satvadya* *śāśa* *pa* 4.
- 17-19. Mung mud 1, ghi *ka* 1, the Bhat's dala 1, the Ābhūt's dala 1, for turmeric and musk each *dra*. 4, for flowers each *dra*. 4, for the band of singing women each *dra*. 4, for leaves and betel each *dra*. 4.
- 19-21. All this is to be expended yearly from the god's treasury . . . Good luck! Bhas for ever. Written by Dhruv Dōlāke son of Dhruva Nāgula. Engraved by Bhīmadatta the carpenter.

XVI.—(S. 1345; A.D. 1289, No. 9 of Plan.) On the south face of the lower square section of the north-east corner pillar of the dome. The first thirteen lines are in verse, the rest in prose. No. 48 of the Bhānagar State Collection (Bhān. Prā. I. list page 14):

1. Svargīpavargamūhadam paramātmamūhīnam dhīrāyachitī yam
sukṛitīnā kṛitī sa-
2. evadāiva tasmāi namaḥ-janabhāya surāvarindhā samādhāya
mānu-caritāya
3. namah Śivāya || 1 Śāghyaḥ satām sukṛit sukṛit manūthyā
mānyā maha-
4. -ttama-guṇāi mahataḥ sa ēva | yaścā jagatrayaguruḥ gōjā-
dhīnātham devaḥ.
5. namasyati natō 1 nūdinam mahāla || 2 Sōmō 1 et nātha natī-
matīara-kāruṇyā-
6. -śhu purya-Prabhāsa-sarasi aṣṭitām ā'ritāśam | tasmā
7. -tīrī Śrī Sōmanātha itī siddhigataḥ smarāmi || 3 Putyāḥ Pra-
bhāsatāi-bhāṣa-
8. -ṇa-Kaṇṭhāla-pāpa-promōcana-rupārītī-viṇōḥanāyāḥ | śa-
āḥ Ka-
9. -pārī-kṛita-sat-tithibhīḥ pradhānāḥ tīrīhār alau kṛitam
klau bhīdayam mamāsta ||
10. 4. Pānya-punya-pāvaś jaladhōr tathāya Sārasvata-nīva-
kasyata.
11. Da' || Ōm namah Sūryāya Jaj(j)ōtī prasaratī turām lōka
kṛitāya ni-
12. -tyam | yannāmōktam sakalakalusham yāi param payodhō
(sarvasyātma sugatī-
13. -anrathō -hrivānta-mātāṅga-siṅgha | dīrīṣṭa-sūryō
nava(bha) et bhagavān sarvasyāntaryāmha-
14. -rōtī 1 Saṁvāt 1345 varshē MāghaVadi 2 Sōmō 1 dyōḥa Śrī 2
mālō mahārāja-
15. -kula-Śrī Sāmānta-siṅgha-dēva-kalyāṇa-vijaya-rājyā tan-
'nīyukta-maha' chāḥḥa-
16. -prabhīrītī-pūṇakula-pratīpatān ēvanīkālō pravartīamānu
Śrī-Jāvālīpurvāstavya-
17. Pūṇakāṇīthāntya-yajur-vēda pāthakāya | Padamālayagō-
trāya | Vīrāṇa' na-
18. -vaghaṇa-rāmōtpannādhya' Vāllāpūtra | Jyōtī' Mā-
dhava-pratīkūhīrē Jyō'

19. Tāka-dāhātra-Saṅgha-putra-mātu-Pānala-anta | Vrahma^a
Vāgaṇa saṁśrūṣyā
20. Aśvatāmā jātā | Śrī Jagatvāma | Śrīśrīyasya mūrti
prāśādā śauvarāṅga-
21. Jaiārōpita | Jātanadhā dēvaṁ saṁpādya samasta-dēva-lōka-
Vrahma-lōka-pra-
22. Ayakhaṁ | Vamādvayōdharāṇa-samakhaṁ | Ātmanāśa
Ācāhārārāṇyāvat sūrya-prasāda-pra-
23. -pa-tyarthāṁ | prativarāṁ | pūjāṁ Śrī Jagatvāma-dēva-
bhāṇāgārā nīkhaṇita | rāukma-vi
24. -ana-pra-dra, 100 dēva Śatāni Amishāṁ dhammānām vyā-
japadāt Aśvina-yātrāyāṁ Aśvi-
25. -na vadi || dīnā dīvaṁ-rāṇi kāyōvali nīvaṁdhā gōdhāma sē
4 pakvō ghṛiṇa ||
26. ka 16 nāvēdyō cōhāṁ mā 1 muga mā 1 ghṛiṇa ka | vidakō
patra 8 pūga 2 aṅga-
27. -bhāṇa-pratya^a dra, 4 prakhaṇa-pratya^a dra, 6 putrapūga-pra-
tya^a dra, 4 vyāsa-nīrvaṇa-Ābōṭṭi-nīrva-
28. -pa-nīvaṁdhā cōhāṁ sē 4 muga pā 3 ghṛiṇa ka 1 dākhaṇā 16
2 pramāṇāṇa dra, 4 śta-
29. -t sarvaṁ prativarāṁ saṁhārāṇa-yāvat Śrīśrīyasya bhāṇa-
-jagatvā vācāntam kārāṇa-
30. -āyāṇi ca | saṁhārā bhavatu sarvadhā | Jyotiḥ Sūgāṇa-sūṇa
Camārādityāna samakhaṇa li-
31. -khāṇa Kava^a Nāgula sūṇa Dādāṇa vīkhaṇa Sūtra^a
Nāṇa-anta-Dēpāl-
32. -na || māṇṇāṇa sūṇa Śrī.

Translation.

- 1-3. Reverence to that Śiva! the benefactor of those who bow to him, whose actions are praised by the leaders of gods and demons, who gives the happiness of heaven and of salvation, whose form is the supreme soul, whom the wise ever lay hold upon in (their) heart.
- 3-5. Oh Mahāda, who ever bowing daily does reverence to the god who is guru of the three worlds, the lord of the mountain's daughter (Pārvatī), that man is worthy of praise from the righteous, fortunate, wise, to be honoured for most excellent virtues, a true hero.
- 5-7. Oh Lord thou art the moon among the bending lotuses that have found their place in the holy pool of Prabhāsa; therefore I make mention (of thee) famous by the name of Sōmanātha on the seashore
- 7-9. May this heart of mine be adorned by these holy chief virtues, Prabhāsa, the moon's ornament, the Lotus (pool), the Release from Sin, the Release from Debt and Suffering &c., whose lucky days have been fixed by Kapardi (Śiva).
10. Of this pool of pure water and of Samavati.
11. Da^a Oṁ! Reverence to the Sun, whose light ever reaches far for the work of mankind, at the mention of whose name all sin goes beyond the ocean: the soul of all, whose path and whose car are good, a lion to the trumpeting elephants (of darkness): When the Lord Sun is seen in the sky, he makes the last (?) .. of all.

Appendix III.

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BHINMAL.
Inscriptions.

- 14-16. On Monday the second of the dark half of Māgha in the Śaivāt year 1345 (1288 A.D.), on this day here in holy Śrināla, in the prosperous and victorious reign of his majesty the Mahārāj Śrī Rāmvata Siṅgha, in the term of office of the *paṇḍita* (consisting of) the Mahā' Chāṣṭhā and the rest, appointed by him.
- 16-21. At this time to (read by) Vāgrāda the Brāhmaṇa son of Sōḍhala and grandson of Adhyava' Vallā, of the Nava-ghana family, of the Palamala gōtra, student of the Yajurveda, of the town of Paskarini and living in Śrī Jāvālpura, son of his mother Pūnala, and daughter's son of Tilaka the Jōḥit, and granddaughter's son of Mādhyava the Jōḥit—recognizing the impermanence of this world, a golden *kalāṣa* was set up on the palace . . . of the Śrī Jagavāmi.
- 21-24. (By him) worshipping the god in faith, before the world of the gods and the world of Brahma, for the purpose (P) of saving his ancestors in both lines, and himself, to gain the favour of the Sun so long as sun and moon (endure), (for) worship every year, 200 *Plakapri* *drummas* in gold were deposited in the treasury of the god Śrī Jagavāmi.
- 24-28. Out of the interest of these *drummas*, in the endowment of the day's *balli* and the *idyōraṣi* on the 11th of the dark half of Āśvina at the Āśvina festival, wheat at 4, ghl *ka(raka)* 16; in the Nāivēdya cōṣha measure 1, mung pd. 1½, ghl *ka(raka)* 3, for *pdampāri* leaves 8, betel 2; for the Aṅgabhōga severally *dra* 4, for flowers severally *dra* 6, for leaves and hotel severally *dra* 4; in the endowment of the Bhat's dōle and the Abōṭi's dōle, cōṣha st. 1, mung pd. 3, ghl *ka(raka)* 1, dakṣhiṇā 50 2, the band of singing women *dra* 4.
- 29-32. All this is to be separated and expended from the treasury of the god every year so long as sun and moon (endure). May it always be auspicious. Written by Dādāka son of Kava' Nāgula for Caṇḍarāditya son of Jyoti' Vāgrāda. Engraved by Dōpāla son of Nānā the carpenter. Good luck! Bliss for ever!

APPENDIX IV.

JAVA AND CAMBODIA.

Appendix IV.

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AN incident redeems the early history of Gujarāt from provincial narrowness and raises its ruling tribes to a place among the greater conquerors and colonisers. This incident is the tradition that during the sixth and seventh centuries fleets from the coasts of Sindh and Gujarāt formed settlements in Java and in Cambodia. The Java legend is that about A.D. 603 Hindus led by Bhruvijāya Savelachāla the son of Kasamachitra or Bālya Achā king of Kujrāt or Gujarāt settled on the west coast of the island.¹ The details of the settlement recorded by Sir Stamford Raffles² are that Kasamachitra, ruler of Gujarāt, the tenth in descent from Arjun, was warned of the coming destruction of his kingdom. He accordingly started his son Bhruvijāya Savelachāla with 5000 followers, among whom were cultivators artisans warriors physicians and writers, in six large and a hundred small vessels for Java. After a voyage of four months the fleet touched at an island they took to be Java. Finding their mistake the pilots put to sea and finally reached Mataram in the island of Java. The prince built the town of Mendang Kumulan. He sent to his father for more men. A reinforcement of 2000 arrived among them carvers in stone and in brass. An extensive commerce sprang up with Gujarāt and other countries. The bay of Mataram was filled with stranger vessels and temples were built both at the capital, afterwards known as Beambanum, and, during the reign of Bhruvijāya's grandson Ardivijāya that is about A.D. 660, at Boro Buddor in Kedu.³ The remark that an ancestor of the immigrant prince had changed the name of his kingdom to Gujarāt is held by Lassen to prove that the tradition is modern. Instead of telling against the truth of the tradition this note is a strong argument in its favour. One of the earliest mentions of the name Gujarāt for south Mārwar is Hinen Tsang's (A.D. 630) Kiu-che-lo or Gurjjara. As when Hinen Tsang wrote the Gurjjara chief of Bhinnal, fifty miles west of Abu, already ranked as a Kshatriya his family had probably been for some time established perhaps as far back as A.D. 490 or date by which the Mihira or Gurjjara conquest of Valabhi and north Gujarāt was completed.⁴ The

¹ Sir Stamford Raffles' Java, II. 83. From Java Hindus passed to near Banjar Massin in Borneo probably the most eastern of Hindu settlements (Jour. R. A. Soc. IV. 186). Temples of superior workmanship with Hindu figures also occur at Waaboo 400 miles from the coast. Dalton's Diaks of Borneo Jour. Asiaticus (N. S.) VII. 123. An instance may be quoted from the extreme west of Hindu influence. In 1873 an Indian architect was found building a palace at Gondar in Abyssinia. Keith Johnson's Africa, 289.

² Raffles' Java, II. 65-83. Compare Lassen's Indische Alterthumskunde, II. 10, 40; IV. 460.

³ Raffles' Java, II. 87.

⁴ Compare Tod's Annals of Rajasthan (Third Reprint), I. 87. The thirty-nine Chohan excursions, working back from about A.D. 1200 with an average reign of eighteen years, lead to A.D. 498.

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details of the help received from Gujurāt after the prince's arrival show that the parent state had weathered the storm which threatened to destroy it. This agrees with the position of the Bhīmal Gurjara at the opening of the seventh century, when, in spite of their defeat by Prabhakara-vardhana (A.D. 600-606) the father of Śrī Harsha (A.D. 606-641) of Magadhā, they maintained their power at Broach and at Valabhi as well as at Bhīmal.² The close relations between the Gurjara and the great seafaring Mihira or Meda make it likely that the captains and pilots who guided the fleets to Java belonged to the Meda tribe. Perhaps it was in their honour that the new Java capital received the name Mundan, as, at a later period it was called Brambanan or the town of Brāhman. The fact that the Gurjara of Broach were sun-worshippers not Buddhists causes no difficulty since the Bhīmal Gurjara whom Hīn Tsiang visited in A.D. 630 were Buddhists and since at Valabhi Buddhism Śaivism and sun-worship seem to have secured the equal patronage of the state.

Besides of Gujurāt and its king the traditions of both Java and Cambodia contain references to Hastinagara or Hastinapura, to Taxila, and to Rumadesa.³ With regard to these names and also with regard to Gandhāra

² Compare Note on Bhīmal page 467.

³ According to Cunningham (*Ancient Geography*, 42 and *Beal's Buddhist Records*, I, 109 note 27) the site of **Hastinagara** or the right city is on the Swat river eighteen miles north of Peshawar. In Vedic and early Mahābhārata times Hastinapura was the capital of Gandhāra (*Hewitt Jour. Roy. As. Soc. XXI*, 217). In the seventh century it was called Puskalavati (*Beal's Buddhist Records*, I, 109). **Taxila**, the capital of the country east of the Indus, was situated about forty miles east of Attock at Shāhīdī near Rafāka-sarai (Cunningham's *Ancient Geography*, 109). According to Cunningham (*Ibid.* 109), Taxila continued a great city from the time of Alexander till the fifth century after Christ. It was then laid waste apparently by the great White Hana conqueror Mihirakula (A.D. 500-550). A hundred years later when Hīn Tsiang visited it the country was under Kashmir, the royal family were extinct, and the nobles were struggling for power (*Beal's Buddhist Records*, I, 136). **Rumadesa**. References to Rumadesa occur in the traditions of Siam and Cambodia as well as in those of Java. Fleets of Rum are also noted in the traditions of Bengal and Orissa as attacking the coast (*Fergusson's Architecture*, III, 640). Coupling the mention of Rūma with the tradition that the Cambodian temples were the work of Alexander the Great Colonel Yale (*Ency. Brit.* Article Cambodia) takes Rūm in its Musulman sense of Greece or Asia Minor. The variety of references suggested to Fergusson (*Architecture*, III, 640) that these exploits are a vague memory of Roman commerce in the Bay of Bengal. But the Roman rule was that no fleet should pass east of Ceylon (*Reinhold Jour. As. Soc. VI*, Tom. I, page 3:2). This rule may occasionally have been departed from as in A.D. 136 when the emperor Marcus Aurelius sent an ambassador by sea to China. Still it seems unlikely that Roman commerce in the Bay of Bengal was ever active enough to gain a place as settled and coloniser in the traditions of Java and Cambodia. It was with the west not with the east of India that the relations of Rome were close and important. From the time of Mark Antony to the time of Justinian, that is from about A.D. 30 to A.D. 550, their political importance as allies against the Parthians and Sassanians and their commercial importance as controllers of one of the main trade routes between the east and the west made the friendship of the Kushans or Sakas who held the Indus valley and Bactria a matter of the highest importance to Rome. How close was the friendship is shown in A.D. 60 by the Roman General Corbulo asserting the Hyrcanian ambassadors up to the Indus and through the territories of the Kushans or Indo-Skythians on their return from their embassy to Rome. (Compare Rawlinson's *Parthia*, 271.) The close connection is shown by the accurate details of the Indus valley and Bactria recorded by Ptolemy (A.D. 100) and about a hundred years later (A.D. 247) by the author of the *Periplus* and by the special value of the gifts which the Periplus notices were set apart for the rulers of Sindh. One result of this long continued alliance was the gaining by the Kushan and other rulers of Peshawar and the Panjab of a knowledge of Roman coinage astronomy and architecture. Certain Afghan or Baktrian coins bear the word Rūm apparently the name of some Afghan city. In spite of this there seems to

and to Cambodia, all of which places are in the north-west of India, the question arises whether the occurrence of these names implies an historical connection with Kābul Peshāwar and the west Panjāb or whether they are mere local applications and assumptions by foreign settlers and converts of names known in the Brāhman and Buddhist writings of India. That elaborate applications of names mentioned in the Mahābhārata to places in Java have been made in the Java version of the Mahābhārata is shown by Raffles.* Still it is to be noticed that the places mentioned above, Kamboja or Kābul, Gaudhara or Peshāwar, Taxila or the west Panjāb, and Rūmadēsa apparently the south Panjāb are not, like Ayodhya the capital of Siam or like *Inta-patha-puri* that is Indraprastha or Dehli the later capital of Cambodia,[†] the names of places which either by their special fame or by their geographical position would naturally be chosen as their original home by settlers or converts in Java and Cambodia. Fair ground can therefore be claimed for the presumption that the leading position given to Kamboja, Gandhārā, Taxila, and Rūmadēsa in Javan and Cambodian legends and place-names is a trace of an actual and direct historical connection between the north-west of India and the Malay Archipelago. This presumption gains probability by the argument from the architectural remains of the three countries which in certain peculiar features show so marked a resemblance both in design and in detail as in the judgment of Mr. Fergusson to establish a strong and direct connection.[‡] A third argument in favour of a Gujarāt strain in Java are the traditions of settlements and expeditions by the rulers of Mālwa which are still current in south Mārwar.[§] Further a proverb

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reason to suppose that Rome attempted to overlord the north-west of India still less that any local ruler was permitted to make use of the great name of Rome. It seems possible that certain notices of the fleets of Rōm in the Bay of Bengal refer to the fleets of the Arab Al-Rūm that is Lumbi or north-west Sumatra apparently the Rōmāniā of the Chaldaean breviary of the Malabar Coast. (Yule's Cathay, I. lxxxix. note and Marco Polo, II. 215.)

* Compare Fergusson's Architecture, III. 646; Yule in Encyc. Brit. Cambodia.

† Java, I. 411. Compare Fergusson's Architecture, III. 642.

‡ See Yule in Jour. Roy. As. Soc. (N. S.), I. 256; Fergusson's Architecture, III. 631.

§ Of the Java remains Mr. Fergusson writes (Architecture, III. 644-648): The style and character of the sculptures of the great temple of Boru Bador are nearly identical with those of the later caves of Ajanta, on the Western Ghāts, and in Sabatte. The resemblance in style is almost equally close with the buildings of Takht-i-Bahl in Gaudhara (Ditto, 647). Again (page 637) he says: The Hindu immigrants into Java came from the west coast of India. They came from the valley of the Indus not from the valley of the Ganges. Once more, in describing No. XXVI. of the Ajanta caves Messrs. Fergusson and Burgess (Rock-cut Temples, 345 note 1) write: The execution of these figures is so nearly the same as in the Boru Bador temple in Java that both must have been the work of the same artists during the latter half of the seventh century or somewhat later. The Buddhists were not in Java in the fifth century. They must have begun to go soon after since there is a considerable local element in the Boru Bador.

* Traditions of expeditions by sea to Java remain in Mārwar. In April 1895 a band at Bhinmal related how Bhojraja of Ujjain in anger with his son Chandrabhan drove him away. The son went to a Gujarāt or Kathiawar port obtained ships and sailed to Java. He took with him as his Brāhman the son of a Magh Pandit. A second tale tells how Vikram the redresser of evils in a dream saw a Javanese woman weeping, because by an enemy's curse her son had been turned into stone. Vikram sailed to Java found the woman and removed the curse. According to a third legend Chandrabhan the grandson of Vir Prasnir saw a beautiful woman in a dream. He travelled everywhere in search of her. At last a Rishi told him the girl lived in Java. He started by sea and after many dangers and wonders found the dream-girl in Java. The people of Bhinmal are familiar with the Gujarāt proverb referred to below Who goes to Java comes not back. MS. Notes, March 1895.

Appendix IV. still well known both in Mārwār and in Gujarāt runs : /

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*Je jās Jāva te kadī nahī des
A've te sikh pūkhī bāikhīs khātes.*

Who to Java roam ne'er come home,
If they return, through seven lives
Seated at ease their wealth survives.¹

Once more the connection with Gujarāt is supported by the detail in the Java account which makes Laut Mira the starting point for the colonising fleet. This Sir S. Raffles supposed to be the Red Sea but the Mihiras' or Meds' sea may be suggested as it seems to correspond to the somewhat doubtful Arab name Baharimad (sea of the Meds?) for a town in western India sacked by Junaid. Against this evidence two considerations have been urged: (a) The great length of the voyage from Gujarāt to Java compared with the passage to Java from the east coast of India; (b) That no people in India have known enough of navigation to send a fleet fit to make a conquest. As regards the length of the voyage it is to be remembered that though Sumatra is more favourably placed for being colonised from Bengal Orissa and the mouths of the Godāvari and Krishna, in the case either of Java or of Cambodia the distance from the Sindh and Kathiāvada ports is not much greater and the navigation is in some respects both safer and simpler than from the coasts of Orissa and Bengal. In reply to the second objection that no class of Hindus have shown sufficient skill and enterprise at sea to justify the belief that they could transport armies of settlers from Gujarāt to Java, the answer is that the assumption is erroneous. Though the bulk of Hindus have at all times been averse from a seafaring life yet there are notable exceptions. During the last two thousand years the record of the Gujarāt coast shows a genius for seafaring fit to ensure the successful planting of north-west India in the Malay Archipelago.²

¹ Another version is :

*Je jās Jāva te ghātī na des
Je ghātī des te purā purā khātes
Khātes khātes.*

Who go to Java stay for aye,
If they return they feast and play
Such stores of wealth their risks repay.

² Compare Crawford (A.D. 1820) in As. Res. XIII. 157 and Lassen Ind. Alt. II. 1044.

³ The following details summarise the available evidence of Gujarāt Hindu enterprises by sea. According to the Greek writers, though it is difficult to accept their statements as free from exaggeration, when in B.C. 325, Alexander passed down the Indus the river showed no trace of any trade by sea. If at that time sea trade at the mouth of the Indus was so scanty as to escape notice it seems fair to suppose that Alexander's ship-building and fleet gave a start to deep-sea sailing which the constant succession of strong and vigorous northern tribes which entered and ruled Western India during the centuries before and after the Christian era continued to develop.* According to Vincent (Periplus, I. 25, 36, 264) in the time of Agatharcides (B.C. 200) the ports of Arakha and Ceylon were entirely in the hands of the people of Gujarāt. During the second century after Christ, when, under the great Rudradaman (A.D. 143-155), the Śinh or Kshatrapa dynasty of Kathiāvada was at the height of its power, Indians of Tionto, that is Sindhu, brought presents by sea to China (Journal Royal Asiatic Society for January 1896 page 9). In A.D. 168 (perhaps the same as the preceding) the Roman emperor Marcus Aurelius sent by sea to China ambassadors with ivory rhinoceros' horn and other articles apparently the produce of Western India (DeGuignes' Huns, I. [Part I.] 22). In the third century A.D. 247 the Periplus (McCrindle, I. 52, 54, 98, 109)

* Alexander built his own boats on the Indus. McCrindle's Alexander, II. 110 carried (pages 103 and 121) these boats to the Hydaspes on the Jhelum (134 note 1) where he found some country boats he built a flotilla of galleys with thirty oars : he made dockyards (pages 126, 127) : his crews were Thracians, Cyprians, Egyptians, and Egyptians.

The Hindu settlement of Sumatra was almost entirely from the

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notices large Hindu ships in the east African Arab and Persian ports and Hindu settlements on the north coast of Pokotia. About a century later occurs the doubtful reference (Wilford in Asiatic Researches, IX. 224) to the Divil or pirates of Diu who had to send hostages to Constantine the Great (A.D. 320-340) one of whom was Theophilus afterwards a Christian bishop. Though it seems probable that the Kalatraspa (A.D. 70-400) ruled by sea as well as by land fresh-seafaring energy seems to have marked the arrival on the Sindh and Kathiawar coasts of the Juan-Juan or Avars (A.D. 300-450) and of the White Huns (A.D. 450-550). During the fifth and sixth centuries the ports of Sindh and Gujarat appear among the chief centres of naval enterprise in the east. How the sea ruled the religion of the newcomers is shown by the fame which gathered round the new or revised gods Siva the President of Somnath and Krishna the Apollo or St. Nicholas of Dwarka. (Compare Tod's Annals of Rajasthan, I. 528.) In the fifth century (Yule's Cathay, I. lxxviii.) according to Hsuan Tsang, at Hira near Kufa on the Euphrates the ships of India and China were constantly moored. In the early sixth century (A.D. 518-519) a Persian ambassador went by sea to China (Ditto, I. lxxiv.) About the same time (A.D. 526) Cosmas (Ditto, I. clxxvii.) describes Sindhu or Delal and Oronta that is Soratha or Varaval as leading places of trade with Ceylon. In the sixth century, apparently driven out by the White Huns and the Mihira, the Jats from the Indus and Kachh occupied the islands in the Persian gulf, and perhaps manned the fleet with which about A.D. 570 Nanshiravan the great Sassanian (A.D. 531-574) is said to have invaded the lower Indus and perhaps Ceylon.* About the same time (Fergusson Architecture, III. 612) Amravati at the Krishna mouth was superseded as the port for the Golden Chersonese by the direct voyage from Gujarat and the west coast of India. In A.D. 630 Hsuan Tsang (Beal's Buddhist Records, II. 269) describes the people of Surashtra as deriving their livelihood from the sea, engaging in commerce, and exchanging commodities. He further notices that in the chief cities of Persia Hindus were settled enjoying the full practice of their religion (Reinard's Abulfeda, ccclxxxv.) That the Jat not the Arab was the moving spirit in the early (A.D. 657-770) Muhammadan sea raids against the Gujarat and Konkan coasts is made probable by the fact that those seafaring ventures began not in Arabia but in the Jat-settled shores of the Persian Gulf, that for more than fifty years the Arab heads of the state forsook them, and that in the Mediterranean where they had no Jat element the Arab was powerless at sea. (Compare Elliot, I. 416, 417.) That during the seventh and eighth centuries when the chief migrations by sea from Gujarat to Java and Cambodia seem to have taken place, Chinese fleets visited Diu (Yule's Cathay, lxxix.), and that in A.D. 730 Arabs and Persians besieged Canton and pillaged the storehouses going and returning by sea (DeGuignes' Huns, I. [Pt. II.] 503) suggest that the Jats were pilots as well as pirates.† On the Sindh Kachh and Gujarat coasts besides the Jats several of the new-come northern tribes showed notable energy at sea. It is to be remembered that as detailed in the Statistical Account of Thina (Bombay Gazetteer, XIII. Part II. 433) this remarkable outburst of sea enterprise may have been due not only to the vigour of the new-come northerners but to the fact that some of them, perhaps the famous iron-working Turks (A.D. 550-680), brought with them the knowledge of the magnet, and that the local Brahman, with religious skill and secrecy, shaped the bar into a divine fish-machine or *manohayatra*, which, floating in a basin of oil, he consulted in some private quarter of the ship and when the stars were hid guided the pilot in what direction to steer. Among new seafaring classes were, on the Makruva and Sindh

* Reinard's *Memoirs sur l'Inde*, III. The statement that Nanshiravan received Karsak from the king of Serapopol (Elliot's History, I. 407; Tabart, II. 321) throws doubt on this expedition to Ceylon. At the close of the sixth century Karsak or Indu Sindh cannot have been in the gift of the king of Ceylon. It was in the possession of the Althorid kings of Aror in Upper Sindh perhaps of Shihdi Tugis Deraja shortened to Shihindir. (Compare Cunningham's Oriental Congress, I. 243.) According to Garret (J. As. Soc. VI. Tom. XIII. 282 note 2) this Serapopol is Surabad that is Syria and Antioch places which Nanshiravan is known to have taken. Several other references that seem to imply a close connection between Gujarat and Ceylon are equally doubtful. In the *Manushirava* (A.D. 100-300) the Sinhala bring *manohayatra* (raised) elephants' housings and heaps of pearls. The meaning of *manohayatra* in Samudragupta's inscription (A.D. 350) Early Gujarat History page 63 and note 3 is uncertain. Neither Mihirakula's (A.D. 600) nor Lalitaditya's (A.D. 700) conquest of Ceylon can be historical. In A.D. 1908 when Abul Fatha the Carmatian ruler of Malabar was attacked by Mahmud of Ghazni he retired to Ceylon. (Reinard's *Memoirs*, III.) When Somnath was taken (A.D. 1020) the people embarked for Ceylon (Ditto, 270).

† Compare at a later period (A.D. 1347) The *Natoka's* great ship sailing from Kandahar (standing north of Brest) to China with its guard of Abghimians as a defence against pirates. Reinard's *Abulfeda*, clxxx.

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coasts the Bodhis Kerks and Mads and along the shores of Kachh and Kathiawar the closely connected Mads and Gurjjars. In the seventh and eighth centuries the Gurjjars, chiefly of the Chapa or Chavada clan, back in Dwarka and Somnath and also inland, rose to power, a change which, as already noticed, may explain the efforts of the Jats to settle along the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea. About A.D. 740 the Chapas or Chavadas, who had for a century and a half been in command in Dwarka and Somnath, established themselves at Anahilavada Pattan. According to their tradition king Vagadaja (A.D. 729-780) and his successor Yagadja (A.D. 806-841) made great efforts to put down piracy. Yagadja's sons plundered some Bengal or Bor ships which stress of weather forced into Veraval. The king said 'My sons with labour we were raising ourselves to be Chavadas of princely rank; your greed throws us back on our old mischiefs of Churas or thurses.' Yagadja refused to be comforted and mounted the funeral pyre. Dr. Bhargudal's History, 104. This tale seems to be a parable. Yagadja's efforts to put down piracy seem to have driven large bodies of Jats from the Gujarat coast. In A.D. 834-35, according to Ibn Alathyr (A.D. 834), a fleet manned by Djatts or Jats made a descent on the Tigris. The whole strength of the Khalifat had to be set in motion to stop them. Those who fell into the hands of the Moslems were sent to Anahilavada on the borders of the Greek empire (Reinoud's Fragments, 201-2). As in the legend, the Chavada king's sons, that is the Chauras Were and Gurjjars, proved not less dangerous pirates than the Jats whom they had driven out.* About fifty years later, in A.D. 892, Al-Biladuri describes as pirates who scourged the seas the Mads and the people of Saurashtra that is Derpolan or Somnath who were Churas or Gurjjars.† Biladuri (Reinoud Sur L'Inde, 169) further notices that the Jats and other Indians had formed the same type of settlement in Persia which the Persians and Arabs had formed in India. During the ninth and tenth centuries the Gujarat kingdom which had been established in Java was at the height of its power. (Dittis, Abulfeda, cccxxxviii.) Early in the tenth century (A.D. 915-930) Masudi (Yule's Marco Polo, II, 341, Elliot, I, 65) describes Sokatra as a noted haunt of the Indian corsairs called Bawarij which chase Arab ships bound for India and China. †The merchant fleets of the early tenth century were not Arab alone. The Chauras of Anahilavada sent fleets to Bina and China (Mas Hala, I, 11). †Nor were Mads and Chauras the only pirates. Towards the end of the tenth century (A.D. 980) Gahari the Chudasama, known in story as Grahuripa the Ahir of Sorath and Girnar, so passed and surpassed the ocean that no one was safe (Dittis, I, 11). In the eleventh century (A.D. 1021) Alhazmi (Masani, II, 104) notes that the Bawarij, who take their name from their boats called *bawar* or *bira*, were Mads a seafaring people of Kachh and of Somnath a great place of call for merchants trading between Safala in east Africa and China. About the same time (A.D. 1025) when they despoiled of withstanding Mahmud of Ghazni the defenders of Somnath prepared to escape by sea, and after his victory Mahmud is said to have planned an expedition by sea to conquer Ceylon (Tod's Rajasthan, I, 108). In the twelfth century Hiri (A.D. 1136) notices that Tatariya dirhams, that is the Gupta (A.D. 319-500) and White Mugs (A.D. 600-580) coinage of Sindhi and Gujarat, were in use both in Madagascar and in the Malaya islands (Reinoud's Memoires, 236), and that the merchants of Java could understand the people of Madagascar (Dittis, Abulfeda, cxxxix). With the decline of the power of Anahilavada (A.D. 1250-1300) its fleet ceased to keep order at sea. In A.D. 1290 Marco Polo (Yule's Ed. II, 326, 325, 341) found the people of Gujarat the most desperate

* As an example of the readiness with which an inland race of northwestern conquerors can be converted to piracy, the Franks of the Pontus who about A.D. 577 passed in a few years from the Pontus to the Mediterranean ports and leaving behind them Malta the limit of Greek progress sailed through Sicily to the Balears. Gibbon, I, 404-405.

† Reinoud's Memoires Sur L'Inde, 200. The traders of Chauras, that is of the old Chauras or Chapa country near Veraval and Mangrol, are now known at Bombay as Chavadas. The revised explanation of Chavadas is the red-hot man. It is said in derisive allusion to their large and heavy build. But as the Portuguese historians in their accounts of the large and successful sea expeditions can be hardly more than a pun. This also gives their name to Chavand, Tod's Western India, 200, 206 describes of the Chauras race with traditions of having come from the Red Sea and of a medieval Arabic is the result of taking for Sokatra Saurashtra that is set to the north of Dwarka.

† According to Abulfeda A.D. 1254 (Reinoud's Abulfeda, cxxxix) some of the besieged fled to Ceylon. Farishta (Rizvi's Muhammadan Powers, I, 75) records that after the fall of Somnath Mahmud intended to fit out a fleet to conquer Ceylon and Pegu. According to Bin (Dittis, Ahmed, 140) Ceylon or Sumatra contained a descendant of Somnath till A.D. 1300 when the king Vijayabahu became independent.

* The common element in the two languages may have been the result of Gujarat settlements in Madagascar as well as in Java and Cambodia. This is however doubtful as the common element may be either Arabic or Polynesian.

share in colonising both Java and Cambodia cannot be doubted.¹

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pirates in existence. More than a hundred corsair vessels went forth every year taking their wives and children with them and staying off the whole summer. They joined in fleets of twenty to thirty and made a sea-cordon five or six miles apart. Sokatra was infected by multitudes of Hindu pirates who encamped there and put up their plunder to sale. Ibi Batuta (in Elliot, I. 344-345) fifty years later makes the same complaint. Musliman ascendancy had driven Rajput chiefs to the coast and turned them into pirates. The most notable addition was the Gonds who under Mukheraji Gohil, from his castle on Piram Island, ruled the sea till his power was broken by Muhammad Taghlik in A.D. 1513 (Ras Mala, I. 318). Before their overthrow by the Muhammalans what large vessels the Rajput sailors of Gujarat managed is shown by Prior Odoie, who about A.D. 1821 (Stevenson in Kerr's Voyages, XVIII. 324) crossed the Indian ocean in a ship that carried 700 people. How far the Rajputs went is shown by the mention in A.D. 1270 (Yule's Cathay, 57 in Hornsby's Mongols, I. 247) of ships sailing between Sumatra or Siam and China. Till the arrival of the Portuguese (A.D. 1500-1506) the Ahmedabad rulers maintained their position as lords of the sea.² In the fifteenth century Java appears in the state list of foreign handlers which paid tribute (Hind's Gujarat, 131), the tribute probably being a cess or ship tax paid by Gujarat traders with Java in return for the protection of the royal navy.³ In east Africa, in A.D. 1498 (J. As. Soc. of Bengal, V. 784) Vasco da Gama found sailors from Cambay and other parts of India who guided themselves by the help of the stars in the north and south and had nautical instruments of their own. In A.D. 1610 Albuquerque found a strong Hindu element in Java and Malacca. Sumatra was ruled by Paramashwara a Hindu whose son by a Chinese mother was called Rajput (Commentaries, II. 63; III. 73-79). After the rule of the sea had passed to the Europeans, Gujarat Hindus continued to show marked courage and skill as merchants seamen and pirates. In the seventeenth century the French traveller Mandelstam (A.D. 1628, Travels 101, 106) found Aceh in north Sumatra a great centre of trade with Gujarat. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the Saugamians or Sangar Rajputs of Mandvi in Kachh and of Navanagar in north Kathiawar were much dreaded. In A.D. 1760 Gross describes the small cruizers of the Saugamians troubling boats going to the Persian Gulf, though they seldom attacked large ships. Between A.D. 1803 and 1808 (Low's Indian Navy, I. 274) pirates from Bet established themselves in the ruined temple at Soomath. In 1820, when the English took Bet and Dwarka from the Waghels, among the pirates besides Waghels were Badhels a branch of Bahlors, Bhatts, Kharsas, Lohanas, Makwandas, Rahlors, and Wagharias. A trace of the Chauras remained in the neighbouring chief of Aramra.⁴ Nor had the old love of seafaring deserted the Kathiawar chiefs. In the beginning of the present century (A.D. 1823) Tal (Western India, 452; compare Ras Mala, I. 245) tells how with Biji Singh of Bhavnagar his port was his grand hobby and shipbuilding his chief interest and pleasure; also how Rao Ghor of Kachh (A.D. 1760-1776) built equipped and manned a ship at Mandvi which without European or other outside assistance safely made the voyage to England and back to the Malabar Coast where arriving during the south-west monsoon the vessel seems to have been wrecked.⁵

¹ Crawford (A.D. 1820) held that all Hindu influence in Java came from Kalinga or north-east Madras. Fergusson (Ind. Arch. 103, Ed. 1879) says: The splendid remains at Amravati show that from the mouths of the Krishna and Godavari the Buddhist of north and north-west India colonised Pegu, Ceylon, and eventually the Island of Java. Compare Tavernier (A.D. 1666; Ball's Translation, I. 174.) Manuipatam is the

² When in A.D. 1625 he secured Bahlol's splendid jewelled belt Humayun said: These are the trophies of the lord of the sea. Bayley's Gujarat, 286.

³ Customs in Bombay Public Library II, pages 97-202 of 1766-67, show revenue headings Surat and Cambay with entries of two per cent on all goods imported and exported from either of these places by traders under the Honourable Company's protection.

⁴ These Badhels seem to be Hamilton's (A.D. 1720) Wags of Chaur. (New Account, I. 14) i. This Chaur is Chich near Diu apparently the place from which the Marathas got their Bombay name of Chichis. Towards the close of the eighteenth century Bahlors from Chich seem to have formed a pirate settlement near Lulhan on the Thana coast. Major Price (Memoirs of a Field Officer, 327) notes (A.D. 1793-94) the extraordinary speed with which in travelling from Surat to Bombay by land they passed Diwana through the Chaurah jungle the district of a pastoral community of that name.

⁵ According to Sir A. Burnes (Jl. Bombay Gang. Soc. VI. (1852) 27, 28) the special skill of the people of Kachh in navigation and ship-building was due to a young Rajput of Kachh, Rameshch Mahant, who about a century earlier had gone to Holland and learned those arts. See Bombay Gazetteer, V. 116 note 2.

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Reasons have been given in support of the settlement in Java of large bodies of men from the north-west coasts of India and evidence has been offered to show that the objections taken to such a migration have little practical force. It remains to consider the time and the conditions of the Gujjarat conquest and settlement of Java and Cambodia. The Javan date S. 525 that is A.D. 603 may be accepted as marking some central event in a process which continued for at least half a century before and after the beginning of the seventh century. Reasons have been given for holding that neither the commercial nor the political ascendancy of Rome makes it probable that to Rome the Rām of the legends refers. The notable Roman element in the architecture of Java and Cambodia may suggest that the memory of great Roman builders kept for Rome a place in the local legends. But the Roman element seems not to have come direct into the buildings of Java or Cambodia; as at Amrāvati at the Krishna mouth, the classic characteristics came by way of the Panjāb (Tāhla) only, in the case of Java, not by the personal taste and study of a prince, but as an incident of conquest and settlement.¹ Who then was the ruler of Rām near Taxila, who led a great settlement of Hindus from the Panjāb to Java. Names in appearance like Rome, occur in north-west India. None are of enough importance to explain the prince's title.² There remains the word *raasi* or *ram* applied to salt land in the south Panjāb, in Mārwār, and in north Sindh.³ The great battle of Kārur, about sixty miles south-east of Multān, in which apparently about A.D. 530 Yaśodharman of Mālwa defeated the famous White Hūna conqueror Mihirakula (A.D. 500-550) is described as fought in the land of Rām.⁴ This great White Hūna defeat is apparently the origin of the legend of the prince of Rām who retired by sea to Java. At the time of the battle of Kārur the south Panjāb, together with the north of Sindh, was under the Sahrāsīs of Aror in north Sindh, whose coins show them to have been not only White Hūnas, but of the same Jāvla family which the great conquerors Toramāṇa

only place in the Bay of Bengal from which vessels sail eastwards for Bengal, Arrakan, Pegu, Siam, Sumatra, Cochin China, and the Manillas and west to Hormuz, Makha, and Madagascar. Inscriptions (Indian Antiquary, V. 314; VI. 336) bear out the correctness of the connection between the Kalinga coast and Java which Java legends have preserved. As explained in Dr. Bhandarkar's interesting article on the eastern passage of the Sakas (Jour. B. B. R. A. S. XVII.) certain inscriptions also show a Magadhi element which may have reached Java from Sumatra and Sumatra from the coast either of Bengal or of Orissa. Later information tends to increase the east and south Indian share. Compare Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale Vol. XXVII. (Partie II) 2 Fascicule page 350.

¹ Compare Hsien Tsang in Beal's Buddhist Records II. 222 note 102. Tāhla may be Tochara that is Baktria, but the Panjāb seems more likely. Compare Beal's Life of Hsien Tsang, 136 note 2.

² Idriśi A.D. 1135 (Elliot, I. 92) has a Romala a middling town on the borders of the desert between Multān and Seistan. Cunningham (Ancient Geog. 252) has a Romaka Bannar near where the Nara the old Indus enters the Ran of Kachh.

³ Cunningham's Num. Chron. 3rd Ser. VIII. 241. The Mahābhārata Romakas (William's Works, VII. 176; Cunningham's Anc. Geog. 187) may have taken their name from one of these salt stretches. The Khurdaībhāb (A.D. 912) mentions Romala (Elliot, I. 14, 87, 92, 99) as one of the countries of Sindh. In connection with the town Romala Al Idriśi A.D. 1135 (Elliot, I. 74, 93) has a district three days' journey from Kalbata.

⁴ Cunningham's Numismatic Chronicle 3rd Ser. VIII. 236. The date of Kārur is uncertain. Fergusson (Arch. III. 746) puts it at A.D. 544. It was apparently earlier as in an inscription of A.D. 532 Yaśodharman king of Mālwa claims to hold lands which were never held by either Guptas or Hūnas. Cunningham Num. Chron. 3rd Ser. VIII. 236. Compare History Text, 76, 77.

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and Mihirakula adorned. So close a connection with Mihirakula makes it probable that the chief in charge of the north of the Aror dominions shared in the defeat and disgrace of Kārur. Seeing that the power of the Sāharāis of Aror spread as far south as the Kāthiāwāda ports of Sonmāth and Dīn, and probably also of Dīn at the Indus mouth, if the defeated chief of the south Panjāb was unable or unwilling to remain as a vassal to his conqueror, no serious difficulty would stand in the way of his passage to the seaboard of Aror or of his finding in Dīn and other Sindh and Gujarat ports sufficient transport to convey him and his followers by sea to Java.¹ This then may be the chief whom the Cambodian story names Phra Tong or Thom apparently Great Lord that is Mahārāja.²

The success of the Javan enterprise would tempt others to follow especially as during the latter half of the sixth and almost the whole of the seventh centuries, the state of North India favoured migration. Their defeats by Sassanians and Turks between A.D. 550 and 600 would close to the White Hūnas the way of retreat northwards by either the Indus or the Kābal valleys. If hard pressed the alternative was a retreat to Kashmir or an advance south or east to the sea. When in the early years of the seventh century (A.D. 600-606), Prabhākara-vardhana the father of Śrī Harsha of Magadha (A.D. 610-642) defeated the king of Gandhāra, the Hūnas, the king of Sindh, the Gujjaras, the Lātās, and the king of Malava,³ and when, about twenty years later, further defeats were inflicted by Śrī Harsha himself numbers of refugees would gather to the Gujarat ports eager to escape further attack and to share the prosperity of Java. It is worthy of note that the details of Prabhākara-vardhana's conquests explain how Gandhāra and Lāta are both mentioned in the Java legends; how north-ers from the Panjāb were able to pass to the coast; how the Mārwar stories give the king of Mālwa a share in the migrations; how the fleets may have sailed artists and sculptors acquainted both with the monasteries and stupas of the Kābal valley and Peshāwar and with the carvings of the Ajanta caves. During the second half of the seventh century the advance of the Turks from the north and of the Arabs both by sea (A.D. 637) and through Persia (A.D. 650-660);⁴ the conquering progress of a Chinese army from Magadha to Bāmin in A.D. 645-650;⁵ the overthrow (A.D. 642) of

¹ Jour. As. Soc. Bl. VII. (Plate I.) 228; Burnes' Bokhāra, III. 76; Elliot's History, I. 405. Dīn, which is specially mentioned as a Sāharai port was during the seventh and eighth centuries a place of call for China ships. Yule's Cathay, I. lxix.

² Phra like the Panjāb Ports of the embassy to Angkor in A.D. 30 (though this Ports may be so called merely because he ruled the lands of Alexander's Ports) may seem to be the favourite Parthian name Phraates. But no instance of the name Phraates is noted among White Hūna chiefs and the use of Phra as in Phra Bot or Lord Buddha seems ground for holding that the Phra Tong of the Cambodia legend means Great Lord.

³ Epigraphia Indica, I. 67.

⁴ In A.D. 637 raiders attacked Thēra from Oman and Breach and Sindh from Bahrain. Reinard's Mémoires Sur L'Inde, 170, 176.

⁵ The passage of a Chinese army from Magadha to the Gandhāra river about A.D. 650 seems beyond question. The emperor sent an ambassador Ouang-h-wuentsai to Śrī Harsha. Before Ouang-h-wuentsai arrived Śrī Harsha was dead (died A.D. 642), and his place taken by an usurping minister (Sejua-fu-ti) Alana-chun. The usurper drove off the envoy, who retired to Tibet then under the great Songtsen. With help from Tibet and from the Rāja of Nepal Ouang returned, defeated Alana, and pursued him to the Gandhāra river (Kham-to-wai). The passage was forced, the army captured, the King-queen and king's sons were led prisoners to China, and 580 cities surrendered, the magistrates proclaimed the victory in the temple of the ancestors and the emperor raised Ouang to the rank of Tchi'ao-sau-to-fou. Journal Asiatique Ser.

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the Buddhist Sâhâra by their usurping Brâhmanist minister Chach and his persecution of the Jats must have resulted in a fairly constant movement of northern Indians southwards from the ports of Sindh and Gujârât.¹ In the leading migrations though fear may have moved the followers, enterprise and tidings of Java's prosperity would stir the leaders. The same longing that tempted Alexander to put to sea from the Indus mouth; Trajan (A.D. 116) from the mouth of the Tigris; and Mahmûd of Ghazni from Somnâth must have drawn Śaka, Hûna and Garjjara chiefs to lead their men south to the land of rubies and of gold.²

Of the appearance and condition of the Hindus who settled in Java during the seventh and eighth centuries the Arab travellers Sulaimân A.D. 850 and Masûdi A.D. 915 have left the following details. The people near the volcanoes have white skins pierced ears and shaved heads; their religion is both Brâhmanic and Buddhist; their trade is in the costliest articles camphor aloes cloves and sandalwood.³

CAMBODIA.

CAMBODIA.

The close connection between Java and Cambodia, the alternate supremacy of Cambodia in Java and of Java in Cambodia, the likelihood of settlers passing from Java to Cambodia explain, to a considerable extent, why the traditions and the buildings of Java and Cambodia should point to a common origin in north-west India. The question remains: Do the people and buildings of Cambodia contain a distinct north Hindu element which worked its way south and east not by sea but by land across the Himalayas and Tibet and down the valley of the Yang-tse-kiang to Yunnan and Angkor. Whether the name Cambodia⁴ proves an actual race or historical connection with Kamboja or the Kâbul valley is a point

IV. Tom. X. pages 21-121. The translator thinks the whole war was in the east of India and that the mention of the Gandhâra river is a mistake. The correctness of this view is doubtful. It is to be remembered that this was a time of the widest spread of Chinese power. They held Bâk and probably Bannan. Yule's Cathay, I. lxxviii. Compare Julian in Jour. As. Soc. Ser. IV. Tom. X. 289-291.

¹ Regarding these disturbances see Beal's Life of Hsuan Tsang, 155; Max Müller's India, 286. The Arab writers (A.D. 713) notice to what a degraded state Chach had reduced the Jats. In comparing the relative importance of the western and eastern Indian strains in Java it is to be remembered that the western element has been overlaid by a late Bengal and Kalinga layer of fugitives from the Tibetan conquest of Bengal in the eighth century, the Babu with the Gurkha at his heels, and during the ninth and later centuries by bands of Buddhists withdrawing from a land where their religion was no longer honoured.

² In A.D. 116 after the capture of Babylon and Ctesiphon Hadrian sailed down the Tigris and the Persian Gulf, embarked on the waters of the South Sea, made inquiries about India and regretted he was too old to get there. Rawlinson's Ancient Monarchies, VI. 313.

³ Reinud's Abuifeda, cccxx.

⁴ The origin of the name Kamboja seems to be Kâmbhojapûra, an old name of Kâbul preserved almost in its present form in Ptolemy's (A.D. 160) Kaboura. The word is doubtfully connected with the Achaemenian Kambyases (B.C. 529-521) the Kambojya of the Behistun inscription. In the fifth of the Aśoka edicts (B.C. 240) Kamboja holds the middle distance between Gandhâra or Peshâwar and Yona or Baktria. According to Yaska, whose uncertain date varies from B.C. 500 to B.C. 200, the Kambojas spoke Sanskrit (Muir's Sanskrit Texts, II. 355 note 145). In the last battle of the Mahâbhârata, A.D. 100 to 300 (Jl. Roy, As. Soc. [1842] VII. 139-140), apparently from near Bânan (Pergauon, III. 666) places the original site of the Kambojas in the country round Taxila east of the Indus. This is probably incorrect. A trace of the Kambojas in their original seat seems to remain in the Kambojas of the Hindu Kush.

on which authorities disagree. Sir H. Yule held that the connection was purely literary and that as in the case of *Inthapatha-puri* or *Indraprastha* (Dohli) the later capital of Cambodia and of *Ayodhya* or *Oudh*, the capital of Assam no connection existed beyond the application to a new settlement of ancient worshipful Indian place-names. The objection to applying this rule to Cambodia is that except to immigrants from the *Kábul* valley the name is of too distant and also of too scanty a reputation to be chosen in preference to places in the nearer and holier lands of *Tihut* and *Magadha*. For this reason, and because the view is supported by the notable connection between the two styles of architecture, it seems advisable to accept Mr. Fergusson's decision that the name Cambodia was given to a portion of *Cochin-China* by immigrants from *Kamboja* that is from the *Kábul* valley. Traces remain of more than one migration from India to Indo-China. The earliest is the mythic account of the conversion of Indo-China to Buddhism before the time of *Asoka* (B.C. 240). A migration in the first century A.D. of *Yavanas* or *Sakas*, from *Tamuk* or *Ratnávate* on the *Hugli*, is in agreement with the large number of Indian place-names recorded by *Ptolemy* (A.D. 160).¹ Of this migration *Hien Tsang's* name *Yavana* (*Yen-mo-na*) for Cambodia may be a trace.² A *Saka* invasion further explains *Pausanias's* (A.D. 170) name *Sakææ* for *Cochin-China* and his description of the people as *Skythians* mixed with *Indians*.³ During the fifth and sixth centuries a fresh migration seems to have set in. Cambodia was divided into shore and inland and the name *Camboise* applied to both.⁴ Chinese records notice an embassy from the king of Cambodia in A.D. 617.⁵ Among the deciphered Cambodian inscriptions a considerable share belong to a *Bráhmánic* dynasty whose local initial date is in the early years of the seventh century,⁶ and one of whose kings *Somaśarmman* (A.D. 610) is recorded to have held daily *Mahábháráta* readings in the temples.⁷ Of a fresh wave of *Buddhists*, who seem to have belonged to the northern branch, the earliest deciphered inscription is A.D. 953 (S. 875) that is about 350 years later.⁸ Meanwhile, though, so far as information goes, the new capital of *Angkor* on the north bank of *Jake Tale Sap* about 200 miles up the *Mekong* river was not founded till A.D. 1078 (S. 1000),⁹ the neighbourhood of the holy lake was already sacred and the series of temples of which the *Nakhonwat* or *Nága's Shrine*¹⁰ is one of the latest and finest examples, was begun at least as early as A.D. 825 (S. 750), and

¹ See *Hunter's Orissa*, I. 310.

² *Yavana* to the south-west of *Siam*. *Beal's Life of Hien Tsang*, xxii.

³ Quoted in *Banhury's Ancient Geography*, II. 659. *Banhury* suggests that *Pausanias* may have gained his information from *Marcus Aurelius's* (A.D. 196) ambassador to China.

⁴ *Jour. Bengal Soc.* VII. (L.) 317.

⁵ *Remusat's Nouveaux Mélanges Asiatiques*, I. 77 in *Jour. Asiatique*, Ser. VI, Tom. XIX. page 129 note 1; *Fergusson's Architecture*, III. 678.

⁶ *Barth in Journal Asiatique* Ser. VI, Tom. XIX. page 150.

⁷ *Barth in Journal Asiatique*, X. 57.

⁸ *Barth in Jour. As. Ser. VI, Tom. XIX. page 100; Journal Royal Asiatic Society*, XIV. (1882) cii.

⁹ *Barth in Journal Asiatique* Ser. VI, Tom. XIX. pages 181, 186.

¹⁰ Mr. Fergusson (*Architecture* page 666) and Colonel Yule (*Ency. Brit. Cambodia*) accept the local Buddhist rendering of *Nakhonwat* as the City Settlement. Against this it is to be noted (*Ditto ditto*) that *Nagara* city corrupts locally into *Angkor*. *Nagara* therefore can hardly also be the origin of the local *Nakhon*. Further as the local *Buddhists* claim the temple for *Buddha* they were bound to find in *Nakhon* some source other than its original meaning of *Snake*. The change finds a close parallel in the *Nága* that is *snake* or *Skythian* now *Nágar* or city *Bráhmán* of *Gujarat*.

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Nakhonwat itself seems to have been completed and was being embellished in A.D. 850 (S. 875).¹ During the ninth and tenth centuries by conquest and otherwise considerable interchange took place between Java and Cambodia.² As many of the inscriptions are written in two Indian characters a northern and a southern³ two migrations by sea seem to have taken place one from the Orissa and Masulipatam coasts and the other with the same legend of the prince of Rāma land, from the ports of Sindh and Gujarat.⁴ The question remains how far there is trace of such a distinct migration as would explain the close resemblance noted by Fergusson between the architecture of Kashmir and Cambodia as well as the northern element which Fergusson recognises in the religion and art of Cambodia.⁵ The people by whom this Panjab and Kashmir influence may have been introduced from the north are the people who still call themselves Khmers to whose skill as builders the magnificence of Cambodian temples lakes and bridges is apparently due.⁶ Of these people, who, by the beginning of the eleventh century had already given their name to the whole of Cambodia, Alberuni (A.D. 1031) says: 'The Khmers are whitish of short stature and Turk-like build. They follow the religion of the Hindus and have the practice of piercing their ears.'⁷ It will be noticed that so far as information is available the apparent holiness of the neighbourhood of Angkor had lasted for at least 250 years before A.D. 1078 when it was chosen as a capital. This point is in agreement with Mr. Fergusson's view that the details of Nakhonwat and other temples of that series show that the builders came neither by sea nor down the Ganges valley but by way of Kashmir and the back of the Himalayas.⁸ Though the evidence is incomplete and to some extent speculative the following considerations suggest a route and a medium through which the Roman and Greek elements in the early (A.D. 100-500) architecture of the Kābul valley and Peshāwar may have been carried inland to Cambodia. It may perhaps be accepted that the Ephthalites or White Hūnas and a share of the Kedarites, that is of the later Little Yuechi from Gandhāra the Peshāwar country, retreated to Kashmir before the father of Sri Harsha (A.D. 590-606) and afterwards (A.D. 606-642) before Sri Harsha himself.⁹ Further it seems fair to assume that from

¹ Barth in *Journal Asiatique* Ser. VI. Tom. XIX. 190.

² Yule's *Marco Polo*, II. 108; Reinand's *Albulfeda*, cdxvi.

³ Barth in *Journal Asiatique* Ser. VI. Tom. XIX. 174.

⁴ Mr. Fergusson at first suggested the fourth century as the period of migration to Cambodia. He afterwards came to the conclusion that the settlers must have been much the same as the Gujrat conquerors of Java. *Architecture*, III. 665-678.

⁵ Fergusson *Architecture*, 665. Compare Tree and Serpent Worship, 49, 50. The people of Cambodia seem Indian serpent worshippers; they seem to have come from Taxila.

⁶ The name Khmer has been adopted as the technical term for the early literature and arts of the peninsula. Compare Barth J. As. Ser. VI. Tom. XIX. 193; Renan in *ditto* page 75 note 3 and Ser. VII. Tom. VIII. page 68; Yule in *Encyclopædia Britannica* Art. Cambodia. The resemblance of Cambodian and Kabul valley work recalls the praise by Chinese writers of the Han (n.c. 206-A.D. 24) and Wei (A.D. 386-535) dynasties of the craftsmen of Kipin, that is Kephene or Kamboja the Kābul valley, whose skill was not less remarkable in sculpturing and chiselling stone than in working gold silver copper and tin into vases and other articles. See Barth in *Journal Asiatique*, II. (1883), 333 and note 3. A ninth century inscription mentions the architect Achyuta son of Rāma of Kamboja. *Epigraphia Indica*, I. 243.

⁷ Reinand's *Albulfeda*, cdxvi.; Sachau's *Alberuni*, I. 210.

⁸ Fergusson's *Architecture*, III. 666.

⁹ For the joint Kedarite-Ephthalite rule in Kashmir see Cunningham's *Ninth Oriental Congress*, I. 231-3. The sameness of names, if not an identity of rulers, shows how close was the union between the Ephthalites and the Kedarites. The coins preserve the difference depicting the Yuechi or Kedarite ruler with bushy and the White Hūna or Ephthalite ruler with cropped hair.

Kashmir they moved into Tibet and were the western Turks by whose aid in the second half of the seventh century Srongtsan or Srongdzan-gambo (A.D. 640-698), the founder of Tibetan power and civilization; overran the Tarim valley and western China.¹ During the first years of the eighth century (A.D. 703) a revolt in Nepal and the country of the Brāhmanas was crushed by Srongtsan's successor Donsrong;² and the supremacy of Tibet was so firmly established in Bengal that, for over 200 years, the Bay of Bengal was known as the sea of Tibet.³ In A.D. 709 a Chinese advance across the Pamirs is said to have been checked by the great Arab soldier, Kofisha the comrade of Muhammad Kasim of Sindh.⁴ But according to Chinese records this reverse was wiped out in A.D. 713 by the defeat of the joint Arab and Tibet armies.⁵ In the following years, aided by disorders in China, Tibet conquered east to Hsui on the upper Hoangho and in A.D. 729 ceased to acknowledge the overlordship of China. Though about A.D. 700 he was for a time crippled by China's allies the Shado Turks the chief of Tibet spread his power so far down the Yangtsiang valley that in A.D. 787 the emperor of China, the king of Yunnan to the east of Burma, certain Indian chiefs, and the Arabs joined in a treaty against Tibet. As under the great Thirong (A.D. 803-845) and his successor Thi-tsang-ti (A.D. 878-901) the power of Tibet increased it seems probable that during the ninth century they overran and settled in Yunnan.⁶ That among the Tibetans who passed south-east into Yunnan were Kedarites and White Hūnas is supported by the fact that about A.D. 1290, according both to Marco Polo and to Rashid-ud-din, the common name of Yunnan was Kārājāng whose capital was Yachi and whose people spoke a special language.⁷ The name Kārājāng was Mongol meaning Black People and was used to distinguish the mass of the inhabitants from certain fair tribes who were known as Chuganjang or Whites. That the ruler of Kārājāng was of Hindu origin is shown by his title Mahara or Mahārāja. That the Hindu element came from the Kābul valley is shown by its Hindu name of Kamhar that is Gandhāra or Peshāwar, a name still in use as Gandālarit (Gandhāra-rashtra) the Burmese for Yunnan.⁸ The strange confusion which Rashid-ud-din makes between the surroundings of Yunnan and of Peshāwar is perhaps due to the fact that in his time the connection between the two places was still known and admitted.⁹ A further trace

¹ About A.D. 700 Urumat Kashmir Khosro and Knohe in the Tarim valley became Tibetan for a few years. Parker's *Thousand Years of the Tartars*, 243. In A.D. 691 the western Turks who for some years had been declining and divided were broken by the great eastern Turk conqueror Mezho. The following passage from Masudi (*Travels* D'Ori, I. 289) supports the establishment of White Hūna or Mihira power in Tibet. The sons of Aguir (a general phrase for Turks) mixed with the people of India. They founded a kingdom in Tibet the capital of which they called Med.

² *Encyclopædia Britannica* Articles Tibet and Turkestan.

³ Both Ibn Haikal and Al Istakhrī (A.D. 900) call the Bay of Bengal the sea of Tibet. Compare Reinand's *Ahufeda*, cccviii.; *Encyclopædia Britannica* Article Tibet page 343.

⁴ Yule's *Cathay*, I. lxxxi.

⁵ Hsuey, *Brit. China*, 646.

⁶ Thirong besides spreading the power of Tibet (he was important enough to join with Mañu the son of the great Harin-ar-Rashid (A.D. 788-809) in a league against the Hindus) brought many learned Hindus into Tibet, had Sanskrit books translated, settled Lamasism, and built many temples. It is remarkable that so far as inscriptions are read the series of Nakhonwat temples was begun during Thirong's reign (A.D. 803-845).

⁷ Yule's *Marco Polo*, II. 39-42; J. R. A. Soc. I. 355.

⁸ Yule's *Jour. R. A. Soc.* (N. S.) I. 356.

⁹ Compare Yule in *Jour. R. A. Soc.* (N. S.) I. 353. Kandahar in south-west Afghanistan is another example of the Kedarite or Little Yuchi fondness for giving to their colonies the name of their parent country.

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of stranger whites like the Changanjang of Yunnan occurs south-east in the Anin or Honli whose name suggests the Hūnas and whose fondness for silver ornaments at once distinguishes them from their neighbours and connects them with India.¹ Even though these traces may be accepted as confirming a possible migration of Hūnas and Kedāras to Yunnan and Anin a considerable gap remains between Anin and Angkor. Three local Cambodian considerations go some way to fill this gap. The first is that unlike the Siamese and Cochin Chinese the Khmers are a strong well made race with very little trace of the Mongoloid, with a language devoid of the intonations of other Indo-Chinese dialects, and with the hair worn cropped except the top-knot. The second point is that the Khmers claim a northern origin; and the third that important architectural remains similar to Nakhonwat are found within Siam limits about sixty miles north of Angkor.² One further point has to be considered: How far is an origin from White Hūnas and Kedāras in agreement with the Nāga phase of Cambodian worship. Hiuen Tsiang's details of the Tarim Oxus and Swāt valleys contain nothing so remarkable as the apparent increase of Dragon worship. In those countries dragons are rarely mentioned by Fa Hian in A.D. 400: dragons seem to have had somewhat more importance in the eyes of Sung-Yun in A.D. 520; and to Hiuen Tsiang, the champion of the Mahāyāna or Broadway, dragons are everywhere explaining all misfortunes earthquakes storms and diseases. Buddhism may be the state religion but the secret of luck lies in pleasing the Dragon.³

¹ Compare Yule's Marco Polo, II. 82-84.

² Yule in Ency. Brit. Art. Cambodia, 724, 725, 726.

³ Fa Hian (A.D. 400) about fifty miles north-west of Kanan found a dragon chapel (Beal's Buddhist Records, I. 40) of which a white-eared dragon was the patron. The dragon, he notes, gives seasonable showers and keeps off all plagues and calamities. At the end of the rains the dragon turns into a little white-eared serpent and the priests feed him. At the deserted Kapilavastu in Tibet Fa Hian was shown a tank and in it a dragon who, he says, constantly guards and protects a tower to Buddha and worships there night and morning (Ditto, I. 50).

Sung-Yun (A.D. 519) notices (Beal's Buddhist Records, I. 62) in Swāt (Udyana) a tank and a temple with fifty priests called the temple of the Nāga Rāja because the Nāga supplies it with funds. In another passage (Ditto, 92) he notices that in a narrow land on the border of Po-sho (Fars) a dragon had taken his residence and was stopping the rain and piling the snow. Hiuen Tsiang (Ditto, I. 20) notes that in Kucha, north of the Tarim river east of the Bolor mountains, the Khmer horses are half dragon horses and the Shien men half dragon men. In Aksu, 150 miles west of Kucha, fierce dragons molest travellers with storms of flying sand and gravel (Ditto, 25); the hot lake of Johal, 100 miles north-east of Aksu, is jointly inhabited by dragons and fish; scaly monsters rise to the surface and travellers pray to them (Ditto, 26). An Arhat (page 63) prays that he may become a Nāgarāja. He becomes a Nāgarāja, kills the real Nāgarāja, takes his palace, attaches the Nāgas to him, and raises winds and tempests; Kanishka comes against him and the Arhat takes the form of a Brahman and knocks down Kanishka's towers. A great merit-dame bursts from Kanishka's shoulders and the Brahman Nāgarāja apologises. His evil and passionate spirit, the fruit of evil deeds in a former birth, had made the Arhat pray to be a Nāgarāja. If clouds gathered the monks knew that the Nāgarāja meant mischief. The convent gook was beaten and the Nāgarāja pacified (or scared) (Ditto, 64-66). Nāgas were powerful brutes, cloud-riding wind-driving water-walking brutes, still only brutes. The account of the Nāga or dragon of Jelalābād (in Kamboja) is excellent. In Buddha's time the dragon had been Buddha's milkman. He lost his temper, laid flowers at the Dragon's cave, prayed he might become a dragon, and leaped over the cliff. He laid the country waste and did so much harm that Tathagata (or Buddha) converted him. The Nāga asked Buddha to take his cave. Buddha said No. I will leave my shadow. If you get angry look at my shadow and it will quiet you (Ditto,

This apparent increased importance of dragon or Nāga worship in north-west India during the fifth and sixth centuries may have been due partly to the decline of the earlier Buddhism partly to the genial wonder-loving temper of Hsuen Tsiang. Still so marked an increase makes it probable that with some of the great fifth and sixth century conquerors of Baktria Kābul and the Panjab, of whom a trace may remain in the snake-

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94). Another typical dragon is Apālā of the Swāt river (Ditto, 68). In the time of Kāśyapa Buddha Apālā was a weaver of spells named Gangī. Gangī's spells kept the dragons quiet and saved the crops. But the people were thankless and paid no tithes. May I be born a dragon, cursed Gangī, poisonous and ruinous. He was born the dragon of the Swāt valley, Apālā, who belched forth a salt stream and burned the crops. The ruin of the fair and pious valley of Swāt reached Śākya's (Buddha's) ears. He passed to Mangala and beat the mountain side with Indra's mace. Apālā came forth was lectured and converted. He agreed to do no more mischief on condition that once in twelve years he might ruin the crops. (Ditto, 122.) In a lake about seven miles west of Takashīlā, a spot dear to the exiled Kambojan, lived Elāpatra the Nāgarāja, a Bhikṣu or ascetic who in a former life had destroyed a tree. When the crops wanted rain or fair weather, the Shamana or medicine-men led the people to pray at Elāpatra's tank (page 137). In Kashmir, perhaps the place of birth of the Kambojan in his conquests eastwards, in old times the country was a dragon lake.* Madyantika drove out the waters but left one small part as a house for the Nāga king (I. 150). What sense have these tales? In a hilly land where the people live in valleys the river is at once the most whimsical and the most dangerous force. Few seasons pass in which the river does not either damage with its floods or with its failure and at times glaciers and landslips stop the entire flow and the valley is ruined. So great and so strange an evil as the complete drying of a river must be the result of some one's will, of some one's temper. The Dragon is angry he wants a sacrifice. Again the river ponds into a lake, the lake tops the earth bank and rushes in a flood wasting as only a dragon can waste. For generations after so awful a proof of power all doubts regarding dragons are dead. (Compare Drew's *Cashmere and Jummoo*, 414-421.) In India the Chinese dragon turns into a cobra. In China the cobra is unknown; in India than the cobra no power is more dreaded. How can the mighty unyielding dragon be the little silent cobra. How not? Can the dragon be worshipful if he is unable to change his shape. To the spirit not to the form is worship due. Again the worshipped dragon becomes the guardian. The great earth Bodhisattva transforms himself into a Nāgarāja and dwells in lake Anavatapta whose flow of cool water enriches the world (Buddhist Records, II. 11). In a fane in Swāt Buddha takes the form of a dragon and the people live on him (125). A postilence wasted Swāt, Buddha becomes the serpent Suma, all who taste his flesh are healed of the plague (126). A Nāga maiden, who for her sins has been born in serpent shape and lives in a pool, loves Buddha who was then a Śākya chief. Buddha's merit regains for the girl her lost human form. He goes into the pool slays the girl's snake-kin and marries her. Not even by marriage with the Śākya is her serpent spirit driven out of the maiden. At night from her head issues a nine-crested Nāga. Śākya strikes off the nine crests and ever since that blow the royal family has suffered from headaches (132). This last tale shows how Buddhism works on the coarser and fiercer tribes who accept its teaching. The converts rise to be men though a snake-head may peep out to show that not all of the old leaves is dead. In other stories Buddha as the sacramental snake shows the moral advance in Buddhism from fiend to guardian worship. The rest of the tales illustrate the corresponding intellectual progress from force worship to man, that is mind, worship. The water force sometimes kindly and enriching sometimes fierce and wasting becomes a Bodhisattva always kindly though his goodwill may have to give way to the rage of evil powers. So Brahmanism turns Nārāyaṇa the sea into Śiva or Soma the sea ruler. In this as in other phases religion passes from the worship of the forces of Nature to which in his beginnings man has to bow to the worship of Man or conscious Mind whose growth in skill and in knowledge has made him the Lord of the forces. These higher ideals are to a great extent a veneer. The Buddhist evangelist may dry the lake; he is careful to leave a pool for the Nāgarāja. In times of trouble among the fierce struggles of pioneers and settlers the spirit of Buddha withdraws and leaves the empty shrine to the earlier and the more immortal spirit of Force, the Nāgarāja who has lived on in the pool which for the sake of peace Buddha refrained from drying.

* Kashmir has still a trace of Gandhara. Compare (Ency. Brit. Art, Kashmir page 15): The races of Kashmir are Gandhara, Khasa, and Dardas.

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worshipping Nāga and Takna of the Kannon and Garhwal hills, the Dragon was the chief object of worship. Temple remains show that the seventh and eighth century rulers of Kashmir, with a knowledge of classic architecture probably brought from beyond the Indus, were Naga worshippers.¹ The fact that the ninth century revision of religion in Tibet came mainly from Kashmir and that among the eighteen chief gods of the reformed faith the great Serpent had a place favours the view that through Tibet passed the scheme and the classic details of the Kashmir Nāga temples which in greater wealth and splendour are repeated in the Nakhonwat of Angkor in Cambodia.² It is true that the dedication of the great temple to Naga worship before the Siamese priests filled it with statues of Buddha is questioned both by Lieut. Garnier and by Sir H. Yule.³ In spite of this objection and though some of the series have been Buddhist from the first, it is difficult to refuse acceptance to Mr. Fergusson's conclusions that in the great Nakhon, all traces of Buddhism are additions. The local conditions and the worshipful Tale Sap lake favour this conclusion. What holier dragon site can be imagined than the great lake Tale Sap, 100 miles by 30, joined to the river Mekong by a huge natural channel which of itself empties the lake in the dry season and refills it during the rains giving a water harvest of Salween well as a land harvest of grain. What more typical work of the dragon as guardian water lord. Again not far off between Angkor and Yunnan was the head-quarters of the dragon as the unsquarred fount. In Carrajan ten days west of the city of Yachi Marco Polo (A.D. 1290) found a land of snakes and great serpents ten paces in length with very great heads, eyes bigger than a loaf of bread, mouths garnished with pointed teeth able to swallow a man whole, two fore-legs with claws for feet and bodies equal in bulk to a great oak. He adds: 'These serpents devour the cubs of lions and bears without the sire and dam being able to prevent it. Indeed if they catch the big ones they devour them too: no one can make any resistance. Every man and beast stands in fear and trembling of them. Even in these fiend dragons was the sacramental guardian element. The gall from their inside healed the bite of a mad dog, delivered a woman in hard labour, and cured itch or it might be worse. Moreover, he concludes, the flesh of these serpents is excellent eating and toothsome.'⁴

¹ Mr. Fergusson (*Architecture*, 215) places the Kashmir temples between A.D. 600 and 1200 and allots Martand the greatest to about A.D. 750. The classical element, he says, cannot be mistaken. The shafts are dated Grecian. Durie probably taken from the Gandhara masterpieces of the fourth and fifth centuries. Fergusson was satisfied (*Idem*, 289) that the religion of the builders of the Kashmir temples was Nāga worship. In Cambodia the Brahmanic remains were like those of Java (*Idem*, 667). But the connection between the Nakhonwat series and the Kashmir temples was unmistakable (*Idem*, 297, 665). Nāga worship was the object of both (*Idem*, 677-679). Imperfect information forced Fergusson to date the Nakhonwat not earlier than the thirteenth century (*Idem*, 680, 679). The evidence of the inscriptions which (*J. As. Soc.*, VI. Tom. XIX, page 120) brings back the date of this the latest of a long series of temples to the ninth and tenth centuries adds greatly to the probability of some direct connection between the builders of the Martand shrine in Kashmir and of the great Nakhonwat temple at Angkor.

² *Encyc. Brit. Art. Tibet*, 344.

³ Yule's *Marco Polo*, II. 46, 47.

⁴ *Encyc. Brit. Art. Cambodia*.

APPENDIX V.

ARAB REFERENCES.¹

THE earliest Arab reference to Gujarát is by the merchant Sulaimán² A.D. 851 (A.H. 237). Other Arab accounts follow up to A.D. 1263, a period of over four centuries. Sulaimán describes Jurz or Gujarát as bordering on the kingdom of the Balhára (A.D. 743-974) and as forming a tongue of land, rich in horses and camels and said to have "mines of gold and silver, exchanges being carried on by means of these metals in dust."

Al Biláduri³ (A.D. 892) states that the first Islámic expedition to India was the one despatched against Tíng⁴ (Thána) by Usmán, son of Al-Ási the Thakafi, who in the fifteenth year of the Hijrah (A.D. 636) was appointed governor of Bahrein and Umán (the Persian Gulf) by the second Khalifah Umar, the son of Khattáb. On the return of the expedition, in reply to his governor's despatch, the Khalifah Umar is said to have written: "Oh brother of Thakif, thou hast placed the worm in the wood, but by Alláh, had any of my men been slain, I would have taken an equal number from thy tribe." In spite of this threat Usmán's brother Hakam, who was deputed by the governor to the charge of Bahrein, despatched a force to Bárú⁵ (Broach). Al Biláduri does not record the result of this expedition, but

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A.D. 851-1350.

¹ Contributed by Khán Sáhib Fazlulláh Lutfulláh Faridi of Surat.

² This account which is in two parts is named *Silálat-ul-Tawárikh*, that is the Chain of History. The first part was written in A.D. 851-52 by Sulaimán and has the advantage of being the work of a traveller who himself knew the countries he describes. The second part was written by Abu Zaid-al-Hasan of Siráf on the Persian Gulf about sixty years after Sulaimán's account. Though Abu Zaid never visited India, he made it his business to read and question travellers who had been in India. Abul Hasan-ol-Masúdi (A.D. 915-943) who met him at Baerá is said to have imparted to and derived much information from Abu Zaid. Sir Henry Elliot's History of India, I, 2.

³ Ahmed bin Yahyá, surnamed Abu Ja'far and called Biláduri or Biláuri from his addition to the dictionary of the Malacca bean (*bilákur*, 52) or anacardium, lived about the middle of the ninth century of the Christian era at the court of Al-Mutawakkil the Abbás, as an instructor to one of the royal princes. He died A.H. 279 (A.D. 893-93). His work is styled the *Futúh-ul-Buldan* The Conquest of Countries. He did not visit Sindh, but was in personal communication with men who had travelled far and wide.

⁴ Sir Henry Elliot's History of India, I, 115-116.

⁵ The reason of Umar's dislike for India is described by Al Masúdi (Murá) Arabic Text, Cairo Edition, III, 166-171, to have originated from the description of the country by a philosopher to whom Umar had referred on the first spread of Islám in his reign. The philosopher said: India is a distant and remote land peopled by rebellious infidels. Immediately after the battle of Kalesiah (A.D. 636) when sending out Uthab, his first governor to the newly-founded camp-town of Baerá Umar is reported to have said: "I am sending thee to the land of Al-Hind (India) as governor. Remember it is a field of the fields of the enemy. The third Khalifah Usmán (A.D. 643-655) ordered his governor of Irak to depute a special officer to visit India and wait upon the Khalifah to report his opinion of that country. His report of India was not encouraging. He said: Its water is scarce, its fruits are poor, and its robbers bold. If the troops sent there are few they will be slain; if many they will starve. (Al-Biláduri in Elliot, I, 116.)

⁶ Sir H. Elliot's History of India, I, 116.

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mentions a more successful one to Debal at the mouth of the Indus sent by Hajam under the command of his brother Mughairn. On the death of his uncle Al-Hajjāj (A.D. 714; n. 95) Muhammad the son of Kaseim the Arab conqueror of Sindh, is said to have made peace with the inhabitants of Surmat or Kāthiāwād with whom he states the people of Bātia¹ that is Bet to the north of Dwārka were then at war. Al Bilāduri describes the Bātia men as Meds seafarers and pirates. In the reign of Hishām (A.D. 724) Junaid, son of Abdur Rahmān Al Murri, who was appointed to the frontier of Sindh is stated to have conquered Jura (Gujarat) and Bārds (Broach).² A more permanent result followed a great expedition from Mansūrah in Sindh. This result was the overthrow, from which it never recovered, of the great seaport and capital of Vala or Valabhi.³ Al Bilāduri's next mention⁴ of Gujarat is in connection with the conquest of Sindān in Kachh and the founding there of a Jāmā mosque by Fazl, son of Mahān in the reign of the Abbāsi Khalīfah Al Māmūn. (A.D. 813-833) the son of the famous Hārūn-ur-Rashid. After Fazl's death his son Muḥammad sailed with sixty vessels against the Meds of Hind, captured Mālī⁵ apparently Mālī in north Kāthiāwād after a great slaughter of the Meds and returned to Sindān.

The dissension between Muhammad and his brother Mahān, who in Muhammad's absence had usurped his authority at Sindān, re-established the power of the Hindus. The Hindus however, adds Al Bilāduri, spared the assembly mosque in which for long the Musalmāns used to offer their Friday prayers.⁶ Ibn Khurdādhbih (A.D. 912; n. 200) erroneously enumerates Bārūh and Sindān (Broach and Sindān) as cities of Sindh.⁷ The king of Jura he describes as the fourth Indian sovereign. According to Al Masūdī⁸ (A.D. 915) the country of the Balhāras or Rāshtrakūtas (A.D. 743-974), which is also called the country of Kumkar (Konkan), is open on one side to the attacks of the king of Jura (Gujarat) a prince owning many horses and camels and troops who does not think any king on earth equal to him except the king of Bābal (Babylon). He prides himself and holds himself high above all other kings and owns many elephants, but hates Musalmāns. His country is on a tongue of land, and there are gold and silver mines in it, in which trade is carried on. Al Istakhrī⁹ (n. 340; A.D. 951) gives an itinerary in which he shows the distance between

¹ Sir H. Elliot (Hist. of India) transliterates this as *Batsia*. But neither *Batsia* nor his other supposition (Note 4 Ditto) *Bultha* seem to have any sense. The original is probably *Bātia*, a form in which other Arab historians and geographers also allude to *Bat*, the residence of the notorious *Banārij* who are referred to a little farther on as seafarers and pirates. Ditto, I. 123.

² This important expedition extended to Ujjain. Details Above page 109 and also under Bhīmāl. Raids by sea from Sindh were reported in A.D. 758, 760, 763, and perhaps A.D. 830. Reinand's Fragments, 212. See Above Bhagvānāl's Early History page 96 note 3.

³ Details Above pages 94-96.

⁴ Sir Henry Elliot's History of India, I. 123.

⁵ Sir Henry Elliot (History of India, I. 129) calls it Kallari though (Ditto note 3) he says the text has Mālī.

⁶ Sir H. Elliot's History of India, I. 123.

⁷ Ibn Khurdādhbih a Musalmān of Magian descent as his name signifies, died H. 200 (A.D. 912). He held high office under the Abbāsi Khalīfah at Baghdād (Elliot's History of India, I. 13).

⁸ Abul Hasan Al Masūdī, a native of Baghdād, who visited India about A.D. 916 and wrote his "Meadows of Gold" (Murūj-uz-zahab) about A.D. 900-51 and died A.D. 936 in Egypt. (Sir Henry Elliot's History of India, I. 23-25.)

⁹ Abu Is-hak Al Istakhrī, a native (as his cognomen signifies) of Persepolis who flourished about the middle of the tenth century and wrote his Book of Climes (Kitāb al-Akālīm) about A.H. 340 (A.D. 951). Elliot's History of India, I. 26.

Mansurah and Kāmbhal¹ (Anhilwāra) to be eight days' journey; from Kāmbhal to Kambāya (Cambay) four days; from Kambāya to the sea about two *farasangs* that is between seven and eight miles²; from Kambāya to Surabāya³ perhaps Surabara the Sufat river mouth which is half a *farasang* (between 1½ and two miles) from the sea, about four days. He places five days between Surabāya (Surat) and Sindān (St. John near Daman) and a like distance between Sindān and Saimūr (Chawal or Chenl) thirty miles south of Bombay. Ibnī Haukal⁴ (H. 366; A.D. 976) enumerates⁵ (Fāmbhal)⁶ (Anhilwāra), Kambāya (Cambay), Surabārah (Surat), Sindān (Daman), and Saimūr (Chenl) as cities of Al Hind (India), as opposed to As Sindh or the Indus valley. From Kambāya to Saimūr, he writes, is the land of the Bahāra, which is in the possession of several kings.⁷ Ibnī Haukal describes the land between Kāmbhal (Anhilwāra) and Kambāya (Cambay), and Bānia three days' journey from Mansurah as desert,⁸ and between Kambāya and Saimūr as thickly covered with villages. Al Birūnī,⁹ in his famous *India* about A.D. 1030-31 writes: From Kānan, travelling south-west you come to Āsi, a distance of eighteen *farasakhs*¹⁰ that is of seventy two miles; to Sahīra 17 *farasakhs* or sixty-eight miles; to Chandra 18 *farasakhs* or seventy-two miles; to Rajauri fifteen *farasakhs* or sixty miles; and to Nārāna (near Jaipur) the former capital of Gujārāt, 18 *farasakhs* or seventy-two miles. Nārāna he adds was destroyed and the capital transferred to another town on the frontier. From Nārāna at a distance of 60 *farasakhs* or 240 miles south-west lies Anhilwāra, and thence to Somnāth on the sea is fifty *farasakhs* or 200 miles. From Anhilwāra, passing south is Lārdes with its capitals Bihrah (Broach) and Bahānjur¹¹ (Rāndir) forty-two *farasakhs* (168

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¹ See Appendix A, Volume I. Sir Henry Elliot's History of India.

² Elliot's History of India, 394, where Sir Henry Elliot calculates a *parasang* or *farasang* (Arabic *farasakh*) to be 3½ miles. Al Birūnī, however, counts four *broh* or miles to a *farasakh*. Sachau's Al Birūnī Arabic Text, chapter 18 page 97.

³ Sir Henry Elliot (History of India, I. 403) locates Surabāya somewhere near Surat. The mouth of the Tapti is still known in Surat as the Bāra.

⁴ Ibnī Haukal (Muhammad Abul Kāsim) a native of Bagdad, left that city in H. 331 (A.D. 943), returned to it H. 358 (A.D. 968) and finished his work about H. 366 (A.D. 976). * Sir Henry Elliot's History of India, I. 31. * Elliot, I. 34.

⁵ Sir Henry Elliot (History of India, I. 363) correctly takes Fāmbhal to be a misreading for Āmbhal that is Anhilwāra. Al Birūnī (A.D. 970-1030) uses the name Anhilwāra without any Arab peculiarity of transliteration or pronunciation. Sachau's Arabic Text, 100. Al Idri'ī (end of the eleventh century) styles Anhilwāra "Nahrwāra" (Elliot, I. 84) an equally well known name.

⁷ Sir Henry Elliot's History of India, I. 34.

⁸ M. Gildemeister's Latin translation of Ibnī Haukal's *Ashkal-ul-Bilād* (Sir Henry Elliot's History of India, I. 39).

⁹ Abu Rihān Al Birūnī was a native of Balkh in Central Asia. He accompanied Mahmūd of Ghazni to India in his expeditions and acquired an accurate knowledge of Sanskrit. His acquaintance with this language and Greek and his love of enquiry and research together with his fairness and impartiality, make his *India* a most valuable contribution to our information on India in the end of the tenth and beginning of the eleventh centuries. He finished his work after the death of his patron in A.D. 1030-31. See Sachau's Preface to the Arabic Text of the *India*, ix.

¹⁰ Al Birūnī makes his *farasakh* of four miles. Sachau's Arabic Text, 97.

¹¹ Sir Henry Elliot's translation and transliteration of Bahānjur (History of India, I. 61) are, he it said with all respect to the memory of that great scholar, inaccurate. He cannot make anything of the word (note 3) while in the Arabic Text of Sachau (page 100) the first letter is a plain ر = r and not د = d. From the context also the ancient town of Rāndir seems to be meant. It is plainly written (رامندور) Rānwajir and is very likely the copyist's mistake for the very similar form رمندور or Rāndir.

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miles). These he states are on the shore of the sea to the east of Tāna (the modern Thāna).¹ After describing the coast of Makrān till it reaches Debal² (Karāchi or Thatta) Abū Rihān comes to the coast of Kachh³ and Somnāth, the population of which he calls the Bawārij because, he says, they commit their piratical depredations in boats called Baira.⁴ He gives the distance⁵ between Debal (Karāchi or Thatta) and Kachh the country that yields *mukh* (gum or myrrh)⁶ and *bādrid* (balm) as six *farsakh* (24 miles); to Somnāth (from Debal) fourteen (56 miles); to Kambāya thirty (120 miles); to Asāwal the site of Ahmedābad (from Cambay) two days' journey; to Bahrūj (Broach) (from Debal)⁷ thirty, to Sindān or St. John (from Debal) fifty; to Subāra (Sopara) from Sindān six⁸; to Tāna (from Sopara) five. Rashid-ad-dīn in his translation (A.D. 1310) of Al Birūni (A.D. 970-1031) states⁹ that beyond Gujārat are Konkan and Tāna. He calls Tānah the chief town of the Konkan and mentions the forest of the *Dāngas* as the habitat of the *sharea* an animal resembling the buffalo, but larger than a rhinoceros, with a small trunk and two big horns with which it attacks and destroys the elephant. Al Idrisi,¹⁰ writing about the end of the eleventh century but with tenth century materials, places¹¹ in the seventh section of the second climate, the Gujārat towns of Māmbal (Anhilwāra), Kambāya (Cambay), Subāra (apparently Surabara or Surat), Sindān¹² (Sanjan in Thāna) and Saimūr (Chewal or Chaul). He adds, probably quoting from Al Jaūhari (A.D. 950), that Nahrwāra is governed by a great prince who bears the title of Balhāra who owns the whole country from Nahrwāra to Saimūr. He ranks the king of Juer fourth among Indian potentates. The country from Debal to Kambāya (Karāchi to Cambay) he describes¹³ as "nothing but a marine strand without habitations and almost without water, and impassable for travellers."¹⁴ The situation of Māmbal (Anhilwāra) he gives as between Sindh and Hind. He notices the Meda as Mānda¹⁵ grazing their flocks to within a short distance of

¹ Sachau's Arabic Text of Al Birūni, 95 and Sir Henry Elliot's History of India, I, 61.

² Ephinstone's History of India, Book V, Chapter I, 263 Note 25 (John Murray's 1819 Edition) on the authority of Captain MacMurtrei and Captain Alexander Burnes inclines to the opinion that Debal was somewhere near the site of the modern Karāchi.

³ Sir Henry Elliot's History of India, I, 65. Sachau's Text of Al Birūni, chapter 18 page 102.

⁴ Al Bīḡadiri says the word Barija for a strong built war vessel. Sir Henry Elliot derives the word from the Arabic and gives an interesting note on the subject in his Appendix I, 552. The word is still used in Hindustani as *bola* (بولہ) to signify a boat or bark.

⁵ Sachau's Arabic Text, 102.

⁶ According to Richardson (Arabic Dictionary voce *مقل* myrrh) though rendered gum by all translators. According to the *Makhrus* the word *mukh* (Urdu *gughat*) is Balsamodendrum and Bādrid the corruption of *Bāras* (Urdu *bīrasa*) is balsam or becar.

⁷ Sachau's Arabic Text page 99 chapter 18.

⁸ After giving the distances in days or journeys the Text (page 102 Sachau's Text of Al Birūni) does not particularise the distances of the places that follow in journeys or *farsakhs*.

⁹ Elliot's History of India, I, 67.

¹⁰ Abū Abellāh Muhammad Al Idrisi, a native of Ceuta in Morocco and descended from the royal family of the Idrisids of that country, settled at the court of Roger II. of Sicily, where and at whose desire he wrote his book *The Nuzhat-ul-Mushāhida* or *The Seeker's Delight*. Elliot's History of India, I, 74. Almost all Al Idrisi's special information regarding Sindh and Western India is from Al-Jaūhari governor of Khurasān (A.D. 822-299), whose knowledge of Sindh and the Indus valley is unusually complete and accurate. Compare Reissner's *Abulfeda*, lxxii.

¹¹ Sir Henry Elliot's History of India, I, 77.

¹² Bombay Gazetteer, II, 69.

¹³ Elliot's History of India, I, 79.

¹⁴ Elliot's History of India, I, 76.

¹⁵ Elliot's History of India, I, 79.

Māmhāl (Anhilwāra). He speaks of Māmhāl, Kambāya, Subāra (probably Surabāra or Surat), Sindān, and Saimūr as countries of Hind (India) touching upon Sindh.¹ He describes Māmhāl as a frontier town, numbered by some among the cities of Sindh, and he classifies Aukbin, Mānd, Kulāmmālī (Quilon),² and Sindān (Sandhānīn Kachh) as maritime islands. Among the numerous towns of India are Māmhāl (Anhilwāra),³ Kambāya (Cambay), Subāra, Asāwal (Ahmedābād), Janāwāl (Chunvāl), Sindān, Saimūr, Jandur⁴ (Rāndir), Sandur (apparently a repetition of Rāndir), and Rīmālā (perhaps the south Panjāb).⁵ He speaks of Kalbata, Augashit, Nahrwāra (Anhilwāra), and Lahawar (Lahori Bandar) as in the desert⁶ of Kambāya. Of the three Subāra (Surabāra or Surat), Sindān (the Thāna Sanjān), and Saimūr (Chand), he says Saimūr alone belongs to the Bahāra, whose kingdom, he adds, is large, well-peopled, commercial, and fertile. Near Subāra (apparently Surabāra) he locates small islands which he styles Bāra where, he adds, coconuts and the cootus grow.⁷ East of Sindān, due to a confusion between Sandhān in Kachh and Sanjān in Thāna, he places another island bearing the same name as the port and under the same government as the mainland, highly cultivated and producing the cocoa palm the bamboo and the cane. Five miles by sea from Kulāmmālī lies another island called Mālī, an elevated plateau, but not hilly, and covered with vegetation. The mention of the pepper vine suggests that Al Idrisi has wandered to the Malabar Coast. In the eighth section of the second cline Al Idrisi places Bārūh (Broach), Sandapār (apparently Goa), Tāna (Thāna), Kandārina (Gandhār, north of Broach), Jirbātān a town mentioned by Al Idrisi as the nearest in a voyage from Ceylon to the continent of India on that continent. It is described as a populous town on a river supplying rice and grain to Ceylon.⁸ Kalkāyan, Luluwa, Kanja, and Samandirān, and in the interior Dulaka (Dholka), Janwāl (Chunvāl or Viramgām), and Nahrwār (Anhilwāra).⁹ Opposite the sea-port of Bārūh (Broach), Al Idrisi places an island called Mullān, producing large quantities of pepper. Al Idrisi describes the port of Bārūh (Broach) as accessible to ships from China and Sindh. The distance from Bārūh to Saimūr he puts at two days journey, and that between Bārūh and Nahrwāra (Anhilwāra) at eight days through a flat country travelled over in wheeled carriages drawn by oxen, which he adds furnished the only mode for the conveyance also of merchandise. He locates the towns of Dulaka and Hanawal

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¹ Elliot's History of India, I. 84.

² The details of Kulāmmālī given by Al Kaẓwī (A.D. 1263-1275) seem to show it is Quilon on the Malabar Coast. When a ruler died his successor was always chosen from China.

³ Elliot (I. 363-364) on the authority of Al Istakhri thinks that all the names Anhal, Fimhal, Kūbal, and Māmhāl are faulty readings of Anhal (Anhilwāra) owing to irregularity in the position or absence of diacritical points.

⁴ This is probably Rāndir, a very natural Arab corruption. Instance Al Bīrūnī's Panjūr. See page 507 note 11 and page 530.

⁵ Rīmālā is mentioned at pages 14, 87, 92 and 93 volume I. of Elliot. It is first mentioned (page 14) by Ibn Khurdādhbih (A.D. 912) as one of the countries of Sindh. It is next mentioned by Al Idrisi (end of the seventh century according to Elliot, I. 74) as one of the places of the eighth section describing the coast of India, but is mentioned along with Nahrwāra, Kandhār, and Kalbata (?). At page 92 (Ditto) the same writer (Idrisi) says that Kalbata and Rīmālā are on the borders of the desert which separates Māmhāl from Sindh. Again at page 93 (Ditto) Idrisi gives the distance between Kalbata and Rīmālā as a distance of three days.

⁶ Elliot's History of India, I. 84.

⁷ Elliot, I. 90-93.

⁸ Sir H. Elliot's History of India, I. 85.

⁹ Elliot's History of India, I. 89.

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or Janāwāl (Chunwāl or Jhālāwar) with Asāwāl (Ahmedābād) between Bārth and Nahrwāra. He represents all three of these towns to be centres of a considerable trade, and among their products mentions the bamboo and the coconut. From Bārth to Sandābār (that is Goa), a commercial town with fine houses and rich bazārs situated on a great gulf where ships cast anchor, the distance along the coast given by Al Idrisi is four days. Al Kazwini¹ writing about the middle of the thirteenth century A.D. 1263-1275, but mainly from information of the tenth century notes Saimōr (Chenl) "a city of Hind near the confines of Sindh" with its handsome people of Turkish extraction worshippers of fire having their own fire-temples. Al Kazwini (A.D. 1230) dwells at length on the wonders of Somnāth and its temple. He calls it a celebrated city of India situated on the shore of the sea and washed by its waves. Among its wonders is Somnāth, an idol hung in space resting on nothing. In Somnāth he says Hindus assemble by the ten thousand at lunar eclipses, believing that the souls of men meet there after separation from the body and that at the will of the idol they are re-born into other animals. The two centuries since its destruction by the idol-breaker of Ghaznah had restored Somnāth to its ancient prosperity. He concludes his account of Somnāth by telling how Mahmūd ascertained that the chief idol was of iron and its canopy a loadstone and how by removing one of the walls the idol fell to the ground.

Rivers.

Regarding the rivers and streams of Gujurāt the Arab writers are almost completely silent. The first reference to rivers is in Al Masūdī (A.D. 944) who in an oddly puzzled passage says:² "On the Lārwi Sea (Cambay and Chenl) great rivers run from the south whilst all the rivers of the world except the Nile of the Egypt, the Mehrān (Indus) of Sindh, and a few others flow from the north." Al Birūnī (A.D. 970-1030) states that between the drainage areas of the Sarent and the Ganges is the valley of the river Narmazā³ which comes from the eastern mountains and flows south-west till it falls into the sea near Bahrūch about 180 miles (60 *yojanas*) east of Somnāth. Another river the Sarent (Sarnavati) he rightly describes as falling into the sea an arrowshot to the east of Somnāth.⁴ He further mentions the Tābi (Tapti) from the Vindu or Vindhya hills and the Tāmra Barami or copper-coloured, apparently also the Tāpī, as coming from Mālwa. In addition he refers to the Māhindei or Māhi and the Sarusa apparently

¹ Zakariāh Ibn Muhammad Al Kazwini, a native of Karwin (Kashin) in Persia, wrote his *Nūr-ul-Bidā' or "Signs or Monuments of Countries"* about A.H. 661 (A.D. 1263) compiling it chiefly from the writings of Al Istakhri (A.D. 961) and Ibn Haukal (A.D. 976). He also frequently quotes Mūsā Ibn Mūḥallil, a traveller who (A.D. 942) visited India and China. Sir Henry Elliot's *History of India*, I. 94.

² Barheer De Meynard's Text of Al Masūdī's *Les Prairies D'Or*, I. 382.

³ Sir Henry Elliot misreads *Tamraz* for Al Birūnī's Arabic form of Narmazā. He says: "It comes from the city of Taurus and the eastern hills; it has a south-easterly course till it falls into the sea near Bahrūch about 60 *yojanas* to the east of Somnāth. The literal translation of the text of Al Birūnī (see Sachau's *Al Birūnī's India*, 130) is that given above. It is hard to believe that the accurate Al Birūnī, while in one place (see Sachau's Text, 29) giving the name of the Narmazā faultlessly, should in another place fall into the error of tracing it from Taurus a city of Central Asia. A comparison of Elliot's version with the text sets the difficulty at rest. Compare Sir Henry Elliot's *History of India*, I. 49 and note 3 ditto and Sachau's *Arabic Text of Al Birūnī*, 130 chapter 25.

⁴ Compare Sachau's *Al Birūnī* with Sir Henry Elliot, I. 49, who is silent as to the distance.

Saravati perhaps meant for the Sābarmati. Al Idrisi (A.D. 1100) is the only other Arab writer who names any of the Gujerāt rivers. As usual he is confused, describing Dulka (Dholka) as standing on the bank of a river flowing into the sea which forms an estuary or gulf on the east of which stands the town of Bārāh (Broach).¹

The Arab writers record the following details of twenty-two leading towns:

Anahvalva'da (Āmhal, Fāmhal, Kāmhal, Kāmuhul, Māmhal, Nahl-wāla, Nahwāla). Al Istakhri (A.D. 340; A.D. 951) mentions Āmhal Fāmhal and Kāmhal, Ibnī Haukal (A.D. 976) Fāmhal Kāmhal and Kāmuhul, and Al Idrisi (end of the eleventh century) Māmhal. That these are perversions of one name and that this town stood on the border of 'Hind' or Gujerāt (in contradistinction to Sindh) the position given to each by the Arab geographers² places beyond question. Al Istakhri (A.D. 951) alone calls the place by the name of Āmhal which he mentions³ as one of the chief cities of 'Hind.' Later he gives the name of Fāmhal to a place forming the northern border of "Hind", as all beyond it as far as Makrān belongs to Sindh.⁴ Again a little later⁵ he describes Kāmhal as a town eight days from Mansūrah and four days from Kambāya, thus making Kāmhal the first Gujerāt town on the road from Mansūrah about seventy miles north of Haidarābad in Sindh to Gujerāt. Ibnī Haukal (A.D. 968-976) in his Ashkāl-ul-Bilād gives Fāmhal in his text and Kāmhal in his map⁶ and again while referring⁷ to the desert between Makrān and Fāmhal as the home of the Meds, he styles it Kāmhal. Once more he refers to Fāmhal as a strong and great city, containing a Jāma or Assembly Mosque; a little later⁸ he calls it Kāmuhul and places it eight days from Mansūrah and four from Kambāya. He afterwards contradicts himself by making Mansūrah two days' journey from 'Kāmuhul,' but this is an obvious error.⁹ Al Bīrūnī (A.D. 970-1039) notices Anhilwāra and does not recognize any other form.¹⁰ Al Idrisi (end of the eleventh century) adopts no form but Māmhal referring to it as one of the towns of the second climate¹¹ on the confines of a desert between Sindh and "Hind" (India or Gujerāt) the home of the sheep-grazing and horse and camel-breeding Meds,¹² as a place numbered by some among the cities of Hind (Gujerāt) by others as one of the cities of Sindh situated at the extremity of the desert which stretches between Kambāya, Debal, and Bānia.¹³ Again he describes Māmhal as a town of moderate importance on the route "from Sindh to India," a place of little trade, producing small quantities of fruit but numerous flocks, nine days from Mansūrah through Bānia and five from Kambāya.¹⁴ Al Idrisi (quoting from tenth century

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¹ See Ahmedābād Gazetteer, IV, 335; also Elliot's History of India, I, 355-357.

² See Appendix Elliot's History of India, I, 303.

³ Al Istakhri in Elliot (History of India), I, 27.

⁴ Al Istakhri in Elliot (History of India), I, 30.

⁵ Ibnī Haukal in Elliot (History of India), I, 32-34.

⁶ Ibnī Haukal in Elliot (History of India), I, 34-35.

⁷ Ibnī Haukal in Elliot (History of India), I, 32.

⁸ Ibnī Haukal in Elliot (History of India), I, 40.

⁹ Al Bīrūnī in Elliot (History of India), I, 61.

¹⁰ Al Idrisi in Elliot (History of India), I, 77.

¹¹ Al Idrisi in Elliot (History of India), I, 79.

¹² Bānia seems to be a copyist's error for Bānina or Nāriyāna. The distances agree and the fact that to this day the neighbourhood of Jaipur is noted for its flocks of sheep bears additional testimony to the correctness of the supposition.

¹³ Al Idrisi in Elliot's History of India, I, 84.

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TOWNS.
Anahilavāḍa.

materials) also notices Nahrwāra as eight days' journey from Barūh (Broach) across a flat country a place governed by a prince having the title of the Balhāra, a prince with numerous troops and elephants, a place frequented by large numbers of Musalmāns who go there on business.¹ It is remarkable that though Vanarāja (A.D. 720-780?) founded Anhilwāra as early as about A.D. 750 no Arab geographer refers to the capital under any of the many forms into which its name was twisted before Al Istakhri in A.D. 951. At first Anhilwāra may have been a small place but before the tenth century it ought to have been large enough to attract the notice of Imī Khurādābah (A.D. 912) and Al Masūdi (A.D. 915). In the eleventh century the Musalmān historians of Mahmūd's reign are profuse in their references to Anhilwāra. According to Farihtah² after the capture of Anhilwāra and the destruction of Somnāth (A.D. 1025) Mahmūd was anxious to make Anhilwāra his capital especially as it had mines of gold and as Singaldip (Ceylon) rich in rubies was one of its dependencies. Mahmūd was dissuaded from the project by his ministers.³ But two mosques in the town of Pattan remain to show Mahmūd's fondness for the city. The next Muhammadan reference to Anhilwāra is by Nūr-ud-dīn Mahammad U'fi, who lived in the reign of Shams-ud-dīn Altamash (A.D. 1211).⁴ In his Romance of History U'fi refers to Anhilwāra as the capital of that Jai Rāj, who on receiving the complaint of a poor Musalmān preacher of Cambay, whose mosque the Hindus instigated the fire-worshippers of the place to destroy, left the capital alone on a fleet dromedary and returning after personal enquiry at Cambay summoned the complainant and ordered the chief men of the infidels to be punished and the Musalmān mosque to be rebuilt at their expense.⁵

The Jāmi-ūl-Hikāyat of Muhammad U'fi alludes to the defeat of Sultān Shahāb-ud-dīn or Mahammad bin Sām, usually styled Muhammad Ghori, at the hands of Mōlarāja II. of Anhilavāḍa in A.D. 1178. And the Tājul Ma'adīr⁷ describes how in A.D. 1297 the Musalmāns under Kuth-ud-dīn Albak retrieved the honour of their arms by the defeat of Karan and his flight from Anhilwāra. This account refers to Gujarāt as "a country full of rivers and a separate region of the world." It also notices that Sultān Nāsir-ud-dīn Kabākhāh (A.D. 1246-1266) deputed his general Khāshkhān from Debal to attack Nahrwāla and that Khāshkhān brought back many captives and much spoil. After the conquest of Gujarāt, in A.D. 1300 Sultān Alā-ud-dīn Khilji despatched Ulughkhān (that is the Great Khān commonly styled Altkhān) to destroy the idol-temple of Somnāth. This was done and the largest idol was sent to Alā-ud-dīn.⁸

Asa'wal. Abū Rihān Al Birūni is the first (A.D. 970-1039) of Arab geographers to mention Asa'wal the site of Ahmedābād which he correctly

Chief Towns.
Adinod.

¹ Al Idrisi in Elliot's History of India, I. 9. The Balhāras or Bāshtrakūtas lost their power in A.D. 974. The only explanation of Idrisi's (A.D. 1100) Balhāras at Anhilwāra is that Idrisi is quoting from Al Birūni A.D. 950.

² Farihtah Persian Text Lithographed Bombay Edition, I. 57.

³ Farihtah Persian Text Lithographed Bombay Edition, IV. 48. The Baḥrat-ur-Safā states that it was at Somnāth the Ghaznavide wanted to fix his capital (IV. 42 Persian Text, Lachman Edition). Anahilavāḍa seems more likely.

⁴ Sir Henry Elliot's History of India, II. 155.

⁵ The Jāmi-ūl-Hikāyat in Elliot (History of India), II. 162.

⁶ Elliot's History of India, II. 200.

⁷ Elliot's History of India, II. 229-30.

⁸ Sir Henry Elliot's History of India, III. 74.

places two days' journey from Cambay.¹ The next notice is along with Khābirūn (probably Kāvi on the left mouth of the Māhi) and near Hanāwal or Janāwal, apparently Chunvāl or Virangām, by Al Idrisi (end of the eleventh century) as a town, populous, commercial, rich, industrious, and productive of useful articles.² He likens Asāwal "both in size and condition" to Dhulaka both being places of good trade.³ In the early fourteenth century (A.D. 1325) Zia-ud-din Barni refers to Asāwal as the place where Sultān Muhammad Taghlak (A.D. 1325-1351) hall to pass a month in the height of the rains owing to the evil condition to which his horses were reduced in marching and countermarching in pursuit of the rebel Taghi. In the beginning of the fifteenth century (A.D. 1403-4) the Tārīkh-i-Muhārak Shāhi notices Asāwal as the place where Tātārkhān the son of Zafarkhān had basely seized and confined his own father.⁴ The Mirāt-i-Sikandari also speaks⁵ of Asāwal (A.D. 1403) but with the more courtly remark that it was the place where Zafarkhān the grandfather of Sultān Ahmad the founder of Ahmedābād, retired into private life after placing his son Tātārkhān on the throne.⁶ The Mirāt-i-Sikandari states that the city of Ahmedābād was built⁷ in the immediate vicinity of Asāwal. The present village of Asarwa is, under a slightly changed name, probably what remains of the old town.

Barda. See VALABHI.

Broach (Bāhrū, Bārūh, Bārū) is one of the places first attacked by the Muslim Arabs. In the fifteenth year of the Hīrah (A.D. 636) the Khalīfah Umar appointed Usman son of Abdul Asi to Bahrain. Usman sent Hakam to Bahrain and Hakam despatched a fleet to Bārādīr (or Broach).⁸ Al Bilāduri (A.D. 892-93) speaks of Jumaid the son of Abdur Rahman Al Murri on his appointment to the frontier of Sindh in the Khalīfat of Hishām bin Abdal Malik (A.D. 724-743) sending an expedition by land against Bārūh (Broach) and overrunning Jura⁹ (Gujarāt). Ibn Khurdādhbih (A.D. 912) enumerates Bārūh among the countries of Sindh.¹⁰ Broach is next noticed¹¹ by Al Biruni (A.D. 970-1039) as standing near the estuary of the river Nachada, as 120 miles (30 parasangs) from Debal, and as being with Rahanjur (Rander) the capital of Lardes. In describing the coasts of the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean Al Masūdi (A.C. 915-944) speaks of Broach as بروج adding from which come the famous lance shafts called Bārūsi.¹² Al Idrisi (A.D. 1100) mentions¹³ Bārūh as a large town well-built of brick and plaster, the inhabitants rich, engaged in trade and ready to enter upon speculations and distant expeditions, a port for vessels coming from China and Sindh, being two days' journey from Saimūr (Chen) and eight days from Nahrawān Anhilwāra Pattan. In the fourteenth century (A.D. 1325) Broach is described as in the flames of the insurrection

Appendix V.

ARAB
REFERENCES,
A.D. 651-1350.
Chief Towns.
Actual.

Ahmedābād.

Barda.

Capital and
Port Towns.
Broach.

¹ Sachau's Text, 102.

² Al Idrisi in Elliot (History of India), I. 87.

³ Al Idrisi in Elliot (History of India), I. 88. ⁴ Elliot's History of India, III. 260.

⁵ Bayley's Gujarat, 81. ⁶ Elliot's History of India, IV. 29; History of Gujarat, 81.

⁷ Bayley's Gujarat, 93. ⁸ Al Bilāduri (A.D. 892) in Elliot's History of India, I. 116.

⁹ Al Bilāduri (A.D. 892) in Elliot's History of India, I. 126. Details of this far-reaching affliction of Sindh, Kachh, the Chāraḍā, Chitor, Bhūmal, and Ujjain are given above, History 109.

¹⁰ Ibn Khurdādhbih in Elliot (History of India), I. 14.

¹¹ Al Biruni in Elliot (History of India), I. 49-50, and Sachau's Arabic Text, 100.

¹² Barbier De Meynard's Arabic Text of Les Prairies D'Or, I. 239.

¹³ Al Idrisi in Elliot (History of India), I. 87.

Appendix V.

ARAB
REFERENCES,
A.D. 851-1250.

Port or Coast
Town.
Cambay.

caused by the foreign *amirs* or nobles of the hot-tempered and impolitic Muhammad bin Tughlak (A.D. 1325-1351) who visited it in person to quell their revolt. Ziauddin Barni the famous annalist of his reign and the author of the *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī* speaks of his deputating to Broach by Malik Kabir the future Sultan Firūz Shāh with a letter to the Sultan.¹

Cambay (KAMBĀYA, KAMBĀYAT, KAMBĀYAH, KHAMBĀIT.) According to Al Istakhri (A.D. 951) Kambāya formed the north boundary of the land of the Bahārās.² Al Istakhri describes it as four days from Kāmhāl (Anhilwāra) sixteen miles (4 *farsangs*) from the sea and four days from Surabāya probably Surabāra or the mouth of the Tapti a term which is still in use.³ Al Masūdī (A.D. 915) in speaking⁴ of the ebb and flow of the ocean mentions Kambāya. He notices that Kambāya was famous in Baghdād, as it still is famous in Gujarāt, for its shoes. These shoes, he says, were made in Kambāya and the towns about it like Sindān (Sanjan in Thana) and Sufārsh (Supāra). He notices that when he visited Kambāya in H. 303 (A.D. 913-14) the city was ruled by a Brāhman of the name of Bānī, on behalf of the Bahāra, lord of Mankir (Malkhet). He states that this Bānī was kind to and held friendly discussions with stranger Muslims and people of other faiths. He gives a pleasing picture of Cambay, on a gulf far broader than the estuaries of the Nile, the Euphrates, or the Tigris whose shores were covered with villages, estates, and gardens wooded and stocked with palm and date groves full of peacocks parrots and other Indian birds. Between Kambāya and the sea from which this gulf branches was two days' journey. When, says Al Masūdī, the waters ebb from the gulf stretches of sands come to view. One day I saw a dog on one of these desert-like stretches of sand. The tide began to pour up the gulf and the dog hearing it ran for his life to the shore, but the rush was too rapid. The waters overtook and drowned him. Al Masūdī speaks of an emerald known as the Makkan emerald being carried from Kambāya by Aden to Makkah where it found a market.⁵ Ibn Haukal (A.D. 968-995) names Kambāya among the cities of Hind.⁶ In his time there were Jāma or assembly mosques in Kambāya, where the precepts of Islām were openly taught. Among the productions of Kambāya he gives mangoes coconuts lemons and rice in great plenty and some honey but no date trees.⁷ He makes Kambāya four miles (one *farsang*) from the sea and four (that is four days' journey) from Subāra apparently Surabāra that is Surat. The distance to Kāmhāl or Anhilwāra by some mistake is shown as four *farsangs* instead of four days' journey.⁸ Al Birūnī (A.D. 970-1031) places Kambāya within the large country of Gujarāt (120 miles)⁹ (30 *farsakhs*) from Delāl (Karachi). He says the men of Kambāya receive tribute from the chiefs of the island of Kis or Kish (probably Kich-Makran).¹⁰ Al Idrisī (A.D. 1100) places Kambāya with other Gujarāt cities in the second

¹ Elliot's History of India, III. 256-260.

² Al Istakhri in Elliot (History of India), I. 27.

³ Al Istakhri in Elliot (History of India), I. 30.

⁴ Pairsies D'Or (Barbier De Meynard's Arabic Text), I. 253-54.

⁵ Pairsies D'Or (Arabic Text), III. 47.

⁶ Ibn Haukal in Elliot (History of India), I. 34.

⁷ Ibn Haukal in Elliot (History of India), I. 33.

⁸ Ibn Haukal in Elliot (History of India), I. 32.

⁹ Rashid-ul-din from Al Birūnī in Elliot's History of India, I. 65 and Sachau's Arabic Text, chapter 18 pages 90-102.

¹⁰ Sir Henry Elliot's History of India, I. 67.

climate.¹ He says it is a pretty and well known naval station, second among the towns of Gujrat.² It stands at the end of a bay three miles from the sea where vessels can enter and cast anchor. It is well supplied with water and has a fine fortress built by the Government to prevent the incursions of the pirates of Kich (Makran). From Kambhaya to the island of Aubkin (Pirani) is two and a half days' sail and from Aubkin to Debal (or Karachi) two days more. The country is fertile in wheat and rice and its mountains yield the bamboo. Its inhabitants are idolaters. In his *Tarjimat-ul-Amsar*, Abdullah Wassaf³ in A.D. 1200 (H. 699) writes: "Gujarat which is commonly called Kambayat contains 70,000 villages and towns all populous and the people abounding in wealth and luxuries. In the course of the four seasons seventy different species of beautiful flowers bloom. The purity of the air is so great that the picture of an animal drawn with the pen is lifelike. Many plants and herbs grow wild. Even in winter the ground is full of tulips (poppies). The air is healthy, the climate a perpetual spring. The moisture of the dew of itself suffices for the cold season crops. Then comes the summer harvest which is dependent on the rain. The vineyards bring forth blue grapes twice a year."

The trade in horses from the Persian islew and coast and from Katif, Lahsa, Bahrain, and Hormuz was so great that during the reign of Atabak Abu Bakr⁴ (A.D. 1154-1189) 10,000 horses worth 2,250,000 *dirhams* (Rs. 1,10,00,000) were imported into Cambay and the ports of Malabar. These enormous sums were not paid out of the government treasuries but from the endowments of Hindu temples and from taxes on the courtiers attached to them. The same author mentions the conquest of Gujrat and the plunder of Kambayat by Malik Muiz-ud-din (called by Farishtah Alf and by Barni U'lugh meaning the great Khan.) The *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi* states that Nasrat Khan and not U'lugh Khan took and plundered Cambay and notices that in Cambay Nasrat Khan purchased Kafur Hasiir Dinari (the thousand Dinari Kafur), the future favourite minister and famous general of Alauddin. About fifty years later the hot-headed Muhammad bin Tughlak (A.D. 1325-1351) was in Cambay quelling an insurrection and collecting the arrears of Cambay revenue.⁵

Appendix V.

ARAB
REFERENCES.
A.D. 851-1350.
Port or Coast
Town,
Cambay.

¹ Sir Henry Elliot's History of India, I. 77.

² Sir Henry Elliot's History of India, I. 84. ³ *Tarjimat-ul-Amsar* in Elliot, III. 52.

⁴ *Saddi's* patron mentioned by him in his Garden of Roses.

⁵ The word *dirham* is from the Latin *denarius* (a silver coin worth 10 ss. of brass) through the Greek *denarius*. It is a Kufic word, the ancient Arabic equivalent being *دراهم* *dirham*. The *dirham* equiva or *denat* varied in value in different times. In Abu Hanifah's (the greatest of the four Sunni Jurisconsults) time (A.D. 749) its value ranged from 10 to 12 *dirhams*. Then from 20 to 25 *dirhams* or *drachmas*. As a weight it represented a drachma and a half. Though generally fluctuating, its value may be assessed at 18, or 19 francs to half a sovereign. For an elaborate article on the *Dirham* see Yule's Cathay, II. 439; Burton's Alf Lillah, I. 32. The word *Dirham* is used in Arabic in the sense of "silver" (vulg. silver) the Greek *denarius* and the *drachma* of Plautus. This silver piece was 97d. and as a weight 86½ grains. Sir Henry Elliot does not speak more at length of the *dirham* and the *drachma* than to say (History of India, I. 464) that they were introduced in India in the reign of Alauddin Malik (A.D. 696) and Elliot, VIII. 31) that the *dirham* was a Kufi and the *drachma* a Persian coin. The value of the *dirham* in modern Indian currency may be said to be Rs. 5 and that of the *drachma* nearly annas 4.

⁶ Wassaf gives the date of this event as A.C. 1298, but the *Tarikh-i-Alauddin* of Amir Khusrav places it as A.C. 1292. See Elliot's History of India, III. 43 and 74.

⁷ Elliot's History of India, III. 256-57.

Appendix V.

ARAB
REFERENCES,
A.D. 851-1350.
Port or Coast
Towns
Cheul.

Cheul (Saimūr). Al Masūdī (A.D. 943) is the first Arab geographer to mention Saimūr.¹ He says: On the coast as in Saimūr Sabāra and Tāna the *Lōriyyā* language is spoken. In describing Saimūr Al Masūdī states² that at the time of his visit (A. 304; A.D. 914) the ruler on behalf of the Balhāra was Jhāṭṭha (this is the fifth Silahāra A.D. 916). Nearly ten thousand Mesalmāns were settled in Saimūr including some (called Bayāsrah) born in the land of Arab parents and others from Sīrā and Persian Gulf, Basrah, Baghdād, and other towns. A certain Mūsā bin Is-hāk was appointed Rāṭa or ruler³ by the Balhāra or Valabhi, that is the reigning Rāshtrakūta Indra Nityūbhvarsha to adjudicate Muhammadan disputes according to Musalmān law and customs. He describes⁴ at length the ceremony of self-destruction by a *ḥazār* youth (a Hindu by religion) to gain a better state in his future life, his scalping himself and putting fire on his head, his cutting out a piece of his heart and sending it to a friend as a souvenir.

Al Istākhrī (A.D. 951) mentions Saimūr as one of the cities of Hind, makes it the southern end of the Balhāra kingdom with Kambāya as the northern,⁵ and places it at a distance of five days from Sindān (the Thāna Shūfān) and fifteen days from Sarandīb or Ceylon.⁶ Ibnī Haukal (A.D. 968) notices Saimūr as one of the cities of Hind known to him and mentions the sea of Fārs (or the Indian Ocean) as stretching from Saimūr on the east to Tiz or Makrān.⁷ He states⁸ that the country between Saimūr and Tānhal (Anhilavāra) belongs to Hind. He makes⁹ the distance between Subāra (probably Surabāra or Swat), Sindān, and Saimūr five days each and between Saimūr and Sarandīb (Ceylon) fifteen days. Al Bīrūnī (A.D. 1020) says:¹⁰ "Then you enter the land of Lārān in which is Saimūr also called *Jaimūr* or *Chaimūr*." Al Idrisī (end of the eleventh century) mentions Saimūr as one of the towns of the second climate.¹¹ He describes it as large and well-built, five days from Sindān and among its products notes coconut trees in abundance, henna (*Lawsonia inermis*), and on its mountains many aromatic plants.¹² His remark that Saimūr formed a part of the vast, fertile, well-peopled and commercial kingdom of the Balhāras must be taken from the work of Al-Jauharī (A.D. 950).

Al Kāzwinī (A.D. 1236) quoting Miskā bin Muḥallil (A.D. 942) describes Saimūr as one of the cities of Hind near the confines of Sind,¹³ whose people born of Turkish and Indian parents are very beautiful. It was a flourishing trade centre with a mixed population of Jews, Firewor-

¹ Al Masūdī in Elliot (History of India), I. 24.

² Ptolemy D'Or. II. 85.

³ He was called a Balram or Haimak in the language of the country. Al Masūdī's Murāj Arabic Text Cairo Edition, II. 66.

⁴ Al Masūdī's Murāj Arabic Text Cairo Edition, II. 56-57.

⁵ One born in India of an Arab father and an Indian mother probably from the Gujarātī word *ḥāḥ* *ḥāra* meaning mixed blood. This seems the origin of the Bait Rajput. The performer in the case in the text was a Hindu. Al Masūdī (Murāj Arabic Text II. 57) Cairo Edition) says that the singular of Bayāsrah is Basar.

⁶ Al Istākhrī in Elliot (History of India), I. 27.

⁷ Al Istākhrī in Elliot (History of India), I. 30.

⁸ Ibnī Haukal in Elliot (History of India), I. 33-34.

⁹ Ibnī Haukal in Elliot (History of India), I. 38.

¹⁰ Ibnī Haukal in Elliot (History of India), I. 38.

¹¹ Al Bīrūnī Sachau's Arabic Text, 102; Elliot's History of India, I. 39, 66.

¹² Al Idrisī in Elliot (History of India), I. 77.

¹³ Al Idrisī in Elliot (History of India), I. 77, 85.

¹⁴ Al Kāzwinī in Elliot (History of India), I. 97.

shippers, Christians, and Musalmāns.¹ The merchandise of the Turks (probably of the Indo-Afghan frontier) was conveyed thither and the best of aloes were exported and called *Saimūrī* after its name. The temple of Saimūr was on an eminence with idols of turquoise and *bañjadak* or ruby. In the city were many mosques churches synagogues and fire-temples.

Dholka (DOLAKA). Al Idrisi (end of the eleventh century) places Dhalaka and another town he calls Hanāwal that is Chnawal or Janawal perhaps Jhalāwār between Bārūh (Broach) and Nahrwāra. He describes Dhalaka as on the banks of a river (the Saharmati) which flows into the sea, which forms an estuary or gulf on the west (east) of which stands the town of Bārūh. Both these towns, he adds stand at the foot of a chain of mountains which lie to the north and which are called *Unaluran* apparently Vindhya. The *kana* (bamboo) grows here as well as a few coconut trees.²

Goa. See SINDHUR.

Gondal (KONDAL). Zia-ud-din Barni in his *Tārīkh-i-Firuz Shāhi* states³ that Sultan Muhammad Taghlak spent (A.D. 1349) his third rainy season in Gujarat in Kondal (Gondal). Here the Sultan assembled his forces before starting on his fatal march to Sindh.

Kachh. Al Biruni (A.D. 970-1031) is the only Arab writer who refers to Kachh. He calls Kachh⁴ with Somnāth the head-quarters of the country of the Bawārij or Medh pirates. Speaking of the Indus he notices⁵ that one of its branches which reaches the borders of Kachh is known as Sind Sagar. In a third passage he refers⁶ to Kachh as the land of the *mūlī* or balsamodendron and of *bādrūd* or betowar. It was twenty-four miles (6 *farsangs*) from Debal (Karachi). According to the *Tārīkh-i-Maṣūmī*⁷ when (A.D. 1069) the sovereignty of Sindh passed from the descendants of Mahmūd of Ghazni to the Sammas, Singhar, the grandson of Sumra (A.D. 1069)⁸ extended his sway from Kachh to Nasarpur⁹ near Sindh Haidarābād and Khaff the son of Singhar consolidated his power and made Kachh a Sumra dependency.¹⁰ Dāda the grandson of Khaff quelled a threatened Sumra rising by proceeding to Kachh and chastising the Sammas.¹¹ On the fall of the Sammas the Chāsuras became masters of Kachh from whose hands the country passed to those of the Sammas. Ground down under the iron sway of the Sammas a number of Sammas fled from Sindh and entered Kachh where they were kindly received by the Chāsuras who gave them land to cultivate. After acquainting themselves with the country and the resources of its rulers the Samma immigrants who seem to have increased in numbers and strengthened themselves by union, obtained possession by stratagem but not without heroism of the chief fortress of Kachh.¹² This fort now in ruins

Appendix V.

ARAB
REFERENCES,
A.D. 851-1550.

Chief Towns,
Dholka.

Goa,
Gondal.

Capitals,
Kachh.

¹ Though Al Kāwālī wrote in the thirteenth century, he derives his information of India from Misār bin Mubāhbil, who visited India about A.D. 942. Elliot (History of India), I. 94.

² Al Idrisi in Elliot (History of India), I. 87.

³ *Tārīkh-i-Firuz Shāhi* by Zia Barni (Elliot's History of India), III. 204-65.

⁴ Rashid-ud-din (A.D. 1310) from Al Biruni in Elliot's History of India, I. 65.

⁵ Rashid-ud-din (A.D. 1310) from Al Biruni in Elliot's History of India, I. 49.

⁶ Rashid-ud-din (A.D. 1310) from Al Biruni in Elliot's History of India, I. 65.

⁷ Written A.D. 1900 (Elliot), I. 213. ⁸ *Tārīkh-i-Maṣūmī* in Elliot, I. 16.

⁹ Tuhfatul Akram in Elliot, I. 544. ¹⁰ *Tārīkh-i-Maṣūmī* in Elliot, I. 217.

¹¹ *Tārīkh-i-Maṣūmī* in Elliot, I. 218.

¹² *Tārīkh-i-Takrī* (Elliot's History of India), I. 267-68.

Appendix V.

ARAB
REFERENCES,
A.D. 851-1350.

Capitals.

Kaira.

Chief Towns.

Kābirūn.

Kambay.

Kanauj.

was the fort of Gūnri.¹ The *Tārīkh-i-Tāhīrī* states that up to the time the history was written (A.D. 1623)² the country was in the possession of the Samatras, both the Rāis Bhāra and Jām Sīhta of great and little Kachh in his time being of Samatra descent.

Kaira (Kāra). One mention of Kaira apparently Kaira or Kheda occurs in Zīādīdīn Barmī's³ account of Muḥammad Taghīak's (A.D. 1325) pursuit of his rebellious Gujarāt noble Tāghī. He speaks of Muḥammad's detention for a month at Asāwal during the rains and his overtaking and dispersing Tāghī's forces at Kaira. From Kaira the rebels fled in disorder to Nahrwāra (Auhīwāra). Several of Tāghī's supporters sought and were refused shelter by the Rāna of Māndal that is Pātri near Viramgam.

Kābirūn. Al Idrīsī (end of the eleventh century) mentions Kābirūn and Asāwal as towns of the same 'section' both of them populous, commercial, rich, and producing useful articles. He adds that at the time he wrote the Muslims had made their way into the greater portion of these countries and conquered them. Kābirūn like the Akalūron of the *Periplus* (A.D. 249) is perhaps a town on the Kāveri river in south Gujarāt.

Kambay. See CAMBAY.

Kanauj. Al Masūdī⁴ (A.D. 956) is the first Arab traveller who gives an account of Kanauj. He says:⁵ "The kingdom of the Badūm king of Kanauj extends about a hundred and twenty square *parangs* of Sindh, each *parang* being equal to eight miles of this country. This king has four armies according to the four quarters of the world. Each of them numbers 700,000 or 900,000. The army of the north wars against the prince of Multān and with his Muslim subjects on the frontier. The army of the south fights against the Bahāra king of Mankir. The other two armies march to meet enemies in every direction. Ibn Haukal (A.D. 968-976) says⁶ that from the sea of Fārs to the country of Kanauj is three months' journey. Rashīd-ud-dīn from Al Bīrūnī (A.D. 970-1039) places⁷ Kanauj south of the Hīmalayās and states⁸ that the Jamna falls into the Ganga below Kanauj which is situated on the west of the river (Ganga). The chief portion of Hind included in the "second climate" is called the central land or Madhya Desh. He adds that the Persians call it Kanauj. It was the capital of the great, haughty, and proud despots of India. He praises the former magnificence of Kanauj, which he says being now deserted by its ruler has fallen into neglect and ruin, and the city of Bāri, three days' journey from Kanauj on the eastern

¹ Journal Asiatic Society of Bengal for February 1855, 102.

² Sir Henry Elliot's History of India, I. 268.

³ *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī* in Elliot, II. 260.

⁴ In his Arabic Text of the *Murūj* (Prairies D'Or, Cairo Edition) Al Masūdī writes the name of the Kanauj king as Farwarah. (If the *F* stands for *P* and the *w* for *ar*, as is quite possible in Arab writing, then this can be Parmarah the Arab plural for Parmar.) At volume I, page 240 the word Farwarah is twice used. Once: "And the king of Kanauj, of the kings of Sindh (India) is Farwarah." Again at the same page (240): "And Farwarah he who is king of Kanauj is opposed to Bahāra." Then at page 241: Farwarah is again used in the beginning of the account quoted by Elliot in I. 23.

⁵ Elliot's History of India, I. 23. In the Cairo Edition of the Arabic Text of Al Masūdī's *Murūj* (Prairies D'Or) vol. I, page 241 is the original of this account.

⁶ Elliot's History of India, I. 23.

⁷ Elliot's History of India, I. 45.

⁸ Elliot's History of India, I. 49.

side of the Ganges being now the capital. Kanauj was celebrated for its descendants of the Pāndavas as Māhara (Mathra) is on account of Bāa Dev (Krishna). Al Idrisi, end of the eleventh century, speaks¹ of Kanauj in connection with a river port town of the name of Samandār "a large town, commercial and rich, where there are large profits to be made and which is dependent" on the rule of the Kanauj king. Samandār, he says, stands on a river coming from Kashmir. To the north of Samandār at seven days is, he says, the city of Inner Kashmir under the rule of Kanauj. The Chāch Nāmah (an Arabic history of great antiquity written before A.D. 753, translated into Persian in the time of Sultān Nāsriddīn Kabāchah) (A.D. 1216) says² that when Chāch (A.D. 631-670) advanced against Akham Lohāna of Brahmanābād that the Lohāna wrote to ask the help of "the king of Hindustān," that is Kanauj, at that time Satbān son of Rāsal, but that Akham died before his answer came.

Kol. Ibn Khurdādhah (A.D. 912) has Kol seventy-two miles (18 *far-sakhs*) from Sanjān in Kachh.³ And the Tāj-ul-Māadār relates how in A.D. 1194 Kutbuddin advanced to Kol and took the fort.

Ma Ikhet (*Matukh*). Al Masūdī (A.D. 943) is the first Arab writer to mention *Māukh* that is Mānyākhetā now Mālkhet about sixty miles south-east of Sholapur. In relating the extinction of the great Brahma-born dynasty of India Al Masūdī states⁴ that at the time the city of Māukh, the great centre of India, submitted to the kings called the *Balhāras* who in his time were still ruling at Māukh.⁵

Al Masūdī correctly describes the position of Mālkhet as eighty Sindh or eight-mile *farakhs* that is six hundred and forty miles from the sea in a mountainous country. Again he notices that the language spoken in Māukh was Kiriya,⁶ called from Kura or Kanam the district where it was spoken. The current coin was the *Tārtariyah dirham* (each weighing a dirham and a half)⁷ on which was impressed the date of the ruler's reign. He describes the country of the Balhāras as stretching from the Kanak (or Konkan) in the south or south-west north to the frontiers of the king of Juzr (Gujarat), "a monarch rich in men horses and camels." Al Istakhri (A.D. 951) describes Māukh as the dwelling of the wide-ruling Balhāra. Ibn Haukal (A.D. 968-976) repeats almost to the letter the information given by Al Istakhri. The destruction of Mālkhet (Mānya Kheta) by the western Chālukya king Tailappa in A.D. 972 explains why none of the writers after Ibn Haukal mentions Māukh.

Appendix V.

ARAB
REFERENCES,
A.D. 851-1350.
Chief Towns,
Kanauj.

Kol.

Mālkhet.

¹ Elliot, I. 90.² Elliot's History of India, I. 147.³ Sir Henry Elliot's History of India, I. 16.⁴ Tāj-ul-Māadār in Sir Henry Elliot's History of India, II. 222. "After staying some time at Delhi he (Kutb-ul-din) marched in A.D. 1194 (H. 590) towards Kol and Bonaras passing the Jumna which from its exceeding purity resembled a mirror. It would seem to place Kol near Bonaras."⁵ Al Masūdī's Prairies D'Or (Arabic Text), I. 167.⁶ Al Masūdī in Elliot (History of India), I. 19, 20, 21 and Prairies D'Or, I. 178.⁷ Al Masūdī Arabic Text Prairies D'Or, (I. 281); Al Masūdī in Elliot (History of India), I. 24.⁸ That is an Arab dirhem and a half. Al Istakhri in Elliot (History of India), I. 27. These *Tārtariyya* dirhems are mentioned by almost all Arab writers. Al Idrisi says they were current in Mansūrah in Sindh and in the Malay archipelago. See Elliot, I. 3 note 4. According to *Sulaiman* (A.C. 351) the *Tārtariya* dirham weighed "a dirham and a half of the coinage of the king." Elliot, I. 3. Al Masūdī (Prairies D'Or, I. 382) calls these "*Tārtariyyah*" dirhams, giving them the same weight as that given by *Sulaiman* to the *Tārtariyah* dirhams. Ibn Haukal calls it the *Tārti* dirhem and makes its weight equal to "a dirham and a third" (Elliot, I. 83).

Appendix V.

ARAB
REFERENCES,
A.D. 801-1330,
Chief Towns.

Nārāna.

Māndal Ibnī Khurdādhah (A.D. 912) enumerates Māndal (in Viramgam) with Rāmā,¹ Kuli, and Bārūh as counties of Sindh. During the Khilafat of Hishām the son of Abdal Malik (A.D. 724-743) Junaid son of Abdur Rahman-al-Murri was appointed to the frontier of Sindh. According to Al Bilāduri (A.D. 892) Junaid sent his officers to Māndal,² Dahnaj perhaps Kamlej, and Bāhrās (Broach).

Nārāna. In his Indica Al Biruni (A.D. 970-1031) notices Nārāna near Jaipur as the ancient capital of Gujarāt. He says that its correct name is Bazānah but that "it is known to our people (the Arabs) as Nārāna." He places it eighty miles (20 *farsakhs*) south-west of Kamanj, and adds that when it was destroyed the inhabitants removed to and founded another city.³ Abū Rihān makes Nārāna the starting point of three itineraries to the south the south-west and the west. Al Biruni's details suffice to place this centre in the neighbourhood of the modern Jaipur and to identify it with Nārāyan the capital of Bairat of Matsya which according to Farihtah⁴ Mahmūd of Ghazni took in A.D. 1022 (H. 412).

Rānder.

Rānder (RĀHANJĪR OR RAHANJĪR). Al Biruni (A.D. 1031) gives⁵ Rāhanjūr and Bāhrāj (Broach) as the capitals of Lar Dēsh or south Gujarāt. Elliot (Note 3. I. 61) writes the word Dahnahūr or Dahanahūr but the reading given by Sachau in his Arabic text of Al Biruni (page 100 chapter 15) is plainly Rahanjūr (رحانجور) and the place intended is without doubt Rānder on the right bank of the Tāpi opposite Sarat. In his list of Indian towns Al Idrisi (end of the eleventh century) seems to refer⁶ to it under the forms Jandūr and Sandūr.

Sanjān.

Sanjān (SINDĀN). The two Sanjāna, one in Kachh the other in Thāna, complicate the references to Sindān. Sindān in Kachh was one of the earliest gains of Islam in India. Al-Bilāduri⁷ (A.D. 892) speaks of Faal, the son of Māhān, in the reign of the greatest of the Abbāsi Khalifās Al-Māmūn (A.D. 813-833), taking Sindān and sending Al Māmūn the rare present of "an elephant and the longest and largest *sej* or turban or teak spar ever seen." Faal built an assembly mosque that was spared by the Hindus on their recapture of the town. Ibnī Khurdādhah (A.D. 912) includes this Kachh Sindān with Broach and other places in Gujarāt among the cities of Sindh. In his itinerary starting from Bakkar, he places Sindān seventy-two miles⁸ (18 *farsakhs*) from Kol. Al Maaddi (A.D. 915-944) states that Indian emeralds from (the Kachh) Sindān and the neighbourhood of Kambāyat (Cambay) approached those of the first water in the intensity of their green and in brilliance. As they found a market in Makkah they were called Makkah emeralds.⁹ Al Istakhri (A.D. 951) under cities of Hind places the Konkani Sindān five days from Surabāyā (Surabāra or Surat) and as many from Saimīr.¹⁰

¹ Kūmlah is *rumma* salt land. There is a Rūm near Kerūr about sixty miles south-east of Multān. Al Idrisi (A.D. 1135) has a Rūmlah three days from Kalbata the salt range. Elliot, I. 92.

² Probably Okhāmandal. See Appendix vol. I. page 390 Elliot's History of India.

³ Sachau's Arabic Text of Al Biruni's Indica, 99.

⁴ Persian Text Bombay Edition of 1832, I. 53.

⁵ Sachau's Arabic Text of Al Biruni, 100.

⁶ Elliot's History of India, I. 54.

⁷ Al Bilāduri in Elliot (History of India), I. 129. The word *sej* in the Arabic text means besides a teak-spar (which seems to be an improbable present to be sent to a Khalifāh), a large black or green turban or cash.

⁸ Ibnī Khurdādhah in Elliot (History of India), I. 14 and 15.

⁹ De Meynard's Arabic Text of Les Princes D'Or, III. 47-48.

¹⁰ Al Istakhri in Elliot (History of India), I. 77 and 80.

(Chewal). Ibnī Haukal (A.D. 968) mentions (the Kachh) Sindān among the cities of Hind, which have a large Musalmān population and a Jāma Masjid¹ or assembly mosque. Al Birūnī (A.D. 970-1031)² in his itinerary from Debal in Sindh places the Kokan 200 miles (50 *farasakhs*) from that port and between Brouch and Supāra. At the end of the eleventh century probably the Kachh Sindān was a large commercial town rich both in exports and imports with an intelligent and warlike, industrious, and rich population. Al Idrisi gives the situation of the Konkani Sindān as a mile and a half from the sea and five days from Saimūr (Cheval).³ Apparently Abul Fida⁴ (A.D. 1324) confused Sindān with Sindābūr or Goa which Ibnī Batūta (A.D. 1340) rightly describes as an island.⁵

Sinda bu'r or Sinda pu'r. Al Masūdi (A.D. 943) places *Sindapūr* he writes it *Sindabūra* or Goa in the country of the Bughara (Bathāra) in India.⁶ Al Birūnī (A.D. 1021) places *Sindapūr* or *Sindabūr* that is Goa as the first of coast towns in Malabār the next being Fāknūr.⁷ Al Idrisi (end of the eleventh century) describes *Sindabūr* as a commercial town with fine buildings and rich bazaars in a great gulf where ships cast anchor, four days along the coast⁸ from Thāna.

Somna th. Al Birūnī (A.D. 970-1031) is the first of the Arab writers to notice Somnath. He calls Somnath and Kachh the capital of the Bawārij pirates who commit their depredations in boats called *bairis*.⁹ He places Somnath (14 *farasakhs*) fifty-six miles from Debal or Karāchi 200 miles (50 *farasakhs*) from Anhilwār and 180 miles (60 *yojanas*) from Brouch. He notes that the river Sarsūt falls into the sea an arrow-shot from the town. He speaks of Somnath as an important place of Hindu worship and as a centre of pilgrimage from all parts of India. He tells of votaries and pilgrims performing the last stage of their journey crawling on their sides or on their ankles, never touching the sacred ground with the soles of their feet, even progressing on their heads.¹⁰ Al Birūnī gives¹¹ the legendary origin of the Somnath idol: how the moon loved the daughters of Prajāpati; how his surpassing love for one of them the fair Rohini kindled the jealousy of her slighted sisters; how their angry sire punished the partiality of the moon by pronouncing a curse which caused the paller of leprosy to overspread his face; how the penitent moon sued for forgiveness to the saint and how the saint unable to recall his curse showed him the way of salvation by the worship of the *Līngam*; how he set up and called the Moon-Lord a stone which¹² for ages had lain on the sea shore less than three miles to the west of the mouth of the Sarasvatī, and to the east of the site of the golden castle of *Bārāi* (Veraval) the residence of Bāsudeo and near the scene of his death and of the destruction of his people the Yādavas. The waxing and the waning of the moon caused the flood that hid the *Līngam* and the ebb that showed it and proved that the Moon was its servant who bathed it regularly. Al Birūnī notices¹³ that in his time the castellated walls and other fortifications round the temple were not more than a hundred

Appendix V.

ARAB
REFERENCES,
A.D. 821-1200.

Port or
Coast Towns.
Sindabūr or
Sindapūr.

Somnath.

¹ Ibnī Haukal in Elliot (History of India), I, 34 and 35.

² Al Birūnī in Elliot, I, 66.

³ Al Idrisi in Elliot, I, 77-85.

⁴ Sir Henry Elliot's History of India, I, 403 Appendix.

⁵ Lee's Ibnī Batūta, 105.

⁶ Al Masūdi in Elliot (History of India), I, 21.

⁷ Rashid-ud-dīn from Al Birūnī in Elliot, I, 68.

⁸ Al Idrisi in Elliot, I, 89.

⁹ Sir Henry Elliot's History of India, I, 65; Sachau's Arabic Text of Al Birūnī, 192.

¹⁰ Elliot's History of India, I, 67.

¹¹ Sachau's Text of Al Birūnī, 253.

¹² Sachau's Arabic Text, 253.

¹³ Sachau's Arabic Text, 253 chapter 58.

Appendix V.

ARAB
REFERENCES,
A.D. 551-1350.
Port of
CASA TOWNS,
Somnāth.

years old. Al Birūnī represents the upper part of the *Lingam* as hung with massive and bejewelled gold chains. These chains together with the upper half of the idol were, he observes, carried away by the Emir¹ Mahmūd to Ghazna, where a part of the idol was used to form one of the steps of the Assembly Mosque and the other part was left to lie with *Chakra Swara*, the Thānesar idol, in the *maida* or hippodrome of Mahmūd's capital. Somnāth, says Al Birūnī,² was the greatest of the *Lingams* worshipped in India where in the countries to the south-west of Sindh the worship of these emblems abounds. A jar of Ganges water and a basket of Kashmir flowers were brought daily to Somnāth. Its worshippers believed the stone to possess the power of curing all diseases, and the mariners and the wanderers over the deep between Sofala and China addressed their prayers to it as their patron deity.³ Ibnī Asir⁴ (A.D. 1121) gives a detailed account of the temple of Somnāth and its ancient grandeur. He says Somnāth was the greatest of all the idols of Hind. Pilgrims by the hundred thousand met at the temple especially at the times of eclipses and believed that the ebb and flow of the tide was the homage paid by the sea to the god. Everything of the most precious was brought to Somnāth and the temple was endowed with more than 10,000 villages. Jewels of incalculable value were stored in the temple and to wash the idol water from the sacred stream of the Ganga was brought every day over a distance of two hundred *farsangs* (1200 miles). A thousand Brāhmins were on duty every day in the temple, three hundred and fifty singers and dancers performed before the image, and three hundred barbers shaved the pilgrims who intended to pay their devotions at the shrine. Every one of these servants had a settled allowance. The temple of Somnāth was built upon fifty pillars of teakwood covered with lead. The idol, which did not appear to be sculptured,⁵ stood three cubits out of the ground and had a girth of three cubits. The idol was by itself in a dark chamber lighted by most exquisitely jewelled chandeliers. Near the idol was a chain of gold to which bells were hung weighing 200 *manas*. The chain was shaken at certain intervals during the night that the bells might rouse fresh parties of worshipping Brāhmins. The treasury containing many gold and silver idols, with doors hung with curtains set with valuable jewels, was near the chamber of the idol. The worth of what was found in the temple exceeded two millions of *dirāms* (Rs. 1,00,00,000). According to Ibnī Asir Mahmūd reached Somnāth on a Thursday in the middle of *Zilkaāda* H. 414 (A.D. December 1023). On the approach of Mahmūd Bhīm the ruler of Anhilvād fled abandoning his capital and took refuge in a fort to prepare for war. From Anhilvād Mahmūd started for Somnāth taking several forts with images which, Ibnī Asir says, were the heralds

¹ It appears that at the time of his expedition to Somnāth Mahmūd had not adopted the title of Sultan.

² Sachau's Arabic Text, 263 chapter 58.

³ Sachau's Text, 253 chapter 58.

⁴ The *Tārīkh-i-Namīh*, Ibnī Asir (A.D. 1160-1232) is a voluminous and reliable historian. Ibnī Khallikān, the author of the famous biographical dictionary, knew and respected Asir always alluding to him as "our Sheikh." See Elliot, II. 245.

⁵ From the term "sculptured" it would seem the idol was of stone. It is curious how Ibnī Asir states a little further that a part of the idol was "burned by Mahmūd." See Elliot, II. 471. The *Tārīkh-i-Alt* says (Elliot, II. 471) that the idol was cut of solid stone. It however represents it as hollow and containing jewels, in repeating the somewhat hackneyed words of Mahmūd when breaking the idol regardless of the handsome offer of the Brāhmins, and finding it full of jewels.

or chamberlains of Somnāth. Resuming his march he crossed a desert with little water. Here he was encountered by an army of 20,000 fighting men under chiefs who had determined not to submit to the invader. These forces were defeated and put to flight by a detachment sent against them by Mahmūd. Mahmūd himself marched to Dabulwārah a place said by Ibnī Asir to be two days journey from Somnāth. When he reached Somnāth Mahmūd beheld a strong fortress whose base was washed by the waves of the sea. The assault began on the next day Friday. During nearly two days of hard fighting the invaders seemed doomed to defeat. On the third the Musalmāns drove the Hindus from the town to the temple. A terrible carnage took place at the temple-gate. Those of the defenders that survived took themselves to the sea in boats but were overtaken and some slain and the rest drowned.¹

Supāra (SUBĀRĪ, SUFĀRA, OR SUBĀRĀH).—The references to Subārā are doubtful as some seem to belong to Sarbārā the Tāpti mouth and others to Sopāra six miles north of Bassein. The first Arab reference to Subārā belongs to Sopāra. Al Masūdī's (A.C. 915)² reference is that in *Salmū* (Cheval), Subārā (Sopāra), and Thāna (Thāna) the people speak the Lāriyāh language, so called from the sea which washes the coast. On this coast Al Istakhri (A.D. 951)³ refers to Subārā that is apparently to Sarbārā or Surat a city of Hind four days from Kambāyah (Cambay).⁴

Ibnī Haukal (A.D. 968-976) mentions⁵ *Sarbārāh* apparently the Tāpti mouth or Surat as one of the cities of Hind four *farsakhs*, correctly days, from Kambāyah and two miles (half *farsakh*) from the sea. From Sarbārā to *Siālān*, perhaps the Kachh Sanjān, he makes ten days. Al Bīrdūi (A.D. 970-1031) makes *Subārā* perhaps the Thāna Sopāra six days' journey from *Debal*⁶ (perhaps Din). Al Idrīsī (A.D. 1100) mentions Subārā apparently Sopāra as a town in the second climate, a mile and a half from the sea and five days (an excessive allowance) from Sindān. It was a populous busy town, one of the entrepôts of India and a pearl fishery. Near *Subārā* he places Bāra, a small island with a growth of cactus and coconut trees.⁷

Sura'bara. See SUPĀRA.

Thāna (TĀNA).—That Thāna was known to the Arabs in pre-Islām times is shown by one of the first Musalmān expeditions to the coast of India being directed against it. As early as the reign of the second Khalifah Umar Ibn al Khaṭṭāb (A.D. 634-643; H. 13-23) mention is made⁸ of Umān, Umar's governor of Umān (the Persian Gulf) and Bahrein,

Appendix V.

ARAB
REFERENCES,
A.D. 861-1250,
Port or
Coast Towns.
Somnāth.

Sopatra.

Sarbārā.
Capitals.
Thāna.

¹ The *Rauzat-us-Safa* (Lithgd. Edition, IV. 48) speaks of Mahmūd's project of making Somnāth his capital and not Anhilwāra as stated by Farihtah (I. 57, Original Persian Text). The *Rauzat-us-Safa* says that when Mahmūd had conquered Somnāth he wished to fix his residence there for some years as the country was very large and had a great many advantages including mines of pure gold and rubies brought from Sarandīb or Ceylon which he represents as a dependency of Gujarāt. At last he yielded to his minister's advice and agreed to return to Kharisān.

² *Prairies D'Or* (DeMeynard's Arabic Text, I. 381; also Al Masūdī in Elliot (History of India, I. 24).

³ Al Istakhri in Elliot (History of India, I. 27).

⁴ Al Istakhri in Elliot (History of India, I. 30).

⁵ Ibnī Haukal in Elliot (History of India, I. 34; 39).

⁶ Thus in Sachau's Arabic Text page 102, but Elliot (I. 68) spells the word Sufāra in his translation. It might have assumed that form in coming from the Arabic through Rashid-ad-Dīn's Persian version from which Sir Henry Elliot derives his account.

⁷ Al Idrīsī in Elliot (History of India, I. 77 and 84).

⁸ Al Bīlāsri in Elliot, I. 116.

Appendix V.

ARAB
REFERENCES,
A.D. 651-1550.

Capitals.
Thána.

Vala or
Valabhi.

sending a successful expedition against Thána. Al Masúdi (A.D. 943) refers to Thána on the shore of the *Larwi sea* or Indian Ocean, as one of the coast towns in which the *Larwi* language is spoken.¹ Al Bîrûni (A.D. 970-1031) gives² the distance from *Mahrut Desh* (the Marátha country) to the Konkan "with its capital Thána on the sea-shore" as 100 miles (25 *farasakhs*) and locates the *Lar Desh* (south Gujarat) capitals of *Bâratij* and *Baharjur* (Borach and Rander) to the east of Thána. He places Thána with *Soumáth Konkan* and *Kambháya* in Gujarat and notices that from Thána the *Lar* country begins. Al Idrisi (end of the eleventh century) describes³ Thána as a pretty town upon a great gulf where vessels anchor and from where they set sail. He gives the distance from *Sindáhar* (or Goa) to Thána as four days' sail. From the neighbourhood of Thána he says the *kana* or bamboo and the *tabáshir* or bamboo pith are transported to the east and west.⁴

Bará'da (PORBANDAR).—Of the Arab attacks on the great sea-port *Vala* or *Valabhi*, twenty miles west of *Bhávnagar*, during the eighth and ninth centuries details are given Above pages 94-96. The manner of writing the name of the city attacked leaves it doubtful whether *Balaba* that is *Valabhi* or *Baráda* near *Porbandar* is meant. But the importance of the town destroyed and the agreement in dates with other accounts leaves little doubt that the reference is to *Valabhi*.⁵

In the fourth year of his reign about A.D. 758 the Khalifah Jaáfar-al-Mansúr⁶ (A.D. 754-775) the second ruler of the house of Abbás appointed *Hishám* governor of *Sindh*. *Hishám* despatched a fleet to the coast of *Bará'dah*, which may generally be read *Balabha*, under the command of *Amru bin Jamál Taghlabi*. *Tabari* (A.D. 838-932) and *Ibní Asir* (A.D. 1160-1232)⁷ state that another expedition was sent to this coast in A.H. 160 (A.D. 776) in which though the Arabs succeeded in taking the town, disease thinned the ranks of the party stationed to garrison the port, a thousand of them died, and the remaining troops while returning to their country were shipwrecked on the coast of *Persia*. This he adds deterred

¹ *Barthier DeMeynard's Text of Masúdi's Prairies D'Or*, I. 330 and 381.

² *Sachau's Arabic Text of Al Bîrûni*, chapters 18, 90, 102 and *Elliot's History of India*, I. 80-81, 66-67.

³ Al Idrisi in *Elliot*, I. 89.

⁴ Al Idrisi says the real *tabáshir* is extracted from the root of the reed called *sharki*. *Sarki* is *Gujarati* for reed. It is generally applied to the reeds growing on river banks used by the poor for thatching their cottages. *Tabáshir* is a drug obtained from the pith of the bamboo and prescribed by Indian physicians as a cooling drink good for fever.

⁵ The name *Bará'dah* بارادہ in Arabic orthography bears a close resemblance to: *Bardab*, بارديہ, *Bárlabab*, بارلباب, *Barlabab*, all three being the forms or nearly the

forms in which the word *Walabab* or *Walabi* would be written by an Arab, supposing the diacritical points to be, as they often are, omitted. Besides as *Bará'dah* the word has been read and miswritten *Nárand* or *Bárand* and *Darad* or *Barid*. In the *shikasta* or broken hand *Nárand* or *Bárand* بارند would closely resemble *Bárlabab* or *Bárlabab* بارلباب. Al Bîlauri in *Elliot's History of India* I. 127, writes the word *Nárand* or *Bárand*. Sir Henry Elliot (*History*, I. 444) reads the word *Barada* and would identify the place with the *Barda* hills inland from *Porbandar* in south-west *Káthiaváj*. The objection to this is that the word used by the Arab writers was the name of a town as well as of a coast tract, while the name of *Barda* is applied solely to a range of hills. On the other hand *Balaba* the coast and town meets all requirements.

⁶ Reigned A.D. 754-775.

⁷ Sir Henry Elliot's *History of India*, II. 246 and *Frug. Arabes* 3, 120, 212; *Well's Geschichte der Chalifen*, II. 115.

Al Mahdi¹ (A.D. 775-785) the succeeding Khalifah from extending the eastern limits of his empire. Besides against Balabā the Sindhi Arabs sent a fleet against Kandhar apparently, though somewhat doubtfully,² the town of that name to the north of Branch where they destroyed a temple or *budd* and built a mosque. Al Biruni³ (A.D. 1030) writing of the Valabhi era describes the city of Balabāh بلاہ as nearly thirty *jaukhas* (*yojanas*) that is ninety miles to the south of Anhilvāra. In another passage⁴ he describes how the Bānīa Rānka sued for and obtained the aid of an Arab fleet from the Arab lord of Mansūrah (built A.D. 750) for the destruction of Balabā. A land grant by a Valabhi chief remains as late as A.D. 766. For this reason and as the invaders of that expedition fled panic-struck by sickness Valabhi seems to have continued as a place of consequence if the expedition of A.D. 830 against Balā king of the east refers to the final attack on Valabhi an identification which is supported by a Jain authority which places the final overthrow of Valabhi at 888 Samvat that is A.D. 830.⁵

Of the rulers of Gujarāt between A.D. 850 and A.D. 1250 the only dynasty which impressed the Arabs was the Balhāras of Mālkhet or Mānyakheta (A.D. 630-972) sixty miles south-east of Sholāpūr. From about A.D. 736 to about A.D. 978, at first through a more or less independent local branch and afterwards (A.D. 914) direct the Rāshtrakūtas continued overlords of most of Gujarāt. The Arabs knew the Rāshtrakūtas by their title Vallabha or Beloved in the case of Govind III (A.D. 803-814), Prithivīvallabha Beloved by the Earth, and of his successor the long beloved Amoghavarsha Vallabhaskanda, the Beloved of Siva. Al Masūdi (A.D. 915-944) said: Bālārāi is a name which he who follows takes. So entirely did the Arabs believe in the overlordship of the Rāshtrakūtas in Gujarāt that Al Idrisi (A.D. 1100, but probably quoting Al Janhari A.D. 950) describes Nehrwalla as the capital of the Bālārās. Until Dr. Bhāndārkar discovered its origin in Vallabha, the case with which meanings could be tortured out of the word and in Gujarāt its apparent connection with the Valabhi kings (A.D. 509-770) made the word Bālārāi a cause of matchless confusion.

The merchant Sulaimān (A.D. 851) ranks the Balhāra, the lord of Mānkīr, as the fourth of the great rulers of the world. Every prince in India even in his own land paid him homage. He was the owner of many elephants and of great wealth. He refrained from wine and paid his troops and servants regularly. Their favour to Arabs was famous. Abu Zaid⁶ (A.D. 913) says that though the Indian kings acknowledge the supremacy of no one, yet the Balhāras or Rāshtrakūtas by virtue of the title Balhāra are kings of kings. Ibnī Khurdāsbah (A.D. 912) describes the Balhāras as the greatest of Indian kings being as the name imports the king of kings. Al Masūdi (A.D. 915) described Balhāra as a dynastic name which he who followed took. Though he introduces two other potentates the king of Jurz and the Baūra or Parmār king of Kanauj fighting with each other and with the Balhāra he makes the Balhāra, the lord of the Mānkīr or the great centre, the greatest king

Appendix V.

ARAB
REFERENCES,
A.D. 851-1350.

Capitals.

Valla or
Valabhi.

Kings.

¹ Sir Henry Elliot's History of India, I. 444.

² Sir Henry Elliot (History of India, I. 445) identifies Kandhar with Kandadār in north-west Kāthiawād.

³ Sachau's Original Text, 205.

⁴ Sachau's Original Text, 17-94.

⁵ Details Above in Dr. Bhagvanlal's History, 96 note 3.

⁶ Elliot's History of India, I. 7.

Appendix V.

ARAB
REFERENCES,
A.D. 851-1350.
Kings.

of India¹ to whom the kings of India bow in their prayers and whose emissaries they honour. He notices that the Balhāra favours and honours Musalmāns and allows them to have mosques and assembly mosques. When Al Masūdī was in Cambay the town was ruled by Bāgga, the deputy of the Balhāra. Al Istakhri (A.D. 951) describes the land from Kambāyah to Saimūr (Cheul) as the land of the Balhāra of Mankir. In the Konkan were many Musalmāns over whom the Balhāra appointed no one but a Musalmān to rule. Ibnī Haukal (A.D. 970) describes the Balhāra as holding sway over a land in which are several Indian kings.² Al Idrisi (A.D. 1100) but quoting Al Jauhari A.D. 950 agrees with Ibnī Khurdādhbāh that Balhāra is a title meaning King of Kings. He says the title is hereditary in this country, where when a king ascends the throne he takes the name of his predecessor and transmits it to his heirs.³

Condition.

That the Arabs found the Rāshtrakūtas kind and liberal rulers there is ample evidence. In their territories property was secure,⁴ theft or robbery was unknown, commerce was encouraged, foreigners were treated with consideration and respect. The Arabs especially were honoured not only with a marked and delicate regard, but magistrates from among themselves were appointed to adjudicate their disputes according to the Musalmān law.

The
Gurjjaras.

The ruler next in importance to the Balhāra was the Jura that is the Gurjjara king. It is remarkable, though natural, that the Arabs should preserve the true name of the rulers of Anhilvāda which the three tribe or dynastic names Chāpa or Chaura (A.D. 720-956), Solanki or Cālukya (A.D. 961-1242), and Vāghela (A.D. 1240-1290) should so long have concealed. Sulaimān (A.D. 851) notices that the Jura king hated Musalmāns while the Balhāra king loved Musalmāns. He may not have known what excellent reasons the Gurjjaras had for hating the Arab raiders from sea and from Sindh. Nor would it strike him that the main reason why the Balhāra fostered the Moslem was the hope of Arab help in his struggles with the Gurjjaras.

Jura.

According to the merchant Sulaimān⁵ (A.D. 851) the kingdom next after the Balhāra's was that of Jura the Gurjjara king whose territories "consisted of a tongue of land." The king of Jura maintained a large force: his cavalry was the best in India. He was unfriendly to the Arabs. His territories were very rich and abounded in horses and camels. In his realms exchanges were carried on in silver and gold dust of which metals mines were said to be worked.

The king of Jura was at war with the Balhāras as well as with the neighbouring kingdom of Tāfak or the Panjāb. The details given under Bhīnmāl page 468 show that Sulaimān's tongue of land, by which he apparently meant either Kāshīnāl or Gujarāt was an imperfect idea of the extent of Gurjjara rule. At the beginning of the tenth century, A.D. 916 Sulaimān's editor Abu Zaid describes Kanauj as a large country

¹ Elliot's History of India, I, 22, 24, 25.

² Elliot's History of India, I, 34.

³ Elliot's History of India, I, 86.

⁴ Al Masūdī Les Prairies D'Or, II, chapter 15 page 55.

⁵ Giving an account of the diviners and jugglers of India Abu Zaid says: These observations are especially applicable to Kanauj, a large country forming the empire of Jura. Abu Zaid in Elliot's History of India, I, 10. References given in the History of Bhīnmāl show that the Gurjjara power spread not only to Kanauj but to Bengal.

forming the empire of Juzr,¹ a description which the Gurjara Vatsarāja's success in Bengal about a century before shows not to be impossible. Ibn Khurdādhbih (A.D. 912) ranks the king of Juzr as fourth in importance among Indian kings. According to him "the Tātariya dirhams were in use in the Juzr kingdom." Al Mas'ūdī (A.D. 943) speaks of the Konkān country of the Balhāra as on one side exposed to the attacks of the king of Juzr a monarch rich in men horses and camels. He speaks of the Juzr kingdom bordering on Tāfān apparently the Panjab and Tāfān as bounded by Rahma² apparently Burma and Samātra. Ibn Haukal (A.D. 968-976) notices that several kingdoms existed, including the domain of the Silāhāra of the north Konkān within the land of the Balhāra between Kamdāyah and Salmūr.³ Al Bīrūnī (A.D. 970-1031) uses not Juzr, but Gujārāt.⁴ Beyond that is to the south of Gujārāt he places Konkān and Tāns. In Al Bīrūnī's time Nārāyan near Jaipur, the former capital of Gujārāt, had been taken and the inhabitants removed to a town on the frontier.⁵ Al Idrīsī (end of the eleventh century really from tenth century materials) ranks the king of Juzr as the fourth and the king of Sāfān or Tāfān as the second in greatness to the Balhāra.⁶ In another passage in a list of titular sovereigns Al Idrīsī enters the names of Sāfir (Tāfān) Hazr (Jazr-Juzr) and Dūmī (Rahmī).⁷ By the side of Juzr was Tāfak (doubtfully the Panjab) a small state producing the whitest and most beautiful women in India; the king having few soldiers; living at peace with his neighbours and like the Balhāras highly esteeming the Arabs.⁸ Ibn Khurdādhbih (A.D. 912) calls Tāfān the king next in eminence to the Balhāra.⁹ Al Mas'ūdī (A.D. 943) calls Tāfak the ruler of a mountainous country like Kashmir¹⁰ with small forces living on friendly terms with neighbouring sovereigns and well disposed to the Moslems.¹¹ Al Idrīsī (end of eleventh century but materials of the tenth century) notices Sāfān (Tāfān) as the principality that ranks next to the Konkān that is to the Rāshtrakūṭas.

Rahma or Rahmī, according to the merchant Sulaimān (A.D. 851) borders the land of the Balhāras, the Juzr, and Tāfān. The king who was not much respected was at war with both the Juzr and the Balhāra. He had the most numerous army in India and a following of 50,000 elephants when he took the field. Sulaimān notices a cotton fabric made in Rahma so delicate that a dress of it could pass through a signet-ring. The medium of exchange was *cowries* Cyprea moneta shell money. The country produced gold silver and aloes and the whisk of the *sermays* or yāḍ Bos poëphagus the bushy-tailed ox. Ibn Khurdādhbih¹² (A.D. 912) places Rahmī as the sixth kingdom. He apparently identified it with Al Rahmī or north-Samātra as he notes that between it and the other kingdoms communication is kept up by ships. He notices that the ruler had five thousand elephants and that cotton cloth and aloes probably the well-known Kumāri

Appendix V.

ARAB
REFERENCES,
A.D. 851-1350.
Kings.
Juzr.

Rahma or
Rahmī.

¹ Ibn Khurdādhbih in Elliot's History of India, I. 13.

² Al Mas'ūdī in Elliot (History of India), I. 25.

³ Ibn Haukal in Elliot (History of India), I. 34.

⁴ Al Bīrūnī in Elliot (History of India), I. 67.

⁵ Al Bīrūnī in Elliot (History of India), I. 59.

⁶ Al Idrīsī in Elliot (History of India), I. 76.

⁷ Al Idrīsī in Elliot (History of India), I. 86.

⁸ The merchant Sulaimān (851 A.D.) in Elliot's History of India, I. 5.

⁹ Ibn Khurdādhbih in Elliot (History of India), I. 13.

¹⁰ Al Mas'ūdī in Elliot (History of India), I. 23.

¹¹ Al Mas'ūdī in Elliot (History of India), I. 23.

¹² Ibn Khurdādhbih in Elliot's History of India, I. 14.

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ARAB
REFERENCES,
A.D. 851-1300.Kings.
Rahma or
Rahmi.

or Cambodian aloes, were the staple produce. Al Mas'ûdi (A.D. 943) after stating that former accounts of Rahma's¹ elephants troops and horses were probably exaggerated, adds that the kingdom of Rahma extends both along the sea and the continent and that it is bounded by an inland state called Kâman (probably Kâmarup that is Assam). He describes the inhabitants as fair and handsome and notices that both men and women had their ears pierced. This description of the people still more the extension of the country both along the sea and along the continent suggests that Mas'ûdi's Al Rahmi is a combination of Burma which by dropping the B he has mixed with Al Rahma. Lane identifies Rahmi² with Samâra on the authority of an Account of India and China by two Muhammadan Travellers of the Ninth Century. This identification is supported by Al Mas'ûdi's³ mention of Râmi as one of the islands of the Java group, the kingdom of the Indian Mîhrâj. The absence of reference to Bengal in these accounts agrees with the view that during the ninth century Bengal was under Tibet.

Products.

In the middle of the ninth century mines of gold and silver are said to be worked in Gujarât.⁴ Abu Zaid (A.D. 916) represents pearls as in great demand. The Târtâriyah, or according to Al Mas'ûdi the Tâhîriyah *dinars* of Sindh, fluctuating⁵ in price from one and a half to three and a fraction of the Baghdâd *dinars*, were the current coin in the Gujarât ports. Emeralds also were imported from Egypt mounted as seals.⁶

Ibnî Khurâdbeh⁷ (A.D. 912) mentions teakwood and the bamboo as products of Sindân that is the Konkan Sanjan.⁸ Al Mas'ûdi (A.D. 943) notes that at the great fair of Multân the people of Sindh and Hind offered Kumar that is Cambodian aloe-wood of the purest quality worth twenty *dinars* a man.⁹ Among other articles of trade he mentions an inferior emerald exported from Cambay and Saimûr to Makkah,¹⁰ the lance shafts of Breach,¹¹ the shoes of Cambay,¹² and the white and handsome maidens of Tâfan¹³ who were in great demand in Arab countries. Ibnî Haukal (A.D. 968-976) states that the country comprising Fâmhâl, Sindân, Saimûr, and Kambâyah produced mangoes cocoanuts lemons and rice in abundance. That honey could be had in great quantities, but no date palms were to be found.¹⁴

Al Bîrûnî (A.D. 1031) notices that its import of horses from Mekran and the islands of the Persian Gulf was a leading portion of Cambay trade.¹⁵ According to Al Idrîsî (A.D. 1100) the people of Mâmhal¹⁶ (Anhilwâra) had many horses and camels.¹⁷ One of the peculiarities of

¹ Al Mas'ûdi in History of India by Sir Henry Elliot, I. 25.² Lane's Notes on his Translation of the Alf Leilah, III. 80.³ Al Mas'ûdi's Murûj (Arabic Text Cairo Edition, I. 221).⁴ The merchant Sulaiman (Elliot's History of India), I. 4 and 5.⁵ See page 519 note 8.⁶ Sir Henry Elliot's History of India, I. 11.⁷ Ibnî Khurâdbeh in Elliot's History of India, I. 14.⁸ Ibnî Khurâdbeh in Elliot's History of India, I. 15.⁹ Al Mas'ûdi (Elliot's History of India), I. 39.¹⁰ Barbier De Meynard's Arabic Text of Les Prairies D'Or, III. 47-48.¹¹ Barbier De Meynard's Arabic Text of Les Prairies D'Or, I. 239.¹² Barbier De Meynard's Arabic Text of Les Prairies D'Or, I. 233.¹³ Barbier De Meynard's Arabic Text of Les Prairies D'Or, I. 394.¹⁴ Ibnî Haukal (Ashikâ-ul-Bilâd) and Elliot's History of India, I. 39.¹⁵ Elliot's History of India, III. 33.¹⁶ Mâmhal is by some numbered among the cities of India. Al Idrîsî in Elliot, I. 94.¹⁷ Al Idrîsî in Elliot, I. 79.

the Nahrwāla country was that all journeys were made and all merchandise was carried in bullock waggons. Kambāyah was rich in wheat and rice and its mountains yielded the Indian *Assā* or bamboo. At Suhāra (Sopara) they fished for pearls and Bāra a small island close to Suhāra produced the coconut and the castus. Sindān according to Al Idrisi produced the cocoa palm, the ratna, and the bangboo. Saimūr had many cocoa palms, much henna (*Lawsonia inermis*), and a number of aromatic plants.² The hills of Thāna yielded the bamboo and *tabakhī* or bamboo girth. From Saimūr according to Al Kaawinī (A.D. 1236, but from tenth century materials) came aloes. Rashid-ud-dīn (A.D. 1310) states that in Kambāyah, Sounāth, Kankan, and Tāna the vines yield twice a year and such is the strength of the soil that cotton-plants grow like willow or plane trees and yield produce for ten years. He refers to the betel leaf, to which he and other Arab writers and physicians ascribe strange virtues as the produce of the whole country of Malabar. The exports from the Gujarāt coasts are said to be sugar (the staple product of Mālwa), *bāfrīd* that is bezour, and *hājī* that is turmeric.³

According to Ibnī Haukal (A.H. 170) from Kambāyah to Saimūr the villages lay close to one another and much land was under cultivation.⁴ At the end⁵ of the eleventh century trade was brisk merchandise from every country finding its way to the ports of Gujarāt whose local products were in turn exported all over the east.⁶ The Rāshtrakūṭa dominion was vast, well-peopled, commercial, and fertile.⁷ The people lived mostly on a vegetable diet, rice peas-beans haricots and lentils being their daily food.⁸ Al Idrisi speaks of certain Hindus eating animals whose deaths had been caused by falls or by being gored,⁹ but Al Masūdī states that the higher classes who wore the "baldrick like yellow thread" (the Janoi) abstained from flesh. According to Ibnī Haukal (A.D. 968-970) the ordinary dress of the kings of Hind was trousers and a tunic.¹⁰ He also notices that between Kambāyah and Saimūr the Muslims and infidels wear the same cool fine muslin dress and let their beards grow in the same fashion.¹¹ During the tenth century on high days the Bahārā wore a crown of gold and a dress of rich stuff. The attendant women were richly clad, wearing rings of gold and silver upon their feet and hands and having their hair in curls.¹² At the close of the Hindu period (A.D. 1300) Rashid-ud-dīn describes Gujarāt as a flourishing country with no less than 80,000 villages and hamlets the people happy the soil rich growing in the four seasons seventy varieties of flowers. Two harvests repaid the husbandman; the earlier crop refreshed by the dew of the cold season the late crop enriched by a certain rainfall.¹³

In their intercourse with Western India nothing struck the Arabs more than the toleration shown to their religion both by chief and people.

Appendix V.

ARAB
REFERENCES,
A.D. 801-1330.
Products.

Review.

¹ Al Idrisi in Elliot, I. 85.² Al Idrisi in Elliot's History of India, I. 85.³ Al Idrisi in Elliot's History of India, I. 85.⁴ Rashid-ud-dīn in Elliot's History of India, I. 67-68.⁵ Ibnī Haukal (A.D. 968) in Elliot, I. 39.⁶ Al Idrisi (A.D. 968) in Elliot, I. 84 and 87.⁷ Al Idrisi speaking of Cambay in Elliot's History of India, I. 84.⁸ Al Idrisi in Elliot, I. 85.⁹ Al Idrisi in Elliot, I. 85.¹⁰ Al Masūdī in Elliot's History of India, I. 9.¹¹ Ibnī Haukal in Elliot, I. 35.¹² Al Idrisi in Elliot's History of India, I. 85.¹³ Rashid-ud-dīn (A.D. 1310) in Elliot's History of India, I. 67. The passage seems

to be a quotation from Al Birānī (A.D. 1031).

Appendix V.

ARAB
REFERENCES,
A.D. 851-1550.
Review.

This was specially marked in the Rāshtrakūta towns where besides free use of mosques and Jāmā mosques Musalmān magistrates or *qādis* were appointed to settle disputes among Musalmāns according to their own laws.¹ Toleration was not peculiar to the Balhāras. Al Bīrūnī records² that in the ninth century (A.D. 781), when the Hindus recovered Sindān (Sanjān in Kachh) they spared the assembly mosque where long after the Faithful congregated on Fridays praying for their Khalīfah without hindrance. In the Balhāra country so strongly did the people believe in the power of Islām or which is perhaps more likely so courteous were they that they said that our king enjoys a long life and long reign is solely due to the favour shown by him to the Musalmāns. So far as the merchant Sulaimān saw in the ninth century the chief religion in Gujarāt was Buddhiam. He notices that the principles of the religion of China were brought from India and that the Chinese ascribe to the Indians the introduction of Boddhas into their country. Of religious beliefs metempsychoses or re-birth and of religious practices widow-burning or *satti* and self-torture seem to have struck him most.³ As a rule the dead were burned.⁴ Sulaimān represents the people of Gujarāt as steady abstemious and sober abstaining from wine as well as from vinegar, 'not' he adds 'from religious motives but from their disdain of it.' Among their sovereigns the desire of conquest was seldom the cause of war.⁵ Abu Zaid (A.D. 916) describes the Brahmins as Hindus devoted to religion and science. Among Brahmins were poets who lived at kings' courts, astronomers, philosophers, diviners, and drawers of omens from the flight of crows.⁶ He adds: So sure are the people that after death they shall return to life upon the earth, that when a person grows old "he begs some one of his family to throw him into the fire or to drown him."⁷ In Abu Zaid's time (A.D. 916) the Hindus did not seclude their women. Even the wives of the kings used to mix freely with men and attend courts and places of public resort unveiled.⁸ According to Ibnī Khurdādhah (A.D. 912) India has forty-two religious sects "part of whom believe in God and his Prophet (on whom be peace) and part who deny his mission."⁹ Ibnī Khurdādhah (A.D. 912) describes the Hindus as divided into seven classes. Of these the first are Thākariās¹⁰ or Thākurs men of high caste from whom kings are chosen and to whom men of the other classes render homage; the second are the Barāhmas¹¹ who abstain from wine and fermented liquors; the third are the Katarīya or Kapatris who drink not more than three cups of wine; the fourth are the Sudarīa or Shudras husbandmen by profession; the fifth are the Baisura or Vaish artificers and domestics; the sixth Sandaliās or Chāndālā menials; and the seventh the 'Lahūd,' whose women adorn themselves and whose men are fond of amusements and games of skill. Both among the people and the kings of Gujarāt¹² wine

¹ Ibnī Haukal in Elliot's History of India, I. 34-38, also Al Kāzwinī, I. 27.

² Sir Henry Elliot's History of India, I. 29.

³ The merchant Sulaimān in Elliot's History of India, I. 7.

⁴ The merchant Sulaimān in Elliot's History of India, I. 6.

⁵ The merchant Sulaimān in Elliot's History of India, I. 7.

⁶ Abu Zaid in Elliot's History of India, I. 10.

⁷ Abu Zaid in Elliot's History of India, I. 9-10.

⁸ Abu Zaid in Elliot's History of India, I. 11.

⁹ Ibnī Khurdādhah in Elliot, I. 27.

¹⁰ See Elliot, I. 76, where Al Bīrūnī calls the first class 'Sākarīa' the word being a transliteration of the Arabic Thākariyah or Thākurs.

¹¹ The Arabic plural of the word Barāhman.

¹² Ibnī Khurdādhah in Elliot's History of India, I. 13-17.

was "unlawful and lawful" that is it was not used though no religious rule forbade its use. According to Al Mas'udi (A.D. 943) a general opinion prevailed that India was the earliest home of order and wisdom. The Indians chose as their king the great Brāhma who ruled them for 355 years. His descendants retain the name of Brāhman and are honoured as the most illustrious caste. They abstain from the flesh of animals.¹ Hindu kings cannot succeed before the age of forty nor do they appear in public except on certain occasions for the conduct of state affairs. Royalty and all the high offices of state² are limited to the descendants of one family. The Hindus strongly disapprove of the use of wine both in themselves and in others not from any religious objection but on account of its intoxicating and reason-oblinding qualities.³ Al Bīrūnī (A.D. 970-1031) quoted by Rashīd-ud-dīn (A.D. 1310) states that the people of Gujarat are idolaters and notices the great penance-pilgrimages to Somnāth details of which have already been given.⁴ Al Idrīsī (end of the eleventh century) closely follows Ibnī Khurdādhbih (A.D. 912) division of the people of India. The chief exception is that he represents⁵ the second class, the Brāhmans, as wearing the skins of tigers and going about staff in hand collecting crowds and from morn till eve proclaiming to their hearers the glory and power of God. He makes out that the Kasturīās or Kshatriyas are able to drink three *ratl* (a *ratl* being one pound Troy) of wine and are allowed to marry Brāhman women. The Suddaliya or Chandāl women, he says, are noted for beauty. Of the forty-two sects he enumerates worshippers of trees and adorers of serpents, which they keep in stables and feed as well as they can, deeming it to be a meritorious work. He says that the inhabitants of Kamhāya are Buddhists (idolaters)⁶ and that the Balhām also worships the idol Budhā.⁷ The Indians, says Al Idrīsī (end of the eleventh century) are naturally inclined to justice and in their actions never depart from it. Their reputation for good faith, honesty, and fidelity to their engagements brings strangers flocking to their country and aids its prosperity. In illustration of the peaceable disposition of the Hindus, he quotes the ancient practice of *dabāḥ* or conjuring in the name of the king, a rite which is still in vogue in some native states. When a man has a rightful claim he draws a circle on the ground and asks his debtor to step into the circle in the name of the king. The debtor never fails to step in nor does he ever leave the circle without paying his debts. Al Idrīsī describes the people of Nahrwārā as having so high a respect for oxen that when an ox dies they bury it. "When enfeebled by age or if unable to work they provide their oxen with food without exacting any return."⁸

Appendix V.

ARAB
REFERENCES.
A.D. 851-1330.

Review.

¹ Text Les Peuples D'O'r, I. 149-151 and Elliot's History of India, I. 19.

² Arabic Text Les Peuples D'O'r, I. 149-151, and Elliot's History of India, I. 20.

³ Al Mas'udi's Peuples D'O'r, I. 159, and Elliot's History of India, I. 29.

⁴ Rashīd-ud-dīn from Al Bīrūnī in Elliot's History of India, I. 67-68.

⁵ Al Idrīsī in Elliot (History of India), I. 76.

⁶ Al Idrīsī in Elliot (History of India), I. 85.

⁷ Al Idrīsī in Elliot (History of India), I. 87.

⁸ Sir Henry Elliot's History of India, I. 88.

⁹ Al Idrīsī in Elliot (History of India), I. 88.

APPENDIX VI.

WESTERN INDIA AS KNOWN TO THE GREEKS
AND ROMANS.

Appendix VI.

EARLY GREEKS
AND ROMANS.*Ktésias.*

Herodotos and Hekataios, the earliest Greek writers who make mention of India, give no information in regard to Western India in particular.

Ktésias (c. 400 B.C.) learnt in Persia that a race of Pygmies lived in India in the neighbourhood of the silver mines, which Lassen places near Udaipur (Mewar). From the description of these Pygmies (Photios. Bibl. LXXII. 11-12) it is evident that they represent the Bhils. Ktésias also mentions (Photios Bibl. LXXII. 8) that there is a place in an uninhabited region fifteen days from Mount Sardous, where they venerate the sun and moon and where for thirty-five days in each year the sun remits his heat for the comfort of his worshippers. This place must apparently have been somewhere in Marwar, and perhaps Mount Abu is the place referred to.

Alexander.

Alexander (B.C. 326-25) did not reach Gujara't, and his companions have nothing to tell of this part of the country. It is otherwise with

Megasthenes.

Megasthenes (c. 300 B.C.) who resided with Candragupta as the ambassador of Seleukos Nikator and wrote an account of India in four books, of which considerable fragments are preserved, chiefly by Strabo, Pliny, and Arrian. His general account of the manners of the Indians relates chiefly to those of northern India, of whom he had personal knowledge. But he also gave a geographical description of India, for Arrian informs us (Ind. VII) that he gave the total number of Indian tribes as 118, and Pliny (VI. 17ff) does in fact enumerate about 90, to whom may be added some seven or eight more mentioned by Arrian. It is true that Pliny does not distinctly state that he takes his geographical details from Megasthenes, and that he quotes Seneca as having written a book on India. But Seneca also (Pliny, VI. 17) gave the number of the tribes as 118 in which he must have followed Megasthenes. Further, Pliny says (*ibid.*) that accounts of the military forces of each nation were given by writers such as Megasthenes and Dionysius who stayed with Indian kings; and as he does not mention Dionysius in his list of authorities for his Book VI., it follows that it was from Megasthenes that he drew his accounts of the forces of the Gangarides, Modogalinga, Andara, Prasii, Megallai, Asmagi, Oratoe, Saurataratie, Automala, Charmoe, and Pandae (VI. 12), names which, as will be shown below, betray a knowledge of all parts of India. It is a fair inference that the remaining names mentioned by Pliny were taken by him from Megasthenes, perhaps through the medium of Seneca's work. The corruption of Pliny's text

and the fact that Megasthenes learnt the tribal names in their Prakrit forms, make it extremely difficult to identify many of the races referred to.

That part of Pliny's account of India which may with some certainty be traced back to Megasthenes begins with a statement of the stages of the royal road from the Hypasis (Bisā) to Palibothra (Patna) (Nat. Hist. VI. 17). The next chapter gives an account of the Ganges and its tributaries and mentions the Gangaridæ of Kalinga with their capital Patalia as the most distant nation on its banks. In the 19th chapter, after an account of the forces of the Gangaridæ, Pliny gives a list of thirteen tribes, of which the only ones that can be said to be satisfactorily identified are Modogalingæ (the three Calingæ: Caldwell Dray. Gr.), Molindæ (compare Mount Mābindya of Varāha Mihira Br. S. XIV.), and Thalintæ (McCrindle reads Talintæ and identifies with the Tāmraliptakæ of Tānduk on the lower Ganges). He next mentions the Andaræ (Andhæ of Telingana) with thirty cities 100,000 foot 2000 horse and 1000 elephants. He then digresses to speak of the Dardæ (Dards of the Upper India) as rich in gold and the Sæmæ (of Māwâr, Lassen) in silver, and next introduces the Prasi (Prācya) of Palibothra (Pataliputra) as the most famous and powerful of all the tribes, having 600,000 foot 30,000 horse and 8000 elephants. Inland from these he names the Monædes (Munda of Singhbhum) and Suari (Savaras of Central India) among whom is Mount Malens (Mahendra Mā?). Then after some account of the Iemænæ (Yamænæ) running between Methoræ (Mathurā) and Chrysōhoræ (McCrindle reads Carisoboræ. Arrian Ind. VII. Kleisoboræ = Krishnapura?) he turns to the Indus, of some of whose nineteen tributaries he gives some account in chapter 20. He then digresses to give an account of the coast of India, starting from the mouth of the Ganges, whence to Point Calington (Point Godāvari) and the city of Dandagada (Cunningham's Raja Mahendri, but more probably the Dhanakataka or Dhenukākata of the Western cave inscriptions) he reckons 625 miles. The distance thence to Tropina (Tirapanatara near Kochin according to Burgess) is 1225 miles. Next at a distance of 750 miles is the cape of Perimula, where is the most famous mart of India. Further on in the same chapter is mentioned a city named Antonula on the sea shore among the Arabastæ (or Salabastæ and Oratæ, McCrindle) a noble mart where five rivers together flow into the sea. There can hardly be a doubt that the two places are the same, the two names being taken from different authorities, and that the place meant is Chamula or Cheul (Ptolemy's Sinulla) the five rivers being those that flow into Bombay Harbour northward of Cheul. The distance from Perimula to the Island of Patala in the Indus is 620 miles. Pliny next enumerates as hill tribes between the Indus and Janna, shut in a ring of mountains and deserts for a space of 625 miles, the Cæsi (the Kekasi of Arr. Ind. IV. and Kékayas of the Parāvas, about the head waters of the Sutlej), the Cetriboni of the woods (..... Vaga?), the Megallæ (Mékala) with 500 elephants and unknown numbers of horse and foot, the Chrysæi (Kārāsha) Parasangæ (Pārasava, corrupted by the likeness of its first three syllables to the word *σαρκαγγο*), the Asmagi (Asmaka of Varāha Mihira) with 30,000 foot 300 elephants and 800 horse. These are shut in by the Indus and surrounded by a circle of mountains and deserts for 625 miles. Next come the Dari and Suræ and then deserts again for 187 miles. Whether these are or are not correctly identified with the Dhars and Sanars of Sindh, they must be placed somewhere to the north of the Ran. Below them come five kingless tribes living in the hills along the sea-

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coast—the Mallecorns, Singhas, Marchos, Barungas, and Morani—none of whom are satisfactorily identified, but who may be placed in Kachhi. Next follow the Nariai enclosed by Mount Capitalia (Ālā) the highest mountain in India, on the other side of which are mines of gold and silver. The identification of Capitalia with Ālā is probable enough, but the name given to the mountain must be connected with the Kapiśhāla of the *Purāṇas*, who have given their name to one of the recensions of the Yajur Veda, though Kāthāl, their modern representative, lies far away from Ālā in the Karnāl district of the Panjab, and Arrian places his *εὐρυκίδων* (Ind. IV) about the head waters of the Hydrāotis (Rāvi). After Capitalia and the Nariai come the Oratai with but ten elephants but numerous infantry. These must be the Aparāntakas of the inscriptions and *parāyas*, Megasthenes having learnt the name in a Prakrit form (Avānta, Orāta). The name of the next tribe, who have no elephants but horse and foot only, is commonly read Saurastaratai (Nobbe) but the preferable reading is Varastatai (McCrindle) which when corrected to Varelatai represents Varalatta, the sixth of the seven Konkans in the purāṇic lists (Wilson As. Res. XV. 47), which occupied the centre of the Thām district and the country of the wild tribe of the Varla. Next are the Odonhosora, whose name is connected with the *odambara* Ficus glomerata tree, and who are not the Audumbari Sālvas of Pāṇini (IV. i. 173) but must be placed in Southern Thāna. Next come the Arabastrai Oratai (so read for Arabastrai Thorace of Nobbe, and Salabastrai Horatai of McCrindle) or Arabastra division of the Oratai or Konkans. Arabastra may be connected with the Āraṇa of Varāha-Mihira's South-Western Division (Be. S. XIV. 17) where they are mentioned along with Barbara (the seventh or northernmost Kohāṇ). This tribe had a fine city in a marsh infested by crocodiles and also the great mart of Autamela (Chen) at the confluence of five rivers, and the king had 1000 elephants 150,000 foot and 5000 horse, and must therefore have held a large part of the Dakhan as well as of the sea coast. Next to this kingdom is that of the Charmas, whose forces are small, and next to them the Pandai (Pāṇḍya of Travancor) with 300 cities 150,000 foot and 500 elephants. Next follows a list of thirteen tribes, some of which St. Martin has identified with modern Rajput tribes about the Indus, because the last name of the thirteen is Orostrai, "who reach to the island of Patala" and may be confidently identified with the Sākṛāṣṭra of Kāthiāvāda. We must however assume that Megasthenes after naming the tribes of the west coast enumerates the inland tribes of the Dakhan until he arrives at the point from which he started. But the only identification that seems plausible is that of the Derangas with the Telingas or Telugus. Next to the Orostrai follows a list of tribes on the east of the Indus from south to north—the Mathos (compare Mānthara, a Bāhika town Pān. IV. ii. 117), Bolingae (Bhāṇḍingi, a Sālva tribe Pān. IV. i. 173), Gallitalatai (perhaps a corruption of Tālakhalai, another Sālva tribe, *ib.*), Dimuri, Megari, Ardabai, Mossa (Mataya of Jaipur?), Abi, Suri, (v. l. Abhis Uri), Sila, and then deserts for 250 miles. Next come three more tribes and then again deserts, then four or five (according to the reading) more tribes, and the Asiāi whose capital is Bucephala (Jalālpur) (Cunningham Anc. Geog. 177). Megasthenes then gives two mountain tribes and ten beyond the Indus including the Orsi (Urāṣi) Taxilae (Takshashilā) and Pencilitae (people of Paśhkālavati). Of the work of Dīmarchos, who went on an embassy to Allitrochadēs (Bindusāra) son of Candragupta, nothing is known except that it was in two books and was reckoned the most untrustworthy of all accounts of India (Strabo, II. i. 2).

Ptolemy II. Philadelphos (died 247 B.C.) interested himself in the trade with India and opened a caravan road from Koptos on the Nile to Béréniké on the Red Sea (Strabo, XVII. i. 46) and for centuries the Indian trade resorted either to this port or to the neighbouring Myos Hormos. He also sent to India (apparently to Akoka) an envoy named Dionysios, who is said by Pliny (VI. 17) to have written an account of things Indian of which no certain fragments appear to remain. But we know from the fragments of

Agatharkhides (born c. 230 A.D.) who wrote in old age an account of the Red Sea of which we have considerable extracts in Diodoros (III. 12-48) and Photios (Müller's Geogr. Gr. Min. I. 111 ff.), states that in his time the Indian trade with Patala (Patala) was in the hands of the Sabasas of Yemen. (Müller, I. 191.) In fact it was not until the voyages of Eudoxos (see below) that any direct trade sprang up between India and Egypt. The mention of Patala as the mart resorted to by the Arabs shows that we are still in Pliny's first period (see below).

The Baktrian Greeks extended their power into India after the fall of the Māurya empire (c. 180 B.C.) their leader being Démétrios son of Euthydemos, whose conquests are referred to by Justin (XII. 6) and Strabo (XI. ii. 1). But the most extensive conquests to the east and south were made by Menandros (c. 110 B.C.) who advanced to the Jumna and conquered the whole coast from Pattalene (lower Sindh) to the kingdoms of Saragostas (Sarakshtra) and Sigertis (Pliny's Sigerus?). (Strabo, XI. B. 1.) These statements of Strabo are confirmed by the author of the Periplus (c. 250 A.D.) who says that in his time *drakmas* with Greek inscriptions of Menandros and Apollodotos were still current at Barygaza (Per. 47). Apollodotos is now generally thought to have been the successor of Menandros (c. 100 B.C.) (Brit. Museum Cat. of Bactrian Coins page xxxiii.). Plutarch (Reip. Gr. Princ.) tells us that Menandros' rule was so mild, that on his death his towns disputed the possession of his ashes and finally divided them.

Eudoxos of Cyzicus (c. 117 B.C.) made in company with others two very successful voyages to India, in the first of which the company were guided by an Indian who had been shipwrecked on the Egyptian coast. Strabo (II. iii. 4), in quoting the story of his doings from Posidonios, lays more stress upon his attempt to circumnavigate Africa than upon these two Indian voyages, but they are of very great importance as the beginnings of the direct trade with India.

The Geographers down to Ptolemy drew their knowledge of India almost entirely from the works of Megasthenes and of the companions of Alexander. Among them Eratosthenes (c. 275-194 B.C.), the founder of scientific geography, deserves mention as having first given wide currency to the notion that the width of India from west to east was greater than its length from north to south, an error which lies at the root of Ptolemy's distortion of the map. Eratosthenes' critic Hipparkhos (c. 130 B.C.) on this point followed the more correct account of Megasthenes, and is otherwise notable as the first to make use of astronomy for the determination of the geographical position of places.

Strabo (c. 63 B.C. - 23 A.D.) drew his knowledge of India, like his predecessors, chiefly from Megasthenes and from Alexander's followers, but adds (XV. i. 72) on the authority of Nikolaos of Damascus (tutor to the children of Antony and Cleopatra, and envoy of Herod) an account of three Indian envoys from a certain king Pôros to Augustus (c. 14),

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who brought presents consisting of an armless man, snakes, a huge turtle and a large partridge, with a letter in Greek written on parchment offering free passage and traffic through his dominions to the emperor's subjects. With these envoys came a certain Zarmenokhs (Sramanacaya, Lassen) from Barchin (Broch, the earliest mention of the name) who afterwards burnt himself at Athens, "according to the ancestral custom of the Indians." The fact that the embassy came from Broch and passed through Antioch shows that they took the route by the Persian Gulf, which long remained one of the chief lines of trade (Per. chap. 36). If the embassy was not a purely commercial speculation on the part of merchants of Broch, it is hard to see how King Péro, who had 600 under-kings, can be other than the Indo-Skythian Korolakadaphes, who held Péro's old kingdom as well as much other territory in North-West India. This if correct would show that as early as the beginning of our era the Indo-Skythian power reached as far south as Broch. The fact that the embassy took the Persian Gulf route and that their object was to open commercial relations with the Roman empire seems to show that at this period there was no direct trade between Broch and the Egyptian ports of the Red Sea. Strabo however mentions that in his time Arabian and Indian wares were carried on camels from Myos Hormos (near Râs Abu Sotter) on the Red Sea to Koptos on the Nile (XVII. l. 45 and XVI. iv. 24) and dilates upon the increase of the Indian trade since the days of the Ptolemies when not so many as twenty ships dared pass through the Red Sea "to peer out of the Straits," whereas in his time whole fleets of as many as 120 vessels voyaged to India and the headlands of Ethiopia from Myos Hormos (II. v. 12 and XV. l. 13). It would seem that we have here to do with Pliny's second period of Indian trade, when Sigerns (probably Janjira) was the goal of the Egyptian shipmasters (see below). Strabo learnt these particulars during his stay in Egypt with Aelius Gallus, but they were unknown to his contemporary Diodoros who drew his account of India entirely from Megasthenes (Diod. II. 31-32) and had no knowledge of the East beyond the stories told by Jamboules a person of uncertain date of an island in the Indian Archipelago (Ball, according to Lassen) (Diod. II. 57-60). Pomponius Mela (A.D. 43) also had no recent information as regards India.

Pliny.

Pliny (A.D. 23-79) who published his Natural History in A.D. 77 gives a fairly full account of India, chiefly drawn from Megasthenes (see above). He also gives two valuable pieces of contemporary information:

(i) An account of Ceylon (Taprobane) to which a freedman of Annias Plocamus, farmer of the Red Sea tribute, was ordered by stress of weather in the reign of Claudius (A.D. 41-54). On his return the king sent to the emperor four envoys, headed by one Rachius (VI. 22).

(ii) An account of the voyage from Alexandria to India by a course which had only lately been made known (VI. 23). Pliny divides the history of navigation from the time of Nearchus to his own age into three periods:

(a) the period of sailing from Syagrus (Râs Fartak) in Arabia to Fatale (Indus delta) by the south-west wind called Hippalus, 1332 miles;

(b) the period of sailing from Syagrus (Râs Fartak) to Sigerns (Ptol. Melizégyris, *Periplus Melizégyra*, probably Janjira, and perhaps the same as Strabo's Sigertis);

(c) the modern period, when traffic went on from Alexandria to Koptos up the Nile, and thence by camels across the desert to Barenice (in Foul Bay), 257 miles. Thence the merchants start in the middle of

summer before the rising of the dogstar and in thirty days reach Okela (Ghalla) or Cane (Hien Ghorab), the former port being most frequented by the Indian trade. From Okela it is a forty days' voyage to Muziris (Muziri, Kranganur) which is dangerous on account of the neighbouring pirates of Nitrias (Mangalore) and inconvenient by reason of the distance of the roads from the shore. Another better port is Becare (Kallada, Yule) belonging to the tribe Nencyndon (*Plol.* Melkynda, *Peripl.* Nelkynda) of the kingdom of Pandion (Pandyas) whose capital is Modura (Madura). Here pepper is brought in canoes from Cottanara (Kattattanada). The ships return to the Red Sea in December or January.

It is clear that the modern improvement in navigation on which Pliny lays so much stress consisted, not in making use of the monsoon wind, but in striking straight across the Indian ocean to the Malabar coast. The fact that the ships which took this course carried a guard of archers in Pliny's time, but not in that of the *Periplus*, is another indication that the direct route to Malabar was new and unfamiliar in the first century A.D. The name Hippalus given to the monsoon wind will be discussed below in dealing with the *Periplus*.

Dionysios Periegetes who has lately been proved to have written under Hadrian (A.D. 117-138) (*Christ's Greek. Litteratur Gesch.* page 507) gives a very superficial description of India but has a valuable notice of the Southern Skythians who live along the river Indus to the east of the Gedrosai (i. 1087-88).

Klaudios Ptolemaios of Alexandria lived according to Suidas under Marcus Aurelius Antoninus (A.D. 181-180). He compiled his account of India as part of a geographical description of the then known world, and drew much of his materials from Marinus of Tyre, whose work is lost, but who must have written about A.D. 130. Ptolemy (or Marinus before him) had a very wide knowledge of India, drawn partly from the relations of shipmasters and traders and partly from Indian lists similar to those of the *Panduas* but drawn up in Prakrit. He seems to have made little if any use of Megasthenes and the companions of Alexander. But his map of India is distorted by the erroneous idea, which he took from Eratosthenes, that the width of India from west to east greatly exceeded its length from north to south. Ptolemy begins his description of India with the first chapter of his seventh book, which deals with India within the Ganges. He gives first the names of rivers, countries, towns, and capes along the whole coast of India from the westernmost mouth of the Indus to the easternmost mouth of the Ganges. He next mentions in detail the mountains and the rivers with their tributaries, and then proceeds to enumerate the various nations of India and the cities belonging to each, beginning with the north-west and working southwards; and he finally gives a list of the islands lying off the coast. In dealing with his account of western India it will be convenient to notice together the cities of each nation which he mentions separately under the heads of coast and inland towns.

He gives the name of Indo-Skythia to the whole country on both sides of the lower course of the Indus from its junction with the Koa (Kabul river), and gives its three divisions as Patalene (lower Sindh) Abiria (read Sabiria, that is Sauvira or upper Sindh and Multan) and Surastrene (Surashtra or Kathiawada). We have seen that Dionysios knew the southern Skythians of the Indus, and we shall meet with them again in the *Periplus* (chapter 38f).

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Periegetes.**Klaudios
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Ptolemaic.

He enumerates seven mouths of the Indus, but the river is so constantly changing its course that it is hopeless to expect to identify all the names given by him (Sagapa, Sinthôn, Khariphron, Sapara, Sabalassa, and Lônibare) with the existing channels. Only it may be noted that Sinthôn preserves the Indian name of the river (Sindhu) and that the easternmost mouth (Lônibare) probably represents both the present Kori or Luni and the Luni river of Mārwar, a fact which goes some way to explain why Ptolemy had no idea of the existence of Kachh, though he knows the Ran as the gulf of Nanthi. Hence he misplaces Surastrenê (Surashtra or Kāthiāvāda) in the Indus delta instead of south of the Ran. Ptolemy enumerates a group of five towns in the north-western part of Indo-Skythia (Kohat, Banna, and Dera Ismail Khān) of which Cunningham (Anc. Geog. pages 81ff) has identified Banagara with Bannu, and Andrapana with Daraban, while the sites of Artoarta, Sabana, and Kodrana are unknown. Ptolemy next gives a list of twelve towns along the western bank of the Indus to the sea. Of these Embolima has been identified by Cunningham (Anc. Geog. page 52) with Amb sixty miles above Attock, and Pasipêda is identified by St. Martin with the Beasmaid of the Arab geographers and placed near Mithankot at the junction of the Chenab with the Indus. Sousikana, which comes next in the list to Pasipêda, is generally thought to be a corruption of Mousikana, and is placed by the latest authority (General Haig, *The Indus Delta Country*, page 130) in Bahawalpur, though Cunningham (Anc. Geog. page 257) puts it at Alor, which is somewhat more in accordance with Ptolemy's distances. Kôlaka the most southerly town of the list, cannot well be the Krôkala of Arrian (Karachi) as McCrindle supposes, for Ptolemy puts it nearly a degree north of the western mouth of the Indus.

The two great towns of the delta which Ptolemy next mentions, are placed by General Haig, Patala at a point thirty-five miles south-east of Haidarâbâd (*op. cit.* page 19) and Barbarei near Shâh Bander (*op. cit.* page 31). Barbarei is mentioned again in the *Periplus* (chapter 38) under the name of Barbarikon. Ptolemy gives the names of nine towns on the left bank of the Indus from the confluence to the sea, but very few of them can be satisfactorily identified. Panasa can only be Oanpur (St. Martin) on Mullen's principles. Boudaia must represent the Badhiya of the Arabs, though it is on the wrong side of the river (*see* Haig, *op. cit.* page 57ff). Nasgramma may with Yule be placed at Nausahro. Kamigara cannot be Aror (McCrindle), if that place represents Sousikana. Binagara is commonly thought to be a corrupt reading of Minnagara (compare *Periplus* chapter 38). Haig (*op. cit.* page 32 note 47) refers to the Tuhfatul Kirâm as mentioning a Minnagar in jagana Shâhdâdpur (north-east of Haidarâbâd). Parabali, Sydros, and Epitansa have not been identified, but must be looked for either in Haidarâbâd or in Thar and Parkar. Xosna may with Yule be identified with Siwana in the bend of the Luni and gives another indication that Ptolemy confounded the Luni with the eastern mouth of the Indus.

On the coast of Surastrenê (Kāthiāvāda) Ptolemy mentions, first, the island of Barakê (Dvārakâ Bêt), then the city Bardaxêna which must be Porbandar (Yule), in front of the Barada hills: then the village of Surastra, which perhaps represents Verâval, though it is placed too far north. Surastra cannot well be Junâgad (Laseen) which is not on the coast and in Ptolemy's time was not a village, but a city, though it is certainly strange that Ptolemy does not anywhere mention it. Further south Ptolemy places the mart of Monoglôsson (Mangrol). The eastern

boundary of the coast of Indo-Skythia seems to have been the mouth of the Mōphis (Mahi). Ptolemy's account of Indo-Skythia may be completed by mentioning the list of places which he puts to the east of the Indus (i. e. the Lūni) and at some distance from it.

These are: Xodrakē, which has not been identified, but which must be placed somewhere in Mowār, perhaps at the old city of Pār, seventy-two miles north-east of Udaipur, or possibly at the old city of Ahar, two miles from Udaipur itself (Tod's Rājasthān, I. 677-78).

Sarwana, which is marked in Ptolemy's map at the head-waters of the Mahi in the Apokopa mountains (Aravallis), must be identified with Sarwan about ten miles north-west of Ratlām. There is also a place called Sarwanio close to Nimach, which Ptolemy may have confused with Sarwan.

Auxoamis, which St. Martin identifies with Sūni, and Yule with Ajmir, but neither place suits the distance and direction from Sarwan. If Ptolemy, as above suggested, confused Sarwan and Sarwanio, Auxoamis may be Ahar near Udaipur Pār being then Xodrakē: otherwise Auxoamis may be Idar. The question can only be settled by more exact knowledge of the age of Ahar and of Idar. Orbadarou may provisionally with Yule be placed at Aha.

Asinda must be looked for near Sidhipur, though it cannot with St. Martin be identified with that place. Perhaps Vadnagar (formerly Anandapura and a very old town) may be its modern representative.

Theophila may be Devaliya (Yule) or Thān (Burgess) in north-east Kāthiāvāda.

Astakapra is admitted to be Hastakavapra or Hāthab near Bhāvnagar (Bühler).

Larikē is described by Ptolemy next after Indo-Skythia on his way down the West Coast. The northern limit of its coast was the mouth of the river Mōphis (Mahi). Its name is the Lāta of *pudgas* and inscriptions. Ptolemy mentions as on its coast the village of Pakidarē, which may be a misreading for Kāpidarē and represent Kāvi (Kāpikē of inscriptions) a holy place just south of the Mahi. Next comes Cape Maleō, which Ptolemy both in his text and in his map includes in Larikē, though there is no prominent headland in a suitable position on the east side of the Gulf of Cambay. As he puts it 2½ degrees west of Broach, it may probably be identified with Gōmāth Point in Kāthiāvāda on the other side of the gulf (the Pāpikē of the *Periplus*), his name for it surviving in the neighbouring shoals known as the Malai banka. It is in agreement with this that Ptolemy puts the mouth of the river Namados (Narundā) to the north of Cape Maleō. South of the river is Kamanē which may be identified with the Kamanija or Karmanāya of inscriptions, that is with Kanlej on the Tapti above Surat. It has been supposed to be the Kammōni of the *Periplus* (chapter 43), which was the village opposite to the reef called Hērōnē on the right (east) of the gulf of Barygaza: but it is perhaps best to separate the two and to identify Kammōni with Kim, north of Olpād. The next town mentioned is Nousaripa, which should probably be read Nousarika, being the Nayasārikā of inscriptions and the modern Nansari. The most southerly town of Larikē is Poulipoula, which has been identified with Phulpādā or old Surat, but is too far south. Būlimora is perhaps the most likely position for it, though the names do not correspond (unless Pouli is the Dravidian *Puli* or *peli* = a tiger, afterwards replaced by *Bili* = a cat). Ptolemy begins his list of the inland cities of Larikē with Agrinagara, which may with Yule be identified with

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AND ROMANS.*Kāśānās
Ptolēmaios.*

Agar, thirty-five miles north-east of Ujjain, and the Ākara of inscriptions. The next town is Siripalla, which has not been identified, but should be looked for about thirty miles to the south-east of Agar, not far from Shāhjahānpur. The modern name would probably be Shirol. Bammogoura must be identified, not with Pawangad (Yule), but with Hinen Tsang's "city of the Brāhmanas" (Beal, Si-yu-ki, II. 262), 200 li (about 33 miles) to the north-west of the capital of Mālava in his time. The distance and direction bring us nearly to Jaora. Sazantion and Zerogerei have not been satisfactorily identified but may provisionally be placed at Ratlām and Badnawar respectively, or Zerogerei may be Dhār as Yule suggested. Ozānē the capital of Tīastandēs is Ujjain the capital of the Kshatrapa Cashitana who reigned c. 120 A.D. His kingdom included Western Mālwā, West Khandesh, and the whole of Gujārat south of the Mahi. His grandson Rudradāman (A.D. 150) tells us in his Gīrār inscription (I. A. VII. 259) that his own kingdom included also Mārwār Sindh and the lower Panjāb. Next to Ujjain Ptolemy mentions Minnagara, which must have been somewhere near Mānpur. Then we come to Tiatoura or Chāndou (Yule) on the ridge which separates Khandesh from the valley of the Godāvari, and finally on that river itself Nasika the modern Nāsik. It is very doubtful whether Nāsik at any time formed part of the dominions of Cashitana, since we know from the inscriptions in the Nāsik caves that the Kshatrapas were driven out of that part of the country by Gautamiputra Śātakarṇi, the father of Ptolemy's contemporary Pulamāyi. Ptolemy probably found Nāsik mentioned in one of his lists as on a road leading from Ujjain southwards and he concluded that they belonged to the same kingdom.

Arīakē of the Sadinoi included the coast of the Konkan as far south as Baltipatna (near Mahād) and the Deccan between the Godāvari and the Kṛishṇa. The name occurs in Varāha Mihira's Brihat Samhitā XIV, in the form Aryaka. The tribal name Sadinoi is less easy to explain. The suggested connection with the word *Sādhanā* as meaning an agent (*Lassen*) and its application to the Kshatrapas of Gujārat, are not tenable. The only authority for this meaning of *Sādhanā* is Wilson's Sanskrit Dictionary, and at this time it is certain that Arīakē belonged, not to the Kshatrapas of Gujārat, but to the Śātakarṇis of Paithān on the Godāvari. Bhāṇḍārkar's identification of the Sadinoi with Varāha Mihira's Śāntikas seems also somewhat unsatisfactory. Ptolemy's name may possibly be a corruption of Śātakarṇi or Śātavāhana. The coast towns of this region were Soupara (Supārā near Bassein), south of which Ptolemy places the river Gauris (Vaitarani), Dounga (perhaps Dugād ten miles north of Bhiwandi) south of which is the Bēnda river (Bhiwandi Creek), Simylla, a mart and a cape, the Automala and Perimula of Pliny and the modern Chenl (Chemula); Milizēgyris an island, the same as the Melizēgira of the Periplus and (probably) as the Sigerus of Pliny and the modern Janjira; Hippokoura, either Ghodegāon or Kudā (Yule) in Kolābā district; Baltipatna, probably the Palatpatnai of the Periplus and the same as Pāl near Mahād.

The inland dominions of the Sadinoi were much more extensive than their coast line. Ptolemy gives two lists of cities, one of those lying to the west (i. e. north) of the Bēnda, whose course in the Deccan represents the Bhīmā river, and the other of those between the Bēnda and the Pseudostomos (here the Mālprabhā and Kṛishṇa or possibly the Tungabhadra with its tributaries). The most easterly towns in the first list, Malippala and Sariaabia, are not satisfactorily identified, but must be looked for in the Nisām's country to the south-east of Haidarābād. Next comes Tagara mentioned in the Periplus (chapter 51) as ten days east from Paithān, and

therefore about the latitude of Kulkarga, with which it is identified by Yule. The distance and direction make its identification with Deogir (Wilford and others), Junnar (Bhāgwanīāl), or Kolhāpur (Fleet) impossible. The best suggestion hitherto made is that it is Dārur or Dhārur (Bhāndārkar), but Dhārur in the Bhār district is too far north, so Dhārur fifty miles west of Haidarābād must be taken as the most likely site. Next to Tagara Ptolemy mentions Baithana, which is the Paithana of the Periplus and the modern Paithan on the Godāvari. It is called by our author the capital of Siroptolemaios, who is the Śrī-Pulamaī of the Nāsik cave inscriptions. Next to Baithana comes Deopali, which may safely be identified with the modern Deoli in the suburbs of Ahmadnagar. Gamaliba, the next stage, must be placed somewhere on the line between Ahmadnagar and Junnar, which latter ancient town is to be identified with Ptolemy's Omēnagara, although this name is not easy to explain.

The second list of towns in Ariakē begins with Nagareuris (Nagarpur) which probably represents Poona which even then must have been a place of importance, being at the head of the great road down the Bhorgat. Tabasō (compare Varāha Mihira's Tāpasāśrāmāh and Ptolemy's own Tabasoi) may be the holy city of Pandharpur. Indō has retained its ancient name (Indi in the north of the Bijapur district). Next follows Tiripangalida (Tikota in the Kurundwad State?) and then Hippokoura, the capital of Balekuros. Dr. Bhāndārkar has identified this king with the Vijāyākūra of coins found in the Kolhāpur state. His capital may possibly be Hippargi in the Sindgi taluka of the Bijapur district. Souboutton, the next town on Ptolemy's list, is not identifiable, but the name which follows, Sjeimalaga, must be Siraāl in the Bijapur taluka of the same district.

Kalligeris may be identified not with Kanhagiri (McCrindle) but with Gulgul at the crossing of the Krishna, and Modogoulla is not Mūdgāl (McCrindle) but Mudhol on the Ghātprabhā. Peringala should probably read Penengala, and would then represent the old town of Panagala or Hongal in the Dhārvād district. The last name on the list is Banaomassei, which is Vanavāsī, about ten miles from Sirsi in Kanara, a very old town where a separate branch of the Śātākarnis once ruled.

The Pirate Coast is the next division of Western India described by Ptolemy, who mentions five sea-ports but only two inland cities. It is clear that the pirates were hemmed in on the land side by the dominions of the Śātākarnis, and that they held but little territory above the ghāts, though their capital Monsopallō was in that region. The places on the coast from north to south were Mandagara, the Mandagara of the Periplus (chapter 53) which has been satisfactorily identified with Mandangudj to the south of the Bānkot creek.

Byzantion, which, as Dr. Bhāndārkar first pointed out, is the Vajjantī of inscriptions may be placed either at Chiplun or at Dabhol at the mouth of the Vāsishthī river. Chiplun is the only town of great antiquity in this part of the Kōṅkan, and if it is not Vajjantī Ptolemy has passed over it altogether. The similarity of the names has suggested the identification of Byzantion with Jaygaḍ (Bhāndārkar) or Vijayadrug (Vincent), but both these places are comparatively modern. There are indeed no very ancient towns in the Kōṅkan between Saṅgamāhvar and the Sāvantvādī border.

Kherosēnos is generally admitted to be the peninsula of Goa.

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AND ROMANS.

Klaudios
Ptolemaios.

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AND ROMANS.*Klamias*
Ptolemaia.

Amagara is placed a little to the north of the river Nanagouna and may be represented by Cape Ramas in Portuguese territory.

The river Nanagouna here is generally supposed to be the Kālinadi, though in its upper course it seems to represent the Tapti, and a confusion with the Nānā pass led Ptolemy to bring it into connection with the rivers Gosris and Bēda (Campbell).

Nitra, the southernmost mart on the pirate coast, is the Nitrias of Pliny, and has been satisfactorily identified by Yule with Mangalore on the Nētravati.

The inland cities of the Pirates are Glukhoica and Mousopallē the capital, both of which must be sought for in the rugged country about the sources of the Krishna and may provisionally be identified with the ancient towns of Karāḍ and Karve (Kolhapur) respectively. To complete Ptolemy's account of this coast it is only necessary to mention the islands of Heptanēsia (Burnt Islands?) Trikadiba and Peperinē. We are not here concerned with his account of the rest of India.

Bardesane.

Bardesane's met at Babylon certain envoys sent from India to the emperor Antoninus Pius (A.D. 154-181) and received from Damadania and Sandanēs, who were of their number, accounts of the customs of the Brāhmins and of a rock temple containing a statue of Śiva in the Ardhanārī form. Lassen (III. 62 and 348) connects Sandanēs with the Sadinoi and places the temple in Western India, but neither of these conclusions is necessary. The object of the embassy is unknown.

Periplus.

The Periplus of the Erythrean Sea, formerly though wrongly attributed to Arrian (150 A.D.), is an account of the Egyptian trade with East Africa and India, written by a merchant of Alexandria for the use of his fellows. It is preserved in a single manuscript which in some places is very corrupt. The age of this work has been much disputed: the chief views as to this matter are,

(i) that the Periplus was written before Pliny and made use of by him (Vincent, Schwanbeck, and Glaser). The arguments of Vincent and Schwanbeck are refuted by Müller (Geogr. Gr. Min. I. xcvi.). Glaser's case is (Anstalt 1891, page 45) that the Malikhas of the Periplus is Malchos III. of Nabathæa (A.D. 49-71), that the Periplus knows Meroë as capital of Ethiopia, while at the time of Nero's expedition to East Africa (A.D. 68), it had almost vanished, and lastly that the author of the Periplus is Basilis or Basileas, whom Pliny names as an authority for his Book VI. It may be replied that Malikhas is the title Malik and may have been applied to any Arab Sheikh (Reinaud): that the Periplus does not with certainty mention Meroë at all; and that Basilis whether or not a contemporary of Ptolemy Philadelphos was at any rate earlier than Agatharkhidēs (c. 200 B.C.), who quotes him (Geogr. Gr. Min. I. 156);

(ii) that the Periplus was written at the same time as Pliny's work, but neither used the other (Salmastus). This view is refuted by Müller (*op. cit.* page 155);

(iii) that the Periplus was written after 161 A.D. (Dodwell); Müller has shown (*ibid.*) that Dodwell's arguments are inconclusive;

(iv) the received view that the Periplus was written between A.D. 80 and A.D. 89 (Müller);

(v) that the Periplus was written about the middle of the third century (Reinaud *Mém. de l'Ac. des Inscri.* XXIV. Pt. II. translated in I. A. VIII. pages 330ff.).

The only choice lies between the view of Müller and that of Reinaud. Müller argues for a date between A.D. 80 and A.D. 89, because the *Periplus* knows no more than Pliu of India beyond the Ganges, whereas Ptolemy's knowledge is much greater: because the *Periplus* calls Ceylon Palaisimoundon, which is to Ptolemy (VII. iv. 1) an old name: because the Nabathæan kingdom, which was destroyed A.D. 105, was still in existence at the time of the *Periplus*: because the *Periplus* account of Hippalos shows it to be later than Pliu: and because the *Periplus* mentions king Zôskalê, who must be the Za Haskê of the Abyssinian lists who reigned A.D. 77-89. It may be replied that the *Periplus* is not a geography of Eastern Asia, but a guide book for traders with certain ports only: that Ptolemy must have found in his lists three names for Ceylon, Taprobânê, Palaisimoundon, and Salikê, and that he has wrongly separated Palai from Simoundon, taking it to mean "formerly" and therefore entered Simoundon as the old and Salikê as the modern name,* whereas all three names were in use together; that the Nabathæan king Malikhas was simply the Sheikh of the tribe (Reinaud), and points to no definite date: that the *Periplus*' account of Hippalos is certainly later than Pliu: and that the Zôskalê of the *Periplus* is the Za Sâgal or Za Asgal of the Abyssinian lists, who reigned A.D. 246-47 (Reinaud).

It follows that Reinaud's date for the *Periplus* (A.D. 250) is the only one consistent with the facts, and especially with the Indian facts. As will appear below, the growth of the Hippalos legend since Pliu's time, the rival Parthians in Sindh, the mention of Manibaros and the supplanting of Ozênê by Minnagara as his capital since Ptolemy's time, the independence of Baktria, and the notices of Saraganês and Sandanês, are all points strongly in favour of Reinaud's date.

In the time of the *Periplus* the ships carrying on the Indian trade started from Myos Hormos (near Ras Abu Somer) or Berenikê (in Foul Bay) and sailed down the Red Sea to Menza (Mena twenty-five miles north of Mokhê), and thence to the watering place Okêlis (Ghalla) at the Straits. Thence they followed the Arabian coast as far as Kanê (Hisa Ghurâb in Hadramaut) passing on the way Eudaimôn Arabia (Aden) once a great mart for Indian traders, but lately destroyed by King Elisar (Müller's conjecture for KAIJAR of the MS.). From Kanê the routes to India diverge, some ships sailing to the Indus and on to Barygaza, and others direct to the ports of Limyrikê (Malabar Coast). There was also another route to Limyrikê, starting from Arômata (Cape Guardafui). In all three voyages the ships made use of the monsoon, starting from Egypt in July. The monsoon was called Hippalos, according to the *Periplus* (chapter 57), after the navigator who first discovered the direct course across the sea, and it has been inferred from Pliu's words (VI. 23) that this pilot lived in the middle of the first century A.D. But Pliu's own account shows that, as we should expect, the progress from a coasting to a direct voyage was a gradual one, with several intermediate stages, in all of which the monsoon was more or less made use of. There was therefore no reason for naming the wind from the pilot who merely made the last step. Further though Pliu knows Hippalos as the local name of the monsoon wind in the eastern seas, he says nothing of its having been the name of the inventor of the direct course. The inference seems to be that Hippalos the pilot is the child of a seaman's yarn arising out of the local name of

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* We learn from Pliu (VI. 22) that Palaisimoundon was the name of a town and a river in Ceylon, whence the name was extended to the whole island.

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the monsoon wind, and that his presence in the *Periplus* and not in *Pliny* shows that the former writer is much later than the latter.

✓ The merchant bound for *Skythia* (*Sindh*) before he reaches land, which lies low to the northward, meets the white water from the river *Sinθος* (*Indus*) and water snakes (chapter 38). The river has seven mouths, small and marshy all but the middle one, on which is the port of *Barharikon* (*Shāhbandar*, Haig, page 31) whence the merchants' wares are carried up by river to the capital *Minnagar* (near *Shāhdādpur*, Haig, page 32), which is ruled by *Parthians* who constantly expel one another (chapter 39). These contending *Parthians* must have been the remnant of the *Karēn Pahlavs* who joined with the *Kushāns* to attack *Ardeshir Pāpakān* (*Journ. As.* [1866] VII. 134). The imports are clothing, flowered cottons, topazes, coral, storax, frankincense, glass vessels, silver plate, specie, and wine; and the exports costus (spice), bdellium (gum), yellow dye, spikenard, emeralds, sapphires, furs from Tibet, cottons, silk thread, and indigo. The list of imports shows that the people of *Skythia* were a civilised race and by no means wild nomads.

The *Periplus* next (chapter 40) gives an accurate account of the *Ran* (*Erinon*) which in those days was probably below sea level (Haig, page 22, *Burnes' Travels into Bokhara*, III. 309ff), and was already divided into the Great and the Little. Both were marshy shallows even out of sight of land and therefore dangerous to navigators. The *Ran* was then as now bounded to south and west by seven islands; and the headland *Barakē* (*Dvārakā*) a place of special danger of whose neighbourhood ships were warned by meeting with great black water-snakes.

The next chapter (41) describes the gulf of *Barygaza* (gulf of *Cambay*) and the adjoining land, but the passage has been much mangled by the copyist of our only MS. and more still by the guesses of editors. According to the simplest correction (*ἡ περὶ τὴν Ἀργύρεον*) our author says that next after *Barakē* (*Dvārakā*) follows the gulf of *Barygaza* and the country towards *Ariakē*, being the beginning of the kingdom of *Mambares* and of all India. *Mambares* may possibly be a corruption of *Makhatrapas* or some similar Greek form of *Mahāksatrapa*, the title of the so-called "Sāh Kings" who ruled here at this period (A.D. 230). According to the reading of the MS. the author goes on to say that "the inland part of this country bordering on the *Iberia* (read *Sabiria* = *Sauria*) district of *Skythia* is called . . . (the name, perhaps *Maru*, has dropped out of the text), and the sea-coast *Systrātrēs* (*Sūśātrā*)." The country abounded then as now in cattle, corn, rice, cotton and coarse cotton cloth, and the people were tall and dark. The capital of the country was *Minnagara* whence much cotton was brought down to *Barygaza*. This *Minnagara* is perhaps the city of that name placed by *Ptolemy* near *Mānpur* in the *Vindhya*, but it has with more probability been identified with *Junāgad* (*Bhagvānlāl*) which was once called *Manipura* (*Kath. Gaz.* 487). Our author states that in this part of the country were to be found old temples, ruined camps and large wells, relics (he says) of *Alexander's* march, but more probably the work of *Menandros* and *Apollodotos*. This statement certainly points to *Kāthiāvāda* rather than to *Mānpur*. The voyage along this coast from *Barharikon* to the headland of *Pāpikē* (*Gopnāth*) near *Astakapra* (*Hāthab*) and opposite to *Barygaza* (*Broach*) was one of 3000 stadia = 300 miles, which is roughly correct. The next chapter (42) describes the northern part of the gulf of *Cambay* as 300 stadia wide and running northward to the river *Mala* (*Mahī*). Ships bound for *Barygaza* steer first northward past the island

Balônes (Peram) and then eastward towards the mouth of the Namnadios (Namadâ) the river of Broach. The navigation (chapter 43) is difficult by reason of rocks and shoals such as Hêrônê (perhaps named from some wreck) opposite the village of Kanunôni (Kim) on the eastern shore and by reason of the current on the western near Pâpikê (perhaps a sailor's name meaning Unlucky). Hence the government sends out fishermen in long boats called Trappaga or Kotumba (Kotia) to meet the ships (chapter 44) and pilot them into Barygaza, 300 stadia up the river, by towing and taking advantage of the tides. In this connection our author gives a graphic description of the Bore in the Nartadâ (chapter 45) and of the dangers to which strange ships are exposed thereby (chapter 46).

Inland from Barygaza (that is, from the whole kingdom, which, as we have seen, bordered on Sauvira or Multân) lay (chapter 47) the Aratrioi (Arattas of the Mahâbhârata and Purânas, who lived in the Panjâb), the Arakhôioi (people of eastern Afghanistan), Gandaroi (Gandhâra of N.-W. Panjâb), Proklais (near Peshâwar), and beyond them the Baktranoi (of Balkh) a most warlike race, governed by their own independent sovereigns. These last are probably the Kushâna who, when the Parthian empire fell to pieces in the second quarter of the third century, joined the Kâren Pahlavs in attacking Ardeshir. It was from those parts, says our author, that Alexander marched into India as far as the Ganges—an interesting glimpse of the growth of the Alexander legend since the days of Arrian (A.D. 150). Our author found old *drakhmâs* of Menandros and Apollodotos still current in Barygaza.

Eastward in the same kingdom (chapter 48) is the city of Ozênê, which was formerly the capital, whence onyxes, porcelain, muslins, and cottons are brought to Barygaza. From the country beyond Proklais came costus, bdellium, and spikenard of three kinds, the Kattybourina, the Patropapigic, and the Kabalitic (this last from Kibul).

We learn incidentally that besides the regular Egyptian trade Barygaza had commercial relations with Moussa in Arabia (chapter 21) with the East African coast (chapter 14) and with Apologos (Obollah) at the head of the Persian Gulf and with Omama on its eastern shore (chapter 36). The imports of Barygaza were wine, bronze, tin and lead, coral and gold stone (topaz?), cloth of all sorts, variegated saalms (like the horrible Berlin wool comforters of modern days), storax, sweet clover, white glass, gum sandarac, stibium for the eyes, and gold and silver coin, and unguents. Besides, there were imported for the king costly silver plate, musical instruments (musical boxes are still favoured by Indian royalty), handsome girls for the harem (these are the famous Yavani handmaids of the Indian drama), high-class wine, apparel and choice unguents, a list which shows that these monarchs lived in considerable luxury. The exports of Barygaza were spikenard, costus, bdellium, ivory, onyxes, porcelain, box-thorn, cottons, silk, silk thread, long pepper (chillies), and other wares from the coast ports.

From Barygaza our author rightly says (chapter 50) that the coast trends southward and the country is called Dakhinabades (Dakshinâpâtha): much of the inland country is waste and infested by wild beasts, while populous tribes inhabit other regions as far as the Ganges. The chief towns in Dakhinabades (chapter 51) are Paithana (Paithan) twenty days journey south of Barygaza and Tagara (Dhârtur) a very large city ten days east of Paithana. From Paithana come onyxes, and from Tagara cottons, muslins, and other local wares from the (east) coast.

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✓ The smaller ports south of Barygaza are Akalaton (perhaps the Khahiran of Mahomedan writers and the modern Kāvēri the river of Nānāri) Souppata (Supārā near Bassin) and Kalliana, which was made a mart by the elder Sarganēs, but much injured when Sandanēs became its master, for from his time Greek vessels visiting the port are sent under guard to Barygaza. This interesting statement is one of the clearest indications of the date of the *Periplus*. As Bhāndārkar has shown, the elder Sarganēs implies also a younger, who can be no other than Yājñadevi Sātakarṇi (A.D. 140), and the *Periplus* must be later than his time. The Sandanēs of the text must have been a ruler of Gujrat and may be identified with the Kshatrapa Saṅghadāman (A.D. 224).

✓ South of Kalliana (chapter 53) were Sōmylla (Chaul) Mandagara (Mandagad) Palaiptunai (Pāl near Mahād) Malineigara (probably Janjira) and Byzantion (Chiplun). The words which follow probably give another name of Byzantion "which was formerly also called Tarannoshoas," the name Toparōn being a misunderstanding (Müller, *Geogr. Gr. Min.* I. 296). South of this are the islands of Sōkekriēnai (Burnt Islands), Aigridioi (Angediva), Kaineitai (Island of St. George) near the Kharmanōsa (Goa), and Lunkō (Laccadives?) all pirate haunts. Next comes Lūmyrikē (the Tamil country) the first marts of which are Naoura (Cannanur or Tellicherry, rather than Honavar, which is too far north) and Tyndis (Kadalundi near Beypur) and south of these Muziris (Kranganur) and Nelkynda (Kallada). Tyndis and Muziris were subject to Kēprobotra (Keralaputra that is the Cera king) and Nelkynda to Pandion (the Pāṇḍya king of Madura). Muziris was a very prosperous mart trading with Ariakē (North Konkani) as well as Egypt. Nelkynda was up a river 120 stadia from the sea, ships taking in cargo at the village of Bekarē at the mouth of the river. Our author gives an interesting account of the trade at these ports and further south as well as on the east coast, but we are not concerned with this part of his work.

Markianos.

Markianos of Hiraikta about the year 400 A.D. is the leading geographer of the period following Ptolemy, but his work consisted chiefly in corrections of Ptolemy's distances taken from an obscure geographer named Prōtagoras. He adds no new facts to Ptolemy's account of western India.

Stephanos.

Stephanos of Byzantium wrote about 450 A.D. (or at any rate later than Markianos, whom he quotes) a huge geographical dictionary of which we have an epitome by one Hermolaos. The Indian names he gives are chiefly taken from Hekataios, Arrianos, and especially from a poem called *Bassarika* on the exploits of Dionysos, by a certain Dionysos. But his geography is far from accurate: he calls Barakē (Devānakā) an island, and Barygaza (Broach) a city, of Gedrosia. Among the cities he names are Argantē (quoted from Hekataios), Barygaza (Broach), Bonkephala (Jalālpur), Bezaution (Chiplun), Géroia, Gorgippia, Darsania famous for woven cloths, Dionysopolis (Nysa?), Kathia (Multan?), Kasaparyos and Kaspeiros (Kashmir), Margana, Massaku (in Swāt), Nysa, Palimbothra (Pataliputra), Pansaioura near the Indus, Patala (thirty-five miles south-east of Haidarābād, Sindh), Rhodē, Rhogandē, Rhōn in Gandarikē, Sonnia, Sesindion, Sinda on the great gulf (perhaps Ptolemy's Asinda, Vāṇnagar), Solimna, and Taxila. He also names a number of tribes, of whom none but the Orbitai (Makrān) the Pandai (Pāṇḍya) Bōlinga (Bhāṇḍingi Sālvas) and possibly the Salangoi (Sālankāyana) belong to the western coast.

Kosmas Indikopleustes, shipman and monk, who wrote his *Topographia Christiana* between A.D. 530 and 550, is the last of the ancient writers who shows independent knowledge of India. He says that *Siindu* (*Sindh*), is where India begins, the *Indus* being the boundary between it and Persia. The chief ports of India are *Siindu* (*Dehal*), which exports musk and nard; *Orrhotia* (*Surashtra* that is *Veraval*) which had a king of its own; *Kalliana* (*Kalyan*) a great port exporting brass, and steam (blackwood) logs and cloth having a king of its own and a community of Christians under a Persian bishop; *Sibor* which also had a king of its own and therefore cannot be *Supara*, which is too close to *Kalliana*, but must be *Gos*, the *Sindabur* of the Arabs; *Parti*, *Mangaruth* (*Mangalore*), *Salopatana*, *Nalopatana*, and *Padopatana* which are the five parts of *Male* the pepper country (*Malabar*), where also there are many Christians. Five days' sail south of *Malālay* *Siolediba* or *Taprobane* (*Ceylon*), divided into two kingdoms in one of which is found the hyacinth-stone. The island has many temples, and a church of Persian Christians, and is much resorted to by ships from India Persia and Ethiopia dealing in silk, aloewood, cloves, sandalwood, &c. On the east coast of India is *Marallo* (*Morava* opposite *Ceylon*) whence conch-shells are exported: Then *Kaber* (*Kaveripatam* or *Pegu*, Yule's *Cathay Introd.* page cxxxviii.) which exports *Alabandinum*; further on is the clove country and furthest of all *Tzinista* (*China*) which produces the silk. In India further up the country, that is farther north, are the *White Onnoi* or *Hūns* who have a king named *Gollas* (*Mihirakula* of inscriptions) who goes forth to war with 1000 elephants and many horsemen and tyrannises over India, exacting tribute from the people. His army is said to be so vast as once to have drunk dry the ditch surrounding a besieged city and marched in dryshod.

In his book XI. *Kosmas* gives some account of the wild beasts of India, but this part of his work does not require notice here.

This is the last glimpse we get of India before the Arabs cut off the old line of communication with the Empire by the conquest of Egypt A.D. 641-2).

Appendix VI.

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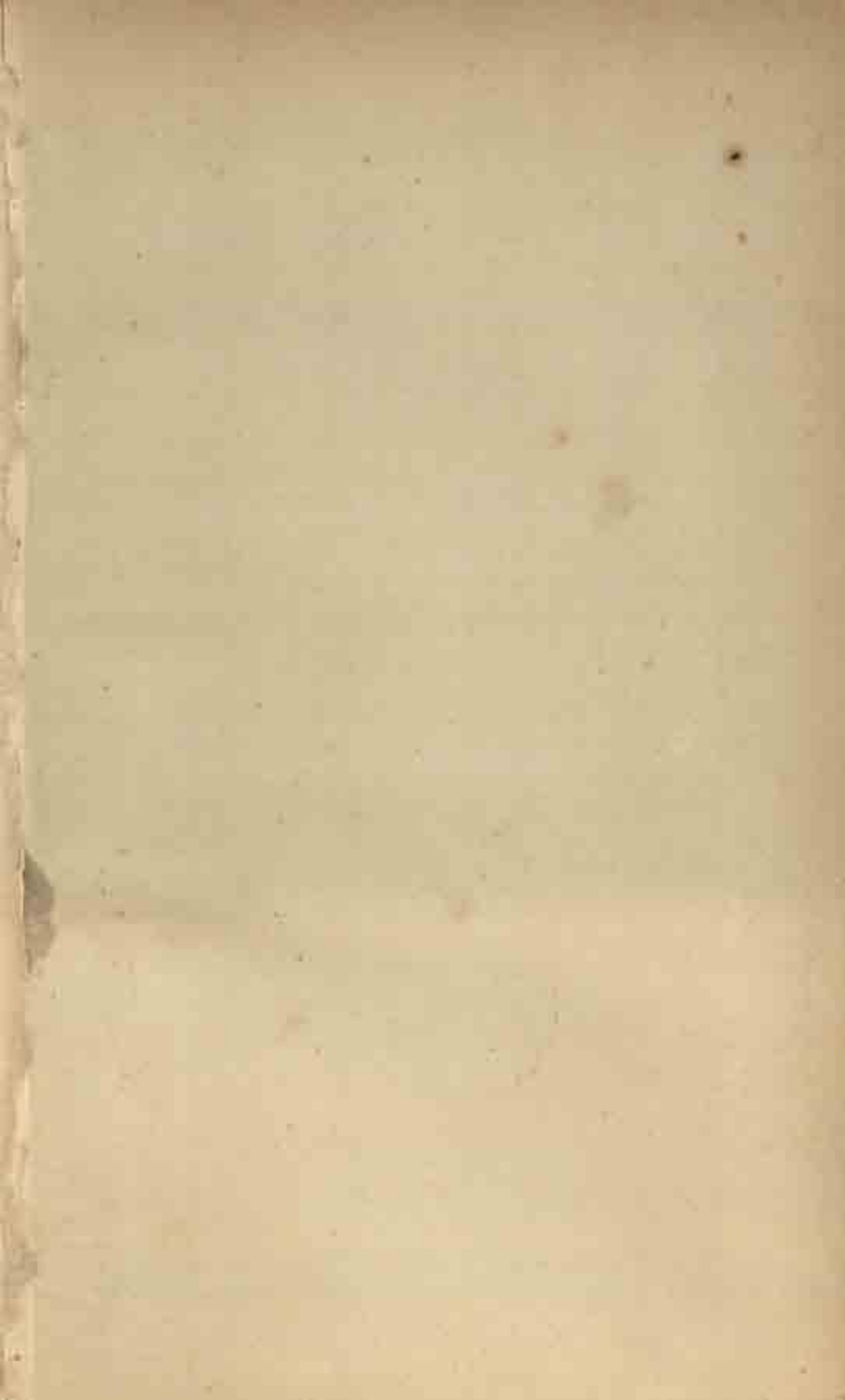
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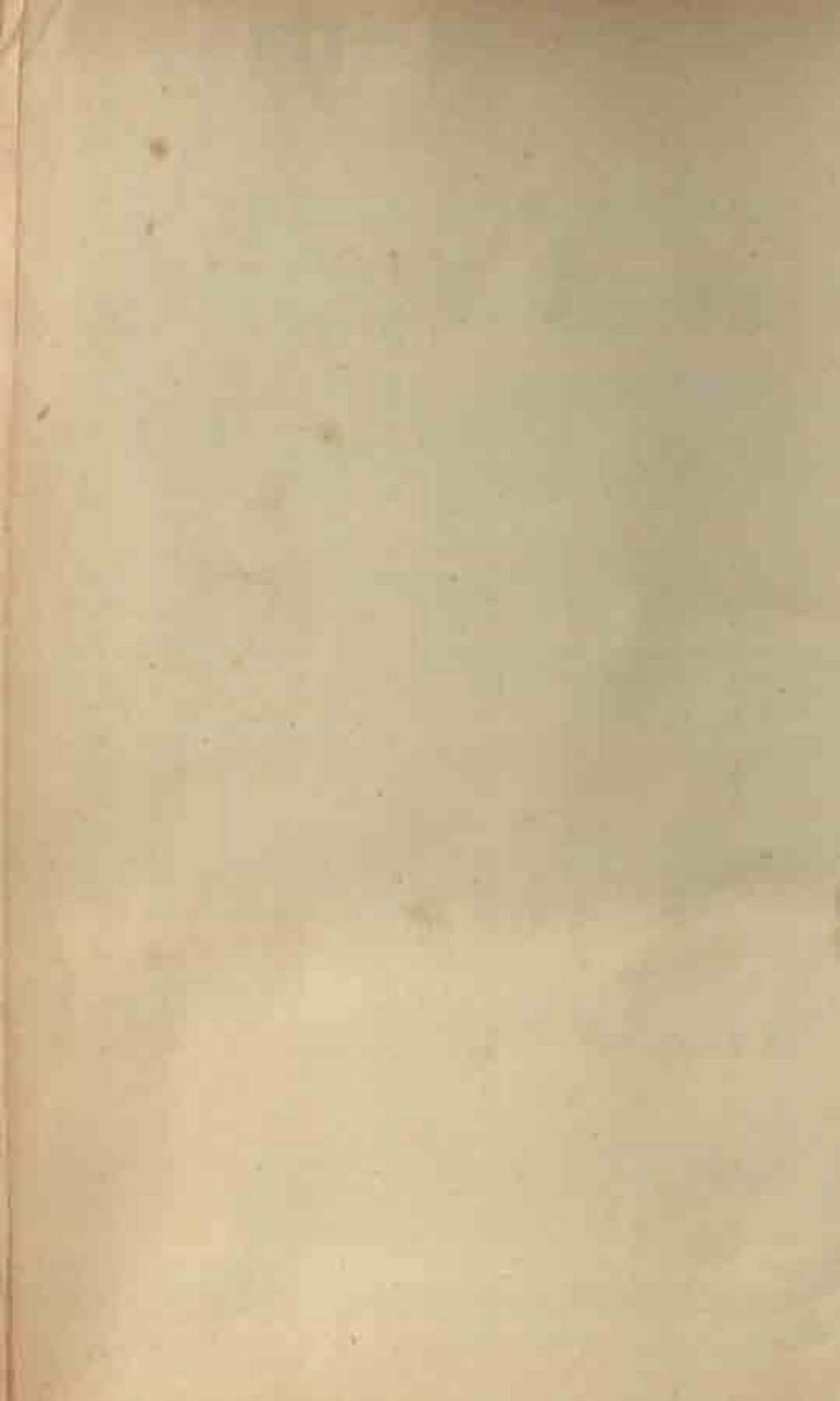
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